

STANDARD DICTIONARY  
of  
FOLKLORE, MYTHOLOGY, AND LEGEND

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# **DICTIONARY OF FOLKLORE**

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## **MYTHOLOGY AND LEGEND**

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**VOLUME ONE: A-I** 

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# CONSULTANTS

Melville J. Herskovits

Alexander H. Krappe

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## PREFACE

This book is an experiment: an attempt to cut a cross section into the spiritual content of the world, an attempt to gather together in one place several thousand things heretofore scattered in learned journals, memoirs, monographs, manuscripts, rare and out-of-print books, records transcribed by working anthropologists and folklorists in the field,—and in people's heads. Completeness was an end never contemplated. Sir George and Lady Alice Gomme gave up their idea of compiling a folklore dictionary when, at the end of four years, they had filled two large volumes with the children's games of two small islands in the world (Alice B. Gomme: *Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, London, 1894-98). A dictionary of pan-Germanic beliefs and customs, songs, tales, proverbs, riddles was 28 years in the making and runs to four volumes (H. F. Feilberg: *Bidrag til en Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål*, Copenhagen, 1886-1914); just the superstitions of Germany fill ten volumes (Hans Bachtold-Staubi and Eduard von Hoffman-Krayer: *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928). The archives of the nations contain folktales, songs, proverbs, riddles that would mount into millions if all totals were added. Completeness can never be an end until there comes an end to spontaneous song and creative symbol, or an end to the grim or humorous "saw" with which the human mind meets its situation.

Here are, however, gathered together a representative sampling of the gods of the world, the folk heroes, culture heroes, tricksters, and numskulls, . . . of the folklore of animals, birds, plants, insects, stones, gems, minerals, stars, . . . dances, ballads, folk songs, . . . festivals and rituals, . . . food customs and their significances, . . . games and children's rimes, riddles, tongue twisters, . . . diviners and "lookmen," witches, witchcraft, omens, magic charms and spells, . . . supernatural impregnations, . . . and the supernatural beings of folk belief and story, such as demons, ogres, fairies, and "little people," guardian spirits, werewolves, vampires, zombies. Here are folktales—and motifs out of folktale, ballad, and song. Here are the kings asleep in the mountain, the belief in the hero, or savior, who will come again, and some hundred other instances of the inextinguishable hope that all that is wrong in the world can somehow be put right, and the ways (magic, prayer, or song) in which men try to put things right. In addition are the general covering regional articles and articles on specific folklore subjects (ballad, dance, riddles, etc.) by specialists in those respective fields.

The book is called a dictionary, in that, as stated above, it can not be exhaustive, and in that it deals with the terminology of a special branch of knowledge.

Many things are included because of their great diffusion, known importance, or fame, others for their uniqueness or obscurity. Often what looks like a nonce occurrence of a motif or practice turns out to be a clue to something huge or widespread but hitherto unguessed, or a touchstone to the philosophy of a culture.

The book belongs to no "school" of folklore, adheres to no "method," advocates no "theory." It has tried to represent all schools, all methods, all theories, and to state their findings and dilemmas. Each contributor has been free to hold to his own convictions, enthusiasms, and skepticisms. All is valid that represents the state and scope of the folklore field today. The twenty-odd definitions entered under FOLKLORE in the book represent the varying and controversial points of view of modern folklore scholarship.

The material is not divided into rigid percentages. Out of the many cultures touched upon, Greek and Roman myth and religion have probably been more sparingly treated than any other, because these are the best known, and most voluminously written. Those parts of Greek and Roman culture most inextricably involved in other folklores, however, have been treated with especial care (e.g. Cronus the swallower, the wonder-working Twins, Hercules the strong man, Perseus the dragon slayer). American Indian and Negro (Old and New World) have received somewhat fuller representation because of the new materials which keep piling up and pouring in, and because of the growing wave of interest in these peoples.

Statements of location throughout the book, such as those placing a belief in West Africa, a tale in central Europe, a practice among the Eskimo, etc., do not mean that *all* the people so named throughout the region are involved, but that the term is used *among* and *by* some of the people named, not necessarily a majority, and within the region named. *Hoodoo hand* is not a term common to *all* "southern United States Negroes," for instance, but since the term is used by southern United States Negroes it must be thus identified and located.

In the case of transliteration from non-Roman alphabets, the book has accepted the systems of its contributing specialists. Spellings of Hindu names follow those adopted in the Penzer-Tawney *Ocean of Story*. Irish spellings, for the most part throughout the book, follow the Irish system of showing aspiration of a consonant by the superior dot, rather than by adding *h* to the aspirated consonant (formerly a more common transliteration). In regard to the names from Greek mythology, however, the familiar spelling has been given preference, with the idea that such choice will not confuse the scholar, whereas such transliterations as *Iachkos* (instead of the more widely used *Iacchus*) would not be as acceptable to the general reader. The same preference has been followed with many words from Egyptian and the Semitic languages.

Many things which now seem hidden to the casual reader will be made plain in the index. Only the initiate familiar with accepted motif phraseology will think of looking in alphabetical place for such terms as absurdity rebukes absurdity, catching a man's breath, holding down the hat, stolen goods sold to owner, etc., etc. These "handles," familiar to the folktale scholar, are numbered according to the well-known system of Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. All these, and a number of other possible seeming obscurities, will be indexed and classified.

The editor wants to express the deepest gratitude to the four consultants in this work and to all the contributors. Everybody who has been asked to help has gone the second mile with enthusiasm and generosity. Above all I am indebted to my associate editor, Jerome Fried, for advice and knowledge, unfailing support, and persevering work.

September, 1949

MARIA LEACH

# CONTRIBUTORS

**BALYS, JONAS (1909- )** [JB]  
Lithuanian folklorist and ethnologist. Universities of Kaunas, Lithuania, and Graz and Vienna, Austria. Leader of newly founded Lithuanian Folklore Archives, 1935; Dozent of Folklore, University of Vilnius, Lithuania, 1942. Associate member, Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, 1941; later Director of the Institute of Ethnology at the Academy. Assistant for the *Deutsches Volksliedarchiv* (German Folksong Archives), Freiburg i. Br., 1914-45; Associate Professor for Folklore and Ethnology, Baltic or Displaced Persons University, Hamburg, Germany, 1946-47; since Oct. 1948, Instructor in the Eastern European Area, and Researches Assistant to the Dean of the Graduate School, Indiana University. Member, International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore. Chief published works: *Motiv-Index of Lithuanian Narrative Folklore* (1935); *Donner und Teufel in den Volkserzählungen der baltischen und skandinavischen Völker* (1939); *Lithuanian Folk Legends*, Vol. I (1940); *Hundert Folk Ballads* (1941); *Lithuanian Folk Tales* (1945); "Litauische Hochzeitsbräuche," *Contributions of Baltic University*, No. 9 (1946); "Litauische Fastnachtsbräuche," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Bd. 45, pp. 40-69 (1948); *Handbook of Lithuanian Folklore*, 2 vols. (1948); "Die Sagen von den litauischen Feen," *Die Nachbarn*, I (1948).

**BARBEAU, MARIUS** [MB]  
Anthropologist and folklorist for Canadian government, National Museum of Canada, 1911-. Specialist in ethnology and history of Huron-Iroquois, and tribes of northern Rockies and Pacific Coast. Student of French and Indian lore of the frontiers, in connection with American Folklore Society, 1915. President, American Folklore Society, 1917; co-editor, *Journal of American Folklore*, since 1917. Pioneer in French folklore collection. At present holds professorships at both the universities of Laval and Montreal. Bio-bibliography published by Clarisse Cardin (*Archives de Folklore*, II, 1947); 576 titles to end of 1946. Another 100 are now to be added. Of this total, 100 are of books and separates.

**BASCOM, WILLIAM R. (1912- )** [WRB]  
Anthropologist. B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1933; M.A., 1936; Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1939. Field work: summer 1935, among Kiowa Indians of Oklahoma; 1937-38, among Yoruba of Nigeria as Fellow of the Social Science Research Council of New York City; summer 1939, among New World Negroes in Georgia and South Carolina; 1942-45, three trips to West Africa as U.S. Government employee in Nigeria and the Gold Coast; 1946, Ponape, Eastern Caroline Islands; summer 1948, Cuba, on grant from The Viking Fund. Assistant Professor in Anthropology, Northwestern University, 1946-. Publications: *The Sociological Role of the Yoruba Cult Group*, Memoir 63, American Anthropological Association; "West and Central Africa," in *Most of the World* (edited by Ralph Linton); "The Sanctions of Ifa Divination," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*; "The Relationship of Yoruba Folklore to Divining" and "Literary Style in Yoruba Riddles," *Journal of American Folklore*; "The Principle of Seniority in the Social Structure of the Yoruba" and "West Africa and the Complexity of Primitive Culture," *American Anthropologist*; "Ponapean Prestige Economy," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, and other articles.

**BOGGS, RALPH STEELE (1901- )** [RSB]  
Panamerican and Spanish folklore scholar. Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1926; Ph.D., 1930. Instructor, University of Puerto Rico, 1926-28; Professor of Spanish and Folklore, University of North Carolina, from 1929. Director, Folklore Americas, an association of folklorists of the New World; member of many organizations in the field. Bibliography: annual classified and commented Bibliography in the March number of *Southern Folklore Quarterly*; *Index of Spanish Folktales* (FFC #90, 1930); *Folklore, an Outline for Individual and Group Study* (1929); *Spanish Folktales* (1932); *Leyendas épicas de España* (1935); *Three Golden Oranges and Other Spanish Folktales* (1936); *Outline History of Spanish Literature* (1937); *Bibliografía del folklore mexicano* (1939); *Bibliography of Latin American Folklore* (1940); and many articles. Ready for publication: a book on folklore and folklorists of the United States and a classification of folklore.

**BOTKIN, BENJAMIN ALBERT (1901- )** [BAB]  
American folklorist. A.B., Harvard University, 1920; A.M.,

Columbia University, 1921; Ph.D., University of Nebraska, 1931. University of Oklahoma faculty, 1921-40. Julius Rosenwald Fellow, 1937-38; resigned from University of Oklahoma to pursue government work, 1940. Folklore editor, Federal Writers' Project, 1938-39; chief editor, Writers' Unit, Library of Congress Project, 1940-41; Associate Fellow in folklore, Library of Congress, 1940-41; Fellow of Library of Congress in folklore since 1941. Chief, Archive of American Folk Song, Library of Congress, 1942-45; resigned to give full time to writing, 1945. President, Oklahoma Folklore Society, 1928-40; President, American Folklore Society, 1944. Co-founder and first chairman, Joint Committee on Folk Arts, WPA, 1938-39. Editor: *Folk-Say, A Regional Miscellany*, 4 vols. (1929-32); *The Southwest Scene* (1931); *A Treasury of American Folklore* (1944); *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (1945); *Folk Music of the United States from Records in the Archive of American Folk Song, Albums VII-X* (1945); *A Treasury of New England Folklore* (1947); *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* (1949). Author: *The American Play-Party Song, with a Collection of Oklahoma Texts and Tunes* (doctoral dissertation, University Studies, University of Nebraska) (1937).

**BRAKELEY, THERESA C.** [TCB]  
Writer and editor. B.A., Radcliffe College, 1934. Formerly member of editorial staff, Funk & Wagnalls Company. Writer and editor in book, magazine, advertising fields. Member, American Folklore Society.

**ESPINOSA, AURELIO MACEDONIO (1880- )** [AME]  
American Spanish dialectologist and folklorist. B.A., University of Colorado, 1902; M.A., 1904; Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1909. Professor of Modern Languages, University of New Mexico, 1902-10. From 1910, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and Professor of Romanic Languages, Stanford University; retired, 1947. Investigator and productive scholar in Spanish dialectology, folklore, and metrics; over 100 articles published in philological and folklore journals in Europe and America in these fields; in addition, eight volumes in Spanish dialectology, folklore, and literature. Among these: *Estudios sobre el español de Nuevo Méjico*, 2 vols. (1930, 1935); *Cuentos populares españoles*, 3 vols. (1946-47); *Historia de la literatura española* (1939). In 1920, collected folklore materials in Spain under auspices of American Folklore Society. Editor, *Hispania*, 1917-26; Associate Editor, *Journal of American Folklore*, 1916-37, and *Language*, 1925-28. President, American Folklore Society, 1923, 1924. 1922, King Alfonso XIII conferred upon him the title of Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica; 1946, Spanish government conferred the title of Knight of the Grand Cross of Alfonso el Sabio.

**FOSTER, GEORGE M. (1913- )** [GMF]  
American anthropologist. B.S., Northwestern University, 1935; Ph.D., University of California, 1941. Joined Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution, 1943; taught anthropology at the National School of Anthropology, Mexico City; took students into the field for ethnological studies, primarily among the Tarascan Indians of Michoacan and neighboring mestizo peoples. Director of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Washington, 1946. Research among the Yuki Indians of northern California (1938), Popoluca Indians of Vera Cruz, Mexico (1940 and 1941). Articles on California Indians and folklore, Mexican and Latin American ethnology, linguistics, folklore, primitive economics, etc. Monographs: *A Primitive Mexican Economy* (1942); *A Summary of Yuki Culture* (1944); *Sierra Popoluca Folklore and Beliefs* (1944); *Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan* (1948); *Sierra Popoluca Speech* (with Mary L. Foster, 1948).

**FUNK, CHARLES EARLE (1881- )** [CEF]  
American lexicographer. B.S., University of Colorado, 1904. Co-editor, with Dr. Frank H. Vizetelly, *New Comprehensive Standard Dictionary*; associate editor, *New Standard Encyclopedia* and *New International Yearbooks*, 1931-38. Editor-in-chief of the Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionaries and New International Year Books, 1938-47; produced *Junior Standard Dictionary* (1940); *New Practical Standard Dictionary* (1946). *New College Standard Dictionary* (1947). Honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, 1936. Author: *What's the Name, Please* (1936); *25,000 Words, Accented, Spelled, and Divided* (with L. A. Leslie, 1932); *A Hoc*

on *Ice*, and *Other Curious Expressions* (1918); various articles for magazine publication.

CASTER, THODOR H. (1906- ) [THC]  
M.A., University of London, 1936; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1942. Professor of Comparative Religion and Folklore, Asia Institute, New York; Visiting Professor of Comparative Religion, Dropsie College, Philadelphia; Lecturer in Semitic Civilizations, New York University. Formerly: Chief, Hebraic Section, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Curator, Department of Semitic and Egyptian Antiquities, The Wellcome Museum, London. Hon. Lecturer in Old Testament Archaeology, New College, University of London, 1937. Member of Council, Folk-Lore Society of England, 1937-43. Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society. Visiting Professor of Old Testament, University of Chicago, 1918. Author of numerous studies in religions and civilizations of the Ancient Near East in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; *Folk-Lore*; *Religions*; *Review of Religion*; *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; *Iraq*; *Archiv Orientalni*; *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*; *Orientalia*; *Archiv fuer Orientalforschung*; *Jewish Quarterly Review*; *Expository Times*, etc. Prominent in the interpretation of the recently discovered Canaanite literature of Ras Shamra-Ugarit. His major work, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, is to appear shortly.

HARMON, MAMIE (1906- ) [MH]  
Artist and editor. B.A., Wesleyan College, 1926; M.A., University of Chicago, 1927. Studied art with Chinese tutors and in Paris, and at the Art Students' League of New York. Lived abroad, 1928-32, and observed at first hand the folk art of a number of countries. During the following decade, became associate editor, *The New International Year Book*, and the *Standard Dictionaries*, writing on art and art terminology. Prepared a standard textbook in the fine arts, *The Natural Way to Draw* (1941), a posthumous resumé of the teaching methods of Kimon Nicolaides. Particularly interested in symbolism as a practicing artist; also active in graphic arts. Member, American Institute of Graphic Arts.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE JEAN (1895- ) [MH]  
Anthropologist. Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1920; M.A., Columbia University, 1921; Ph.D., 1923. Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University, 1935- . Guggenheim Memorial Fellow, 1937-38. Led field expeditions in Dutch Guiana, West Africa, Haiti, Trinidad, Brazil. Member and chairman of various committees on music and anthropology for the Department of State, National Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies. Member, permanent council, International Anthropological Congress. Officer of the Order of Honor and Merit, Haiti. Honorary Fellow, Royal Anthropological Institute. Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science (vice president, section H, 1934). Society for Research in Child Development. Member, American Anthropological Association (councilor, president, central section, 1939). American Association of Physical Anthropologists. American Folklore Society (president, 1945). Société des Africanistes de Paris. International African Institute (member, governing body). International Institute for Afro-American Studies. Editor, *American Anthropologist*, 1949- . Bibliography: *The American Negro—A Study in Racial Crossing* (1928); *The Anthropometry of the American Negro* (1930); *An Outline of Dahomean Religious Beliefs* (with Frances S. Herskovits, 1933); *Rebel Destiny. Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana* (with F. S. Herskovits, 1934); *Suriname Folklore* (with F. S. Herskovits) with transcription of Suriname Songs and Musico-logical Analysis by Dr. M. Kolinski (1937); *Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2 vols. (1938); *Acculturation* (1938); *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples* (1940); *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941); *Backgrounds of African Art* (1946); *Trinidad Village* (with F. S. Herskovits, 1947); *Man and His Works* (1948); many articles in journals, reviews, collections, etc.

HERZOG, GEORGE (1901- ) [GH]  
Primitive and folk music and folklore scholar. Hungarian Academy of Music, Budapest, 1917-19; Hochschule fuer Musik, Berlin, 1920-22; University of Berlin, 1922-24; Columbia University, 1925-29; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1928. Assistant, Phonograph Archives, University of Berlin, 1922-24; Assistant Professor in Anthropology, 1923-25, Yale University, and 1936-48, Columbia University; Professor of Anthropology, Indiana University, 1948- . In charge, 1930-31, University of Chicago expedition to Liberia; 1939, Columbia University field party

for the study of Comanche language and culture. In charge, 1941-48, Archives of Primitive Music, Columbia University. See *Archives of Folk and Primitive Music*, INDIANA UNIVERSITY. His field work includes studies and surveys of Southwestern Indian music (1927), Dakota Indian poetry and music (1928), Maine folk songs (1929), Navaho Indian poetry and music (1929, 1931, 1932), Pima Indian poetry, language, and music (1929, 1933, 1936), Eastern Liberian music, language, poetry, and native cultures (1930-31), the music of the Indian tribes represented at the Chicago World's Fair (1933), Comanche Indian language and music (1939). He has also made various studies of American Indian, African, Micronesian, Siberian music; Hungarian and Yugoslav folk music; Yugoslav epic poetry; Jewish ritual music; American Indian poetry; African drum-signalling. He has collected and recorded some 3,000 primitive and folk melodies. His bibliography, in addition to many articles in journals, includes *Jabo Proverbs from Liberia* (with Charles G. Bloch, 1926); *The Coward Switch and Other West African Stories* (with Harold Courlander, 1947); transcriptions of melodies in P. Barry, F. Eckstorm, M. Smith, *British Ballads from Maine* (1929); "Die Musik auf Truk" in A. Kraemer, *Truk* (1933); "Die Musik der Karolinen-Inseln" in A. Ellers, *Westkarolinen*, vol. 2 (1936); "Research in Primitive and Folk Music in the United States—A Survey," *Bulletin 24, American Council of Learned Societies* (1936), transcriptions of melodies in John A. and Alan Lomax, *Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly* (1935); "A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles," *JAIL* 49: 283-417; "Etats-Unis d'Amérique" in *Folklore Musical—Musique et Chantons Populaires* (1939); transcription and analysis of Tutelo music in F. G. Speck, *The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony* (1942).

JAKOBSON, SVATAVA PIKOVÁ [SPJ]  
Slavic linguist and folklore scholar. Prague Classical Gymnasium, Collège d'Angoulême, France; Ph.D., Charles University, Prague, 1933. Research Fellow, Social Institute of the City of Prague, 1933-35. Fieldwork in folklore, 1931-33, in Czechoslovakia, and 1935-37, in Bulgaria. Study trips to Poland (1930), Yugoslavia (1930), Rumania (1935), Hungary (1937). Contributor to the folklore sections of *Socialist Problems and Sociological Review*. Produced, with Prof. Uehla, "The Vanishing World," 1932, an ethnographic sound film devoted to Moravian popular traditions, exhibited both in Europe and America. Studied Scandinavian literature and oral tradition and the organization of Scandinavian ethnographic museums, 1939-41, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. *École Libre des Hautes Études*, New York, 1942-46, teaching Czech language and literature. Compiled anthology of folk songs of the United Nations for the State Department's world broadcasts, 1943-44. Lecturer in Czech and Slovak language, literature, and oral tradition, Columbia University, 1943- . Lecturer of Slavic Languages and Literatures (Oral and Written), Harvard University, 1949- . Lectured on Slavic folklore at Connecticut Academy, 1946, American Folklore Institute, Indiana University, 1946, American Folklore Society, Chicago, 1946, Brooklyn College, 1948. Member, American Folklore Society and Editorial Committee for the Handbook of this Society. After 6 years of intensive field work in Czech and Slovak folklore in America, she established an archive of American Slavic folklore, including manuscript records, wire recordings, a collection of original handwritten and printed song books, diaries, etc.; distributed a questionnaire among American immigrants and natives of Czech and Slovak background and published the results in the *New York City*, 1943-45; is completing a book about Czechoslovak folklore in New York City and vicinity.

JAMISON, RAYMOND DELOY (1895- ) [RDJ]  
Scholar of Chinese folklore, history, and literature. Studied and lectured at Universities of Wisconsin, Chicago, Montpellier, Florence, Vienna, and London, 1913-25. Employed in several capacities by the Ministry of Education of the National Chinese Government, 1925-38. Administrator of Consultant Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1938-42. American National Red Cross, Consulting Historian, 1942-48. Publications: *Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore*, 1932; other publications on social history, history of literature, etc.

JOTTE, NATALIE F. [NFI]  
Cultural anthropologist. B.A., Barnard College, 1934; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1940. Studied acculturation among Fox Indians of Iowa, 1937; research on food habits of primitive peoples with V. Stefansson, 1938-41; with Committee on Food Habits, National Research Council, 1942-44; researching food habits of selected groups in the United States, in connection

with problems of wartime emergency feeding; also worked on group reactions to concentrated emergency foods. Prepared material on food habits of seven cultures and culture areas for Common Council for American Unity. Work on cultural backgrounds of female puberty for seven Western culture groups, 1946; staff of Research in Contemporary Cultures, Columbia University, analyzing culture of East European Jews, 1947-. Author of articles and monographs on foods and food patterns in various magazines and journals.

**KRAPPE, ALEXANDER HAGERTY (1894-1947)** [AHK] International scholar, folklorist, and linguist. Early schooling in England, Holland, Germany; student of Romance languages and medieval history, University of Berlin. A.M., University of Iowa, 1917; Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1919. Assistant Professor, University of Minnesota, 1924-28; Graduate Lecturer, Columbia University, 1926, 1928; private scholar, 1928-1947. Member: (British) Folk-Lore Society (1922), American Folklore Society (1912), Delegate, Folk-Lore Congress, London, 1928. Hon. Fellow, American-Scandinavian Foundation (1930). Corresponding Member, Hispanic Society of America (1930); full Member (1934); awarded the Medal of Arts and Literature of the Society, 1915. Membre correspondant, Société de Correspondance Hispanique, Bordeaux (1940). Membre de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves et Professeur titulaire, Université Libre de Bruxelles (1944). His bibliography includes *The Legend of Roderick* (1923); *Balor with the Evil Eye* (1927); *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques* (1928); *The Science of Folk-Lore* (1930); *Mythologie universelle* (1930); *La Genèse des Mythes* (1938). Articles and monographs have appeared in *Folk-Lore*, *Modern Language Review*, *Romania*, *Revue Hispanique*, *Bulletin Hispanique*, *Revue Celtique*, *Revue Archéologique*, *Revue des études anciennes*, *Revue des études grecques*, *Le Moyen Age*, *Revue des études slaves*, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, *Mercur de France*, *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, *Lares*, *Rheinisches Museum f. Philologie*, *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, *Mitteilungen d. Schlesischen Gesellschaft f. Volkskunde*, *Neophilologus*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *Classical Philology*, *Speculum*, *Philological Quarterly*, *California Folklore Quarterly*, etc.

**KURATH, GERTRUDE PROKOSCH (Tula) (1903-)** [GPK] Dancer and folk dance scholar. B.A., Bryn Mawr College, 1922; M.A., 1928; Yale School of Drama, 1929-30. Professional dance training in several systems: Wigman, Humphrey-Weidman, Mensendieck, Dalcroze, Shawn, Russian ballet, folk dance (particularly English and Morris dancing at Bryn Mawr). Special research in Medieval and Renaissance dance and music and American folk themes, 1932-46. Produced dance dramas to specially composed music: *Hurricane*, *Francis of Assisi*, *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, *The Marriage of the Moon*; research on American Indian dances for *Marriage of the Moon*, 1936, and continuously since 1942. Field work in Mexico, 1946; Sauk and Fox Indians, 1945, 1947; Iroquois Indians (Cayuga of Six Nations Reserve, Seneca of Allegany Reservation), 1948. Member, American Folklore Society (on Education Committee), American Anthropological Association, Archaeological Society of New Mexico. Treasurer, Michigan Folklore Society. Her bibliography includes numerous articles on dance theory and comparative study of the dance in journals and reviews.

**LEACH, MACEDWARD** [MEL] American ballad scholar and collector. B.A., University of Illinois, 1916; M.A., 1917; Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1926. Associate Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania. Secretary-Treasurer since 1941 of American Folklore Society. Since 1948, Liaison Fellow, American Anthropological Association. Member, Medieval Academy of America; Council of Learned Societies. Publications: *Amis and Amiloun*, Early English Text Society (1937); articles in various journals.

**LOOMIS, ROGER SIHERMAN (1887-)** [RSL] Scholar in Celtic folklore and Arthurian romance. Williams College; Harvard University; B.Litt., New College, Oxford. Since 1920, at Columbia University; Professor of English, 1947-. Special interest in Celtic folklore and literature and their relation to Arthurian romance began in 1923; numerous articles in scholarly journals on the subject since then. Bibliography includes *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (1927); *Thomas of Britain. The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt*, revised edition (1931); *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (with Laura Hibbard Loomis, 1938); *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (1949).

**LUOMALA, KATHARINE** [RL] Anthropologist. B.A., 1931; M.A., 1933; Ph.D., 1936, University of California. Study at Bernice P. Bishop Museum and field work among the Diegueño, 1934; ethnographical summary of Navaho culture and history, 1936-37; research fellowship, American Association of University Women, for study of mythology, 1937-38; Lecturer in Anthropology, University of California, and assistant to A. L. Kroeber in research on art of North and South American Indians, 1941; Yale University Fellow, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for research in Polynesian anthropology, especially mythology, 1938-40; Assistant Head, Community Analysis Section, War Relocation Authority, 1944-46. At present, Assistant Professor in Anthropology, University of Hawaii (from 1946); Associate in Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum (from 1941); Associate Editor, *Journal of American Folklore* (from 1947); Fellow and Council Member, American Anthropological Association; Member, Society for Applied Anthropology, Polynesian Society, American Folklore Society, American Anthropological Association, Anthropological Society of Hawaii, Anthropological Society of Washington, D.C., American Association of University Professors. Her bibliography includes *Mauui-of-a-thousand-tricks*, *His Oceanic and European Biographers* (in press); *The Native Dog of Polynesia in Culture and Myth* (in press); *Mauui, Tinirau, and Rupe, Variations on a Polynesian Mythological Theme* (in press), "Missionary Contributions to Polynesian Anthropology" in *Specialized Studies in Polynesian Anthropology* (1947); *Oceanic, American Indian and African Myths of Snaring the Sun* (1940); "Documentary Research in Polynesian Mythology," *Polynesian Soc., Jour.*, 49: 175-95 (1940); "Notes on the Development of Polynesian Hero Cycles," *Polynesian Soc., Jour.*, 49: 367-374 (1940); "More Notes on Ra'a," *Polynesian Soc., Jour.*, 49 (1940); "A Hero Among Gods," *International Quarterly* (1940); "Ho'opa'apa'a," *California Monthly* (Nov. 1938); *Navaho Life of Yesterday and Today* (1938); "Dreams and Dream Interpretations of the Diegueño Indians of Southern California" (with G. Toffelmeyer), *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 5: 195-225 (1936); publications on applied anthropology relating to the program of the War Relocation Authority, Department of Interior, in regard to American citizens and aliens of Japanese descent; and restricted reports on attitudinal surveys on various subjects in the U.S. for Program Surveys Division, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

**MÉTRAUX, ALFRED (1902-)** [AM] Anthropologist, ethnologist, and folklorist. Studied in Lausanne, Paris, and Gothenburg, Sweden. Graduate, National School of Oriental Languages, Paris; École des Hautes Études (Sorbonne); Docteur ès lettres, Sorbonne, 1928. Director, Institute of Ethnology, National University of Tucuman, Argentina, 1928-34. Editor, *Revista del Instituto de la Universidad de Tucuman*, the first international anthropological journal in Latin America, 1929-. Headed the French expedition to Easter Island, 1934. Staff member, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1935-37; visiting professor, University of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles) and Yale University, 1937-39; in South America, Guggenheim Foundation fellowship, 1939-41. Staff member, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, for *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1941-43. Assistant Director, Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, 1943-45; Director of Section Studies and Research, Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, 1946; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1948. Various anthropological expeditions in South America, mainly in the Argentine, Bolivia, and Paraguay, and many South Seas islands. At present, engaged in a wide anthropological survey of a Haitian valley in connection with UNESCO's pilot project in fundamental education. Many articles in scholarly journals and reviews, e.g. a series on the Uru-Chipaya of the central Andes in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 1935-36. Other publications: *La civilisation matérielle des Tupi-Guarani* (1928); *The Ethnology of Easter Island* (1939); *L'Île de Paques* (1942); *The Native Tribes of Eastern Bolivia and Western Mato Grosso* (1942); *Myths and Tales of the Pilaga Indians (Gran Chaco)* (1946).

**MISH, JOHN LEON (1909-)** [JLM] Scholar in Eastern studies. Universities of Breslau (1926-30) and Berlin (1930-34). Ph.D., Berlin, 1934. Then went to Poland, where he was at first Professor of Chinese and Japanese, later Deputy Director, of the School for Oriental Studies, Warsaw; concurrently, Instructor in Japanese, Warsaw University. Chinese Liaison Officer in Bombay for Government of India,

1941; King's Medal for Service in the Cause of Freedom (1946). Acting Chief, Oriental Division, New York Public Library, 1946-. Associate Professor of Japanese Language and History, School for Asiatic Studies, Asia Institute, New York. Publications include *The Conditional Sentence in Classical Chinese* (1936); articles in various periodicals (in this country, the *Saturday Review of Literature* and *New York Public Library Bulletin*).

POTTER, CHARLES FRANCIS (1885-) [CFP]  
Lecturer, author, clergyman. B.A., Bucknell University, 1907; M.A., 1916; B.D., Newton Theological Institution, 1918; S.T.M., 1917; Hon. Litt.D., De Landas University, 1940. Minister, Baptist churches, 1908-14; Unitarian churches, 1914-25; Universalist Church of the Divine Paternity, New York, 1927-29. Professor of Comparative Religion, Antioch College, 1925-27. Founder and Leader, First Humanist Society of New York, 1929-. Founder and First President, Euthanasia Society of America, 1938-. Author of many books and magazine articles on comparative religion, folklore, and folk rimes. Bibliography includes *The Story of Religion, with Special Reference to Atavistic Survivals and Parallel Customs in Ethnic Religions and Modern Cults* (1929); *Humanism, A New Religion; Humanizing Religion; Is That In the Bible? Technique of Happiness; Beyond The Senses; The Preacher and I; Treasury of American Folklore; Creative Personality; Your Neighbor's Religion* (in press).

SEGER, CHARLES (LOUIS) (1886-) [CS]  
Musician and musicologist. B.A., Harvard College, 1908. Professor of Music, University of California, 1912-19; Lecturer and teacher, Institute of Musical Art and New School for Social Research, New York, 1921-35; Chief, Music Division, Pan American Union, 1941-48; Chief, Division of Music and Visual Arts, Pan American Union, 1948-. Member: Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft (vice president and acting president, 1934-35); New York Musicological Society (chairman, 1930-34); American Musicological Society (vice president, 1934-35; president, 1945-46); Société Internationale de Musicologie; American Folklore Society; Southeastern Folklore Society; Music Educators National Conference, Music Teachers National Association; Music Library Association; International Society for General Semantics. Miscellaneous musical compositions. Author: *Harmonic Structure and Elementary Composition* (with E. G. Strickler, 1916); *Folk Song, U.S.A.* (with J. A. and Alan Lomax, and Ruth Seeger, 1947); many articles on music, special chapters, etc., in journals, surveys, encyclopedias.

SMITH, MARIAN W. [MWS]  
Anthropologist. B.A., Barnard College, 1929; M.A., Columbia University, 1934; Ph.D., 1938. Field work: 1935-36, 1938, 1945, among American Indians of the Columbia; 1941-43 and during trip to New York, British Columbia, etc., 1944-49, during war work, on Japanese culture. Taught anthropology at Barnard College, City College, Brooklyn College, New York University, Vassar College, Columbia University. Editor, *American Ethnological Society*; Secretary, Section H (Anthropology), American Association for the Advancement of Science; 1st Vice President, American Folklore Society. Books: *The Puysallup-Nisqually; Indians of the Urban Northwest* (in press); *Archaeology of the Columbia-Fraser Region* (in press). Articles and reviews of subjects relating to India, articles, etc., on anthropological subjects, in various journals.

TAYLOR, ARCHER (1890-) [AT]  
Germanic scholar and comparative folklorist. B.A., Swarthmore College, 1909; M.A., University of Pennsylvania, 1910; Ph.D., Harvard University, 1915. Instructor, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Washington University, 1915-25; Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, 1925-39; Professor of Folklore, 1938-39; Professor of German, University of California, 1939-. Editor, *Journal of American Folklore* (1941); editor, *California Folklore Quarterly* (now *Western Folklore*), 1942-. Honorary member, Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde; Gustav Adolfs Akademi för Folklivsforskning; Norsk Videnskabels Selskab (Oslo); Finnish Literary Society; Finno-Ugric Society; Finnish Academy of Sciences; Sociedad Folklórica Argentina; Sociedad Folklórica Mexicana; Folklore of Ireland Society; Fellow of the Medieval Academy; Fellow of the Newberry Library. Author: *The Proverbs of Sweden and Sven i Rosengård; a Study in the Dissemination of a Ballad* (1931); contributor to the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* and the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*;

*A Collection of Welsh Riddles* (with Vernam E. Hull, 1942); *The Literary Riddle Before 1600* (1918).

THOMPSON, STITH (1885-) [ST]  
Educator, author, folk tale scholar. B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1909; M.A., University of California, 1912; Ph.D., Harvard University, 1914; Litt.D., University of North Carolina, 1916. Bonheim Research Fellow from University of California to Harvard University, 1912-14; Professor of English, Colorado College, 1918-20; Associate Professor of English, University of Maine, 1920-21; Professor of English, Indiana University, 1929-39; Professor of English and Folklore, 1939-. Dean of the Graduate school, 1947-. United States delegate and member of executive committee, International Folklore Congress, Paris, 1937; vice president, International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore Congress, Edinburgh, 1937; technical advisor in folklore to Ministry of Education of Venezuela, 1947; lectures throughout South America; director, Folklore Institute of America, 1917-. Member, American Folklore Society (president 1937-40); Modern Language Association of America; Medieval Academy of America; American Philosophical Society; honorary member, Gustav Adolfs Akademi för Folklivsforskning (Sweden); Société finno-ougrienne (Helsinki); Asociación Folklórica Argentina; Sociedad Folklórica de México; Folklore of Ireland Society; Sociedade Brasileira de Folklore; Instituto de Investigaciones Folklóricas de la Universidad de Chile; Servicio de Investigaciones Folklóricas Nacionales (Venezuela); Folklore of the Americas. Author: *European Tales among the North American Indians* (1919); *The Types of the Folktale* (1928); *Tales of the North American Indians* (1929); *British Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (with Curtis H. Page, 1929); *Our Heritage of World Literature* (1938); *English Literature and Its Backgrounds* (with B. D. N. Grebanier, 1939); *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols. (1932-37); *The Folktale* (1946).

VOEGELIN, ERMINIE W. (1903-) [EWV]  
Anthropologist and folklorist. B.A., University of California (Berkeley), 1923; M.A., 1931; Ph.D., Yale University, 1939. Field work: Tubatulabal (California); Shawnee (Oklahoma); Ojibwa (Michigan and Ontario); Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, Wintun, Maidu (California). Indiana Fellow in Anthropology, Yale University, 1933-35; Research Associate in Anthropology, University of California (Berkeley), 1935; instructor in anthropology, Indiana University (Folklore Institute), 1943, 1945, 1946, 1947. Review editor, *Journal of American Folklore*, 1940; editor, 1941-46. President, American Folklore Society, 1948; Guggenheim Fellow for study of unwritten literature of native North America, 1948. Executive secretary, American Anthropological Association, 1947-. Fellow, American Anthropological Association; member, American Folklore Society, Indiana Academy of Science, California Folklore Society. Major publications: "Kiowa-Crow Mythological Affiliations," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1931); *Tubatulabal Ethnography*, *Anthropological Records* 2 (1938); *Culture Element Survey; Northeastern California*, *Anthropological Records* 10 (1940); *Mortuary Customs of the Shawnee and Other Eastern Woodlands Tribes*, *Prehistory Research Series*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1944); *Linguistic Map of North American Indians*, *American Ethnological Society*, Publication No. 21 (with C. F. Voegelin, 1944).

WATERMAN, RICHARD A. (1914-) [RAW]  
Anthropologist. B.A., Santa Barbara College, 1937; M.A., Claremont College, 1941; Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1943. Faculty, Northwestern University, 1943-. His publications include *Folk Songs of Puerto Rico*, *Archive of American Folk Song*, *Library of Congress* (1916); "Afro-Bahian Cult Music," *Boletín Latino-Americano de Musica*, Vol. 6 (with M. J. Herskovits, 1947); *Bibliography of Asiatic Musics*, serially published by *Notes (Journal of the Music Library Association)* beginning with 2nd Series, Vol. V, No. 1 (Dec., 1917); "Hot Rhythm in Negro Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1948).

FRIED, JEROME [JF]  
GOTTLIEB, GERALD [GG]  
HAAS, SALLY PEPPER [SPH]  
HAZEN, JOHN W. [JWH]  
KJÖSTERUD-RANDBY, GUDLAUG [GKR]  
LEACH, MARIA [ML]  
ROTHMAN, JULIUS L. [JLR]  
SMITH, GRACE PARTRIDGE [GRS]

STANDARD DICTIONARY  
of  
FOLKLORE, MYTHOLOGY, AND LEGEND

These old myth-covering tales—whether we call them Greek or Aryan or what else—are as the grass that will grow in any land.

—Fiona Macleod, *Winged Destiny*

A la troisième fontaine. . . Car voilà, il y avait une troisième fontaine. . .


—Henri Porrat, "Les Trois Fontaines,"  
in *Le Trésor des Contes*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<p>AA <i>American Anthropologist</i></p> <p>ARW <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i></p> <p>BASOR <i>Bulletin, American Schools of Oriental Research</i></p> <p>BBAE <i>Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology</i></p> <p>CFQ <i>California Folklore Quarterly</i></p> <p>Child <i>English and Scottish Popular Ballads—F. J. Child (1882-98)</i></p> <p>DGF <i>Danmarks gamle Folkeviser—S. Grundtvig and A. Olrik (1853-1920)</i></p> <p>ERE <i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics—J. Hastings (1908-27)</i></p> <p>FFC <i>Folklore Fellows Communications</i></p> <p>FUF <i>Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen</i></p> <p>GEG <i>Gelehrten Esthnischen Gesellschaft</i></p> <p>Grimm <i>Kinder- und Hausmärchen—J. and W. Grimm (1812-57)</i></p> <p>Jacobs <i>The Fables of Æsop—J. Jacobs (1894)</i></p> <p>IJAL <i>International Journal of American Linguistics</i></p> <p>JAFL <i>Journal of American Folklore</i></p> <p>JAOS <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i></p> <p>MAAA <i>Memoirs, American Anthropological Association</i></p> <p>MAFLS <i>Memoirs, American Folklore Society</i></p> <p>MIJAL <i>Memoirs, International Journal of American Linguistics</i></p> <p>MLN <i>Modern Language Notes</i></p> <p>MLQ <i>Modern Language Quarterly</i></p> <p>MLR <i>Modern Language Review</i></p>	<p>Motif Numbers of folktale motifs, appearing as letters followed by numbers (e.g. S300-395), refer to <i>Motif-Index of Folk-Literature</i> by Stith Thompson (1932-36)</p> <p>MP <i>Modern Philology</i></p> <p>MSFO <i>Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i></p> <p>NYFQ <i>New York Folklore Quarterly</i></p> <p>PMLA <i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i></p> <p>RBAE <i>Report, Bureau of American Ethnology</i></p> <p>REJ <i>Revue des Études Juives</i></p> <p>RHR <i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i></p> <p>RLC <i>Revue de Littérature Comparée</i></p> <p>SATF <i>Société des Anciens Textes Français</i></p> <p>SBWA <i>Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften</i></p> <p>SFQ <i>Southern Folklore Quarterly</i></p> <p>Type Numbers of folktale types, appearing as the word "Type" followed by a number (e.g. Type 145), refer to <i>The Types of the Folktale</i> (1928), a translation and enlargement by Stith Thompson of Antti Aarne's <i>Verzeichnis der Märchentypen</i> (1910)</p> <p>ZDMG <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i></p> <p> Symbol indicating change of author within entry (article)</p>
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See also pp. vii-x for contributors' initials.

# A

**Aa** In Assyrian and Babylonian religion, the consort of Shamash. Compare GULA.

**Aalu or Aaru** One conception of the underworld of ancient Egyptian religion. The fields of Aalu were reached through either 15 or 21 gates, each guarded by a host of evil demons armed with long knives: a concept of Osiris-worship, probably antedating the solar concept outlined in UNDERWORLD. Aalu was a kind of Elysium, where the fields were cultivated for food for the dead apart from the offerings made by their survivors.

**Aarne, Antti** (1867-1925) Finnish folklorist; docent at Helsingfors for Finnish and Comparative Folklore; specialist in folktale and fable. He was the chief exponent and developer of the geographical-historical approach to folklore research first presented by Kaarle Krohn, and became with him leader of the modern Finnish folklore-study movement. Chief works: *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, Helsingfors, 1907, and *Verzeichnis Märchentypen*, published in *FFC* #3, 1910, revised by Stith Thompson and published in #74, 1928, under the title *Types of the Folktale in World Literature*. This became the foundation stone for subsequent folklore scholarship in Europe and America. See FINNISH FOLK-LORE.

**Aaron** The first high priest of the Hebrew people; elder brother of Moses and spokesman for him to his own people and later to Pharaoh (*Ex.* iv, 14 ff.): archetype of the high-priesthood. Aaron's rod was used by him to perform many feats of magic in the attempt to convince Pharaoh to release the Israelites: it was changed into a snake and swallowed the snake-rods of the Egyptian sorcerers; it remained a rod and engulfed the rods of the magicians. Three of the plagues were brought upon the Egyptians by Aaron's hand and rod: the rivers of blood, the frogs, and the lice. In Jewish tradition, Aaron was accompanied by his son Eleazar and by Moses to his last resting-place on Mt. Hor. There, in a cave, he lay down upon a divine couch and died, leaving his vestments and office to Eleazar. The cave entrance was obliterated by God, but when the people murmured that perhaps Moses had killed Aaron in jealousy for his popularity, Aaron was shown to them on the couch, floating in the air. In Moslem legend, Moses and Aaron went up the mountain together, not knowing which was to die. In the cave they found a coffin, which did not fit Moses, but was exactly Aaron's size. Another Moslem story says that the couch of death was found in a house atop the mountain. Moses, knowing that Aaron was to die, suggested that Aaron rest for a while. The couch and Aaron on it were then transported to heaven. In Jewish legend, Aaron is in Paradise, seated beneath the Tree of Life, instructing the priesthood in its duties.

**Aaron's rod** The rod cast by Aaron before Pharaoh, which became a serpent (*Ex.* vii, 9-15) and which later blossomed (*Num.* xvii, 8): typical of the magic wand of all magicians of all times and all peoples. With it Aaron brought the first three plagues on Egypt. When Pharaoh demanded a sign of Moses and Aaron standing before him, Aaron threw down his rod and it became a serpent. When the magicians of Egypt matched that one, Aaron's rod swallowed the rods of the Egyptians. Later Aaron's rod alone of the twelve rods of the 12 princes of Israel blossomed in the tabernacle and bore ripe almonds, in token of the validity of the priesthood of Aaron and his descendants. One legend states that it was made of sapphire and inscribed with the ten Hebrew initials of the ten plagues; another that it was one of twelve rods which Moses cut from the Tree of Knowledge. Rabbinical legend says this rod was a gift from God to Adam when he was driven out of Eden. It passed from father to son until it came to Joseph, on whose death it was stolen by Jethro, the Egyptian. Jethro planted it in his garden, but could never again pull it out of the earth, until Moses came to that place, read the name of God engraved thereon, and took it up in his hand. Moses received Jethro's daughter in marriage: the traditional reward for the miracle. There are many Christian and Mohammedan modifications of these stories, among them that the rod became part of Christ's cross. The story presents three typical elements of world folklore: the magic wand, the dry rod blossoms, and the sword in the rock.

**Aarvak** In Norse mythology, one of the horses of the sun; the dawn.

**Ababinili** The supreme being of the North American Chickasaw Indians: literally, Sitting-Above or Dwelling-Above, or Loak-Ishtó-hoollo-Aba, Great Holy Fire Above. His earthly manifestation is fire, especially the annual sacred fire of the Chickasaws. He is at the same time the sun, and the spirit of fire apart from the sun, giver of warmth, light, and of all plant and animal life.

**abandoned children** A motif (\$300-395) occurring in folktales all over the world, in which one child, often two children, sometimes several, seven, or all the children of a tribe, are either abandoned or driven away. The reasons are either economic and social, such as unfitness to survive, illegitimacy, incestuous parentage, famine or destitution, disease, etc., or various other reasons common to folklore and legend, such as supernatural parentage or birth, fear of the fulfilment of a prophecy, jealousy of a relative, parent, or step-parent, alleged ungratefulness on the part of the child, as well as disobedience or stupidity.

Poverty and lack of food are the most frequent reasons; fear of the fulfilment of a prophecy is next. Invariably,

however, the abandoned children flourish and prosper. They are nursed by animals (Romulus and Remus) or fed by birds; animals provide them with magical aid; they are fostered by supernatural beings (Abraham), or picked up by kings and reared at court (Cyrus, Moses, Joseph, Oedipus, Orestes, etc.). And they frequently return to heap succoring coals of fire on the heads of their still starving parents. Perhaps the most popular of all abandoned children stories is *Hansel and Gretel*; the Filipino *Juan and Maria* is very similar.

Children abandoned in time of famine by one or both parents is a frequent motif in North American Indian tales, which almost invariably also include the supernatural animal helper and usually the return of the child or children with aid and forgiveness. In a Gros Ventre story all the children of a certain camp were deserted by the adults; they wandered off and were killed by an old woman, except for one girl and her little brother; a bird in the forest helped the girl perform the hag's tasks; a two-horned animal helped them cross a river and drowned the pursuing hag. When they caught up with their parents, they were deserted again and hung up in a tree. But the little scabby dog (also abandoned) cut them down, gave them the gift of fire, and the three lived together and prospered. The boy killed game for food by a glance, built tents, made clothes, etc., by a glance; the girl told him what to look at! Eventually the starving elders returned, were fed and forgiven, but unfortunately the boy happened to look at them and they all fell dead! The Lipan Apache abandoned children story varies, however, in the motive for abandonment and the tone of the ending. An old woman denies and abandons her own two children to marry a young man. They thrive in the forest, learning first to make and use bow and arrows, subsisting on grasshoppers, then birds, then rabbits, then deer, wearing deerskin clothes, living in deerskin tipis, etc. The story ends with the discovery of the prosperous children by the starving villagers, whom they generously feed. But the boy kills the mother with a club. The charming Cochiti story of the deer who found the abandoned baby and took him home riding on his antlers lacks the conventional ending; because of a broken tabu on the part of the over-eager mother, the little one had to remain a fawn among the deer's fawns forever. See ANIMAL NURSE; DEER BOY; REVERSAL OF FORTUNE.

**abandoned wife** The theme of a cycle of stories which almost invariably begin with the heroine's having her hands cut off and being abandoned by her family for any of several reasons. She may be abandoned in a boat (\$431), left on an island (\$433), driven into the forest (\$143), thrown into the water (\$432), or cast into a pit (\$435), but she is always discovered by a king who perceives her true worth and marries her. When her child is born she is again abandoned or cast out, this time by her husband, usually because of the slanders or intrigues of jealous or evil sisters, rivals, in-laws, etc. The common accusation is that the wife has given birth to an animal or monster or that she has murdered her child. She wanders off into the world with or without the child. Here the water of life motif enters in; eventually she comes to a magic lake or well or is given a wonderful drink which restores her to wholeness and beauty. She wins back her husband and the evil ones are punished. In Kashmir and Bengal variants seven *ameens* are blinded

by their husband on the whim of a jealous eighth and cast into a well. The water restores their sight and the usual justice ensues.

This story, most typically known as *The Maiden Without Hands*, is known all over Europe from Lapland to Sicily, Brittany to Russia, with minor variations. It turns up in the Near East, and in India; there are at least six African variants and two North American Indian versions; it is found also in Brazil and Chile. It appears in literary guise as early as 1200 A.D. in England; Chaucer used it in "The Man of Lawes Tale," Gower in *Confessio Amantis*. Variants occur in the *Arabian Nights* and the *Pentameron*, and it is the theme of a number of South Slavic folk songs.

**abandonment** Desertion of the aged, the sick, the deformed or crippled, the helpless, or of infants and children by parents, family group, or community: a time-rooted practice among many peoples. Technically abandonment is desertion of the aged and helpless; abandonment of infants to perish is called exposure.

Basic causes for abandonment have always been economic: lack of food or fear of such lack, and the uselessness of the aged to the group, i.e. uselessness to the point of becoming burdensome or encumbering. This holds especially in nomadic cultures. The Arabs either abandoned the old and helpless or buried them alive. The ancient Persians and Armenians left them in the deserts to be devoured by wild beasts. The early Romans hurled everyone over 60 into the Tiber. Certain South African peoples, especially the Bushmen and Hottentots, take their old people into the wilderness and leave them inside a small enclosure with a little food. The enclosure is to protect them from wild beasts. Hunters often come upon human skeletons within these circles of stakes. Many North American Indians left the old, the sick, and the weak behind when the camp moved on (Hudson Bay Eskimos, the Hurons, the Iroquois). The Algonquians abandoned the sick whether old or young; certain California tribes either killed or abandoned the old; the prairie Indians left the old behind with a little food and water; the Utes continued to abandon their aged late into the 19th century. Even our own pioneers of the covered-wagon treks across the plains, as recently as 1849, left the weak or dying beside the trail with a little fire. Melanesians either burn or bury alive their aged parents, and abandon the very ill in haste through fear of the demons by which the delirious are believed to be possessed. Many South American Indian tribes also leave the sick to their fate through fear of the evil spirits which have caused the disease. In fact superstition is almost as potent a factor in abandonment as famine or destitution.

Abandonment and exposure of infants and small children stem from the same causes, plus other economic reasons, such as the dowry that must be paid on a daughter, which makes daughters a liability, as contrasted with the bride-price on marriageable daughters, which makes female infants desirable. In Sarawak where the son-in-law works for the bride's father, girl babies are cherished and boy babies are hung in baskets on a tree and left to die. Other reasons are shame for the deformity, illegitimacy, or incestuous origin of a child, and superstitious fears in regard to the abnormal. In some countries twins and triplets are invariably exposed because they are believed to be unlucky. The

strange phenomenon known as Siamese twins still dismays most human minds; *Life* (March 10, 1947) pictures a pair of abandoned Chinese Siamese twins picked up by a childless mother. In India, even until recently, parents were averse to raising a child born on an unlucky day. Concern for perfection of the race caused the ancient Spartans to expose misshapen or unfit infants. The Nilotic Negro mother who has lost one or more children believes that if she leaves the next one in the road at sunrise as an offering to hostile spirits the bad luck will be broken. The natives of central and southeastern Australia have such a prolonged suckling period that any child born before the preceding one is weaned is either killed or abandoned. And when food is scarce the Smith Sound Eskimos expose their newborn to the cold if they already have two children.

Only when the death of the child is definitely desired, as in cases of gripping superstition, is one abandoned or exposed in a place where it is unlikely to be found. The growth of foundling homes in China, France, Cuba, and other parts of the civilized world bears witness to the fact that most infants are abandoned in the hope they will be picked up. Babies left on seats in railroad stations or found in railroad station lockers are examples. Today it is illegal to abandon the aged, ill, helpless, infants, or children; and in some of the United States it is illegal even to abandon a disabled or helpless animal. See **ABANDONED CHILDREN; INFANTICIDE.**

**abandonment on the island** A motif (S145) occurring in various types of folktales all over the world, in which the abandoned person always outwits the abandoner and escapes. The motif turns up representatively in the Ojibway (western Ontario) tale, *The Marooned Egg-hunter*, belonging to the widespread North American Indian cycle of son-in-law test stories. After having failed to outwit and kill his son-in-law by various ruses, one day Wemicus, the Trickster, proposed that they go to a certain rocky island for gulls' eggs. When the son-in-law was well ashore, the old man pulled off in his canoe and left him there. Undismayed, the young man filled his shirt with eggs and flew home across the lake by means of a pair of gull's wings he took from one of the island gulls. The wife was cooking the eggs and the children playing with the wings when Wemicus got back.

The motif occurs in the stupid ogre cycle. There are Finnish and Russian stories of a hero, about to be abandoned on an island by an ogre, who concealed himself in the ogre's clothing and the ogre himself unwittingly rescued his victim from the island. The type is the Norwegian story of a wife, falsely accused, abandoned by her husband on an island, from which she is rescued and catches up with him just in the nick of time to save him from some terrible fate.

**Abbot of Unreason or Misrule** Scottish term for the Lord of Misrule.

**Abbotts Bromley Antler or Horn dance** A men's dance with reindeer horns held near the head, performed only at Abbots Bromley in Staffordshire. The traditional date for its performance, Twelfth Day, has been moved to the Monday after September 4 to coincide with Wakes week. There are six dancers, as in the Morris, three with the great antlers painted white and three with red. The other characters also resemble those of the Morris: there is a Maid Marian, a hobby horse, a fool, also an addi-

tional boy with a bow and arrow. The dance is preceded by a circuit of the farms to bring luck. Finally in one of the farmyards, to an accordion, they "deer"-circle, serpentine, then progress in loop patterns; then at a grunt from the leader, they meet and retire in two lines and cross over. Formerly there were also heys and other figures. The symbolic coloring, deer horns, and formerly ritual characters (man, woman, and clown) point to an ancient ritual significance, marking this as one of the few surviving animal dances in Europe. [GPK]

**abdominal dance** A dance based on certain stylized swinging movements of the *rectus abdominis*, usually performed only by women. In its late development it is called the belly dance, or (in north Africa) *danse du ventre*, but in its most primitive form it involves not only the abdominal muscles, but movements of the entire pelvic region, which are typically known as the "pelvic roll." All over Asia this dance is performed and watched with reverence as symbolic of "the mystery and pain of motherhood." Asiatics maintain that only Occidental misinterpretation could transform it into the pure sex pantomime called the *danse du ventre* or the burlesque performance of circus side shows called the hootchie-kootchie. The ancient primitive type is performed in the Caroline Islands, in New Guinea, in the Celebes, in the Solomons, and in eastern Polynesia generally, and from coastal north Africa to Loango and Zanzibar. It is danced also among the Canella Indians of the Ge and of north-eastern Brazil. It is known to have been performed in certain districts in ancient Greece and was the fine art of the famous dancing girls in old Cadiz (the Gaditanas). Originally it was a fertility dance, with the stimulation of sexual excitement only a secondary object. In primitive cultures the miming of the sexual act and the accentuation of the child-bearing part of the body constitute a sympathetic magic to insure and promote prolificness and the life process.

**abduction** The capture, carrying off, or detention of a girl or woman with intent to marry or mate: one of the most primitive forms of marriage. The Old Testament book of *Judges* describes the abduction of 400 virgins of Jabesh-gilead for wives for the tribe of Benjamin, who later went to Shiloh during a feast and "took them wives according to their numbers of them that danced, whom they captured." The rape of the Sabine women by the Romans is one of the famous mass abductions of history. Abduction was also a custom among ancient Teutonic peoples; and among certain southern Slavic groups marriage by abduction was practiced well into the 19th century. So deeply rooted in the human mind is the psychology of marriage by capture that many marriage celebrations still include a mock capture of the bride with mock resistance on the part of her relatives. Abduction is the motif, for instance, of an old Scandinavian folk dance, the *Bortdansingen*, in which both men and women dancers try to steal the bride from her female guardians.

The folktales of the world are full of abductions, especially abductions of a beautiful maiden by a supernatural lover. There are countless stories of gods, centaurs, ogres, giants, dwarfs, whirlwinds (Basuto), fairies, water-spirits, mermen, and animals, who have abducted lovely women through the ages and taken them to live a magical carefree life in their supernatural abodes. The

story of Europa and the bull, of Pluto and Persephone, are famous and classical examples. The polar bears who abducted the blond Scandinavian maidens proved to be kind and wealthy husbands. Even the fearful Water-Monster of the Chiricahua Apache Indian stories, who caught the young girl when she came to the pool to fill her jug, turned out to be a beautiful young man in his own land and a son-in-law of great benevolence to the girl's people left behind.

Other abduction motifs describe how the devil carries off faultfinders, scolding women, usurers, and other wicked people. The Hottentot story of the boy abducted by baboons has its modern parallel in the abduction of Mowgli by the Bander-log in Kipling's *Jungle Book*.

**Abel** The second son of Adam; the first man to die—the victim of the first murder (*Gen. iv, 2-8*). In both Hebrew and Moslem tradition, Cain and Abel had twin sisters, Cain's the prettier of the two. Adam and Eve planned to have the brothers marry each other's sister, but Cain balked. When, in addition, the offering of Abel, the best of his flock, was accepted by God, and the offering of Cain, a poor sheaf and the remainder of a meal, was refused, Cain decided to kill Abel. But since he did not know just what would cause Abel to die, he had to keep throwing stones at his brother, until one struck a fatal blow in the neck. Cain now tried to dispose of the body by hiding it in the earth; of course, God knew it was there and He cursed the earth for accepting the body of Abel. According to other tradition, Cain did not know how to get rid of the corpse and carried it about on his back until he saw one bird burying another.

**abiku** Evil spirits of the Yoruba of West Africa, especially dangerous to children: omnipresent, always hungry and thirsty, and always seeking to enter the body of some child in order to obtain food and drink. When one finds human habitation, he shares his food with other abiku still unembodied, with the result that the child dies. To rid a child of the abiku the parents offer it food in likely places, and, while it is eating, bell the child, for abiku dislike the sound of bells. Sometimes they rub pepper into small cuts in the child's skin and the abiku depart to escape the pain.

In Dahomean belief, among the people directly west of the Yoruba, an abiku is one of a group of forest spirits, permitted by Mawu, the creator, to enter the womb of a woman, to be born, dwell on earth for a time, die, and be reborn in the same family. When the parents of a child suspect or become convinced that their child is an abiku, they dedicate him to a Vodun (a god) with the intent that the Vodun will protect him from the spirits which will surely come to take him back to the forest. Sometimes they scarify the child's face, either to make him unrecognizable or so ugly that the spirits will not want him. Iron anklets hold such a child to earth; belled bracelets prevent his running away. Abiku is also a generic term for the spirit of all such children.

**Abokas** The afterworld or home of the dead in the Melanesian mythology of parts of the New Hebrides. It is always believed to be on a nearby island. See AFTER-WORLD; MELANESIAN MYTHOLOGY. [KL]

**Above Old Man** The Creator of the Wiyot Indian mythology, who thought things into existence. His name is Gudatri-Gakwitl, and he remains a living deity today among this almost extinct people. He more nearly ap-

proximates the creator of monotheistic thought than any other creator of northwestern California Indian religion.

**abracadabra** A magic word or formula used in incantations against fevers and inflammations and sometimes against misfortunes. The patient wore an amulet around his neck bearing the inscription

ABRACADABRA  
ABRACADABR  
ABRACADAB  
ABRACADA  
ABRACAD  
ABRACA  
ABRAC  
ABRA  
ABR  
AB  
A

The idea was that the disease would gradually disappear just as the inscription gradually dwindled to nothing. The word first occurs in the writings of Severus Sammonicus, a Gnostic physician of the 2nd century. Jewish scholars question that it is of cabalistic origin, but point to a striking parallel, the Talmudic spell against Shabriri, the demon of blindness. A person in danger of becoming blind must say: My mother hath told me to beware of

SHABRIRI  
ABRIRI  
RIRI  
RI

and the demon disappears along with his name. By this token it may be that the word abracadabra was originally the name of some demon, now unrecognizable.

Belief in the magic word is rooted in the ancient belief not only in the identity of the self with its name, but also in the power inherent in names. To speak the name of a supernatural being, sometimes even to know it, gave one the power to invoke that being. In the evolution of magic, however, the manipulation of the words and formulas themselves gradually superseded the importance of the name or the meaning of the word, until the more incomprehensible or fantastic the word, the more power in it. See NAME TABU.

**Abraham** In the Old Testament, the first of the patriarchs, progenitor of the Hebrews: prototype of absolute and unquestioning faith, the "friend of God" to whom and his numberless seed was promised the land of Canaan. Faith in the face of misfortune and despair is the story. At God's bidding the shepherd Abram migrated from Haran, whence he and his father Teran had come from Ur in Babylonia to a strange land (Canaan) where the famous covenant took place, and he received from God the promise of a son in his old age and the new name Abraham, "father of many nations." At God's bidding too he would have sacrificed Isaac, that "son of promise," but because of his faith God showed him a ram in the bush to be sacrificed instead, and renewed the promise to multiply his seed "as the stars of heaven."

Rabbinical legend adds to this story many stories of Abraham's opposition to Chaldean astrology, stories of his smashing the idols in his father's house because they would neither partake of the sacrificial foods nor answer prayer, and his subsequent mission in the world as

spokesman for the one and living God. Rabbinical legend also ascribes to Abraham the towering size of the typical culture hero, along with the discovery of astronomy, invention of better modes of agriculture and seedling, invention of the alphabet, and knowledge of magic. He wore a precious stone around his neck with which he healed the sick.

In Mohammedan legend, the story of Abraham begins with a slaughter of 70,000 male infants to prevent the fulfilment of a prophecy that a boy would be born to rise against Nimrod, king of Babylon, and would break all the idols. Hence Abraham was born in a cave outside the town and on the tenth day abandoned. But the angel Gabriel put the baby's finger into its mouth, milk flowed from the finger, and when the sorrowing mother returned to the cave on the twentieth day, she found a sturdy youth already praising the God who created heaven and earth. The iconoclast stories are many and elaborate, culminating with Nimrod's order to cast Abraham first into prison, later into a fiery furnace. He was fed by Gabriel for one year in prison and drank from the spring which God caused to gush from the walls. He was catapulted into the fire which none could approach and live, but his faith in God caused the fire to cool and become a rose garden. Whereupon all the people believed in the God of Abraham from that moment on. This story is told by Thomas Moore in *Lalla Rookh*. Abraham figures as largely in Mohammedan legend as in Jewish, in that Mohammed claimed to preach, not a new faith, but the "restoration of the religion of Abraham." See ABANDONED CHILDREN; SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS; TOWER OF BABEL.

**absurdity rebukes absurdity** The motif (J1530) of an enormous group of stories belonging to the nonsense folklore of the world: usually the sole motif in the story containing it. Typical of these is the story of the man whose foal strayed into a field with two oxen belonging to a neighbor. When he went to bring home his foal, the neighbor claimed it. The case was taken to the king who adjudged the foal to the man who swore it belonged to his two oxen. The next day a man was seen fishing in the road with a huge fishnet. The king went out to question him. It was the rightful owner of the foal, who said, "As easy to catch fish on dry land as for two oxen to produce a foal." Of course justice was given. This story occurs in the German *märchen*, is well known in all Baltic folklore, and in Spain. Even more famous and ancient is the story (widely current in India, Tibet, Ceylon) of the man who went on a journey leaving a bag of gold dust in another's care. When he returned the friend handed him a bag of sand, saying, "It changed to sand in your absence." Some time later this friend too took a journey and left his small son in the other's keeping. When he returned and asked for his child he was given a lively ape. "He turned into this in your absence," said the friend. As usual the satisfactory exchange was made. This motif is closely related to the *reductio ad absurdum* motif (H952) and the rule must work both ways motif (J1511).

**acacia** *A. seyal* may be the shittah wood of which the Israelites built the ark of the covenant and the altar of the tabernacle. When Jacob went to Egypt, he planted "cedar trees," and the wood of these was carried into the desert in the exodus. Of the 24 varieties of "cedar,"

only shittim wood could be used, the Lord having foreseen the sin which the Israelites would commit at Shittim (*Num.* xxv), and the use of the wood in building the ark and the altar atoning for the crime. In later rabbinical tradition, it was ruled that this wood could be used only for this purpose and not for ordinary building and furniture making. The thorns of the acacia are supposed to have been in the crown that Christ wore to Golgotha. The wood of the acacia is burned on Buddhist altars, and Hindus use it in preparing their sacrificial fires. In India, it is believed that an evil spirit resides in the acacia, but that he will work evil only if a bed is made from or repaired by acacia wood: such a bed cannot be slept in. Frazer (*Magic Art II*) mentions an acacia in Patagonia in which a spirit abides, and to which the natives make offerings, even of clothing and horses. The ashes or the bark of the babul (*Acacia arabica*) are used in post-operative treatment by certain groups of eunuchs in India. In folktale, the "heart in the acacia flower," taking its name from an incident in the tale of *Anpu and Bata (The Two Brothers)*, is a well-known variant of the separable soul motif.

**acatlaxqui** The dance of the reed-throwers: a primitive dance of the Otomí Indians of the municipality of Pahuatlán, Puebla, in Santa Catarina Nopochtla, around St. Catherine's Day, November 25, and also in Atla and Tlalcrúz, México. The dancers (ten or more young men) dressed in white cotton coats, red knee-pants, wear red bandanas crossed over one shoulder and under the other, conical paper hats with paper ribbons streaming from the points, and sandals which patter on the stone floor. Each carries a strong reed, of about an arm's length, ornamented with feathers, and having about a dozen slender reeds attached to it, the whole so devised as to slide out and arch upwards when the dancers make their cast. The center figure is a boy dressed as a girl, called the *Maringuilla*, the little Mary. She carries a gourd containing a wooden snake. The dance begins inside the church with the dancers in two rows, changing to one row before the entrance, and later forming a circle around the *Maringuilla*, while one holds the snake over her head. Finally she is lifted onto a small platform while the dancers circle round her. The climax of the dance is the flinging up of the reeds into an arched dome over her head, and the simultaneous ringing of the church bell and bursting of rockets.

The Otomí Indians are noted for the persistence with which their primitive religious beliefs and observances survive under cover of Catholicism. This dance points not only to their ancient serpent-worship (the serpent god *Mixcoatl* was theirs), but the boy in girl's dress (always a phallic symbol), the reeds (another phallic symbol), and the centering of the dance around the boy-girl, all suggest some ancient fertility rite whose significance may (or may not be) lost, except for the tradition of pre-Columbian origin. [GPK]

**acculturation** Although the term has been defined in various ways, in essence acculturation is to be regarded as denoting the study of culture-change in process, where change is induced by contacts between peoples having different ways of life. First employed by J. W. Powell in 1880 in the sense of culture-borrowing, it was largely displaced by the word "diffusion" until the middle of the 1930's. Diffusion studies, which were in essence attempts

dressed as a girl at the court of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. Here he was discovered by Ulysses and induced to join the Greeks against Troy. Later when Agamemnon was awarded Briseis, a slave-girl to whom Achilles was devoted, Achilles "sulked in his tent" and refused to fight again for Agamemnon. Things were going badly for the Greeks until Patroclus, Achilles' dearest friend, wearing Achilles' armor to terrify the enemy, went forth and routed the Trojans. But Patroclus himself was killed, whereupon the Greeks again fell back, until Achilles came raging out against the enemy to avenge the death of his friend. He rescued the body of Patroclus, killed Hector the next day, and completely defeated the Trojans. Later story says that Paris discovered the secret of his vulnerable heel and killed him with a poisoned arrow.

In pre-Homeric myth, Achilles often appears as a sea god whose temples were built on capes and cliffs along the coasts, where navigators could propitiate him for favorable winds, safe arrivals, etc.

In folklore Achilles is the prototype of the superhuman hero who preferred glory to long life. His story contains four typical world folk motifs: the hero disguised in women's clothes, the vital spot, the magic weapon, the talking horse. See SWORDS; VULNERABLE SPOT; XANTHOS AND BALIOS.

**Achilles' spear** The wonderful spear or lance of Achilles, which had the power to heal whatever wound it made. Telephus, king of Mysia, was wounded by it in a battle with the Greeks who landed on his shores en route to Troy. The wound would not heal until Telephus, heeding the words of Apollo, "He that wounds shall heal," sought out Achilles among the Greeks encamped before Troy. An ointment containing rust from the spear was applied to the wound and it was healed.

**A Cholla mo Run** Scottish musical legend of "the piper's warning," embodying the belief that the bagpipe had the power of speech. See BAGPIPE.

**açon** A type of rattle, usually a calabash containing pebbles or seeds, used in connection with drums and ogan in Haitian vodun rites. The rattle, played by an initiate who is an accomplished singer, establishes a ground rhythm against which the drums work out their more elaborate patterns and, when shaken in prolonged continuous sound, serves to break the beat of one song before the beginning of another. During the singing and dancing the player of the rattle joins the dancers, shaking his instrument high over their heads in short sharp notes, takes the lead in new refrains, and takes solo parts in the characteristic exchange of solo and chorus parts. The açon is prepared for its part in the ceremonies by a baptismal rite along with the drums and the ogan.

**aconite** Any of a genus (*Aconitum*) of plants of which monkshood is one well-known species. From ancient times in Europe and northern Asia the plant has been recognized as the source of a powerful poison. India especially is noted for its mountain aconites. The Nepal aconite of the Himalayas is probably the most deadly: source of the famous Bikh poison. The Nepalese have been known to use it generously in wells and springs to protect towns and stop advancing armies. Many species are as deadly in local application as when taken internally. All over northern Asia it was used on arrow heads to kill tigers and other game as well as against human

enemies. Aconite arrow poison among the Ainu and other peoples of the east Asiatic coast is well known. Aconite arrow, lance-tip, and harpoon poison is equally common among the Kamchadal hunters, especially whalers, to the north of this region, and came to America with the Asiatic culture drift across the Bering Strait from the Kamchatka region, to be widely practiced by the Aleutian and Kodiak whalers.

The Penzer notes to the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* mention a Neapolitan story of two lovers tricked to their death with this poison. A young girl was persuaded by her unscrupulous father to rub her body with an ointment he had prepared, assuring her it was a love charm to bind her lover to her forever. The girl used the ointment (which contained aconite) and both she and her lover died of it that night. Various preparations from some species, however, are used locally to give relief from neuralgia, or internally as a tonic, febrifuge, or aphrodisiac. Compare POISON DANSEL.

**acorn** The fruit of the oak (*Quercus*), a one-seeded nut fixed in a little woody cup. The tree is usually about 20 years old before the acorns appear and they themselves take one, two, or three years to mature. In many species they are edible. In folklore and proverb the acorn is the symbol of prolonged effort preceding perfect achievement. Great oaks from little acorns grow not only expresses the *de minimis maxime* idea, but also implies they were a long time a-growing. The famous German story of the man who said he would pay the devil when he harvested his first crop and then went out and planted acorns is in the tradition. The ancient Celtic druids ate the acorns of their sacred oaks in preparation for prophesying.

The acorn figures little beyond this symbolization among peoples where cereal grains or maize abound. But among peoples who have no corn and where acorns are plentiful, especially among tribes of California Indians, the stories are full of references: Sun's wife was cooking acorn mush for supper (Achomawi); two boys on a journey gathered, cooked, and ate acorns (Wappo); Coyote and his grandmother had a famous argument about how to prepare them (Yurok). The Natchez (southern Mississippi valley), who did have corn, had also a story telling how the animals once had a chief who let each one choose the food he wished to live on. And Squirrel chose acorns. But the Luiseños (southern California coastal tribe), who even as late as 1905 still subsisted largely on acorns and fish, have a myth giving authority for their diet. Wy-ót, the first (or last) born of sky and earth, was the guardian of all earthly things and beloved by all of them. Only Frog hated him because she envied his beautiful legs. She spit in the spring from which he drank and in ten months he died. But before he left the earth he taught the people all he knew, gave them their laws and arts, and promised that from his ashes would come their most valuable possession. Out of the ashes grew the oak tree and the acorns were as big as apples. Then the people sent Crow to the big star to find Wy-ót. Crow could not find him. Then Hummingbird went and came back with the message: "All birds and animals, eat the seeds of my tree. All men, make flour from the seeds and make cakes from the flour." So with gladness the people took the acorns and made the feast of the acorns. See COYOTE AND THE ACORNS.

judgment of God upon them for their disobedience: pains of childbirth for the woman, labor and toil for the man, and expulsion from Eden for the two of them, to make their way in a less bountiful environment, where they became the parents of three sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth.

Apocryphal and rabbinical legend enlarge upon the details: Adam was made from red clay from the four regions of the earth (*adam* is the Hebrew word for red); his body reached from earth to heaven (before the fall), and "he was of extreme beauty and sunlike brightness." The *Slavonian Book of Enoch* tells how all the angels bowed before Adam except Satan who in punishment for his rebellion was hurled into the abyss and henceforth became the enemy of man; also, how the angels, full of wonder at Adam's beauty, were about to worship him until God put sleep upon him to show them he was mortal. Adam was meant for immortality but death became his lot when he ate the forbidden fruit, and the animals no longer obeyed him but feared and attacked him. The *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* contains the poetical description of the creation of Adam from seven (or eight) substances: his flesh from the earth, his bones from rocks, his veins from roots, his blood from water (or dew), his eyes from the light of the sun, his hair from grass, his thoughts from the wind, his spirit from the clouds. Another story says that Adam's soul was created 1000 years before his body. When the time came for the soul to enter the body he refused to exchange heaven for human flesh until Gabriel beguiled him into it with music in a moment of ecstasy. Ever since the soul has been as reluctant to leave the body as it was to enter it.

Mohammedan legend anticipates the evolutionary theory of creation with the story of how Allah sent rains upon the earth to prepare the slime from which to create Adam. Adam's body lay stretched out upon the ground for 160 years before it received the breath of life. When Allah put the breath of life in his nostrils, Adam sneezed and said, "Praise be to Allah."

An Arabian story remarks upon the cleverness of Adam at the moment of expulsion from Eden to remember to grab up an anvil, two hammers, a pair of tongs, and a needle to face the new world with. Adam was cast out of Eden from the Gate of Penitence, Eve from the Gate of Mercy, Iblis from the Gate of Malediction, and the serpent from the Gate of Calamity. Adam landed in Ceylon, Eve at Jiddah, Iblis at Ailah, and the serpent at Isfahan in Persia. Two hundred years went by before Adam and Eve met again at Jebel Arafat, the Mount of Recognition.

These stories are typical of Adam lore in the great body of Jewish and Mohammedan tradition; there are countless others, often identical in incident and import, but with a wealth of ramification. The story of the fall is found among other peoples too. The Prometheus-Pandora myth of the Greeks is built about the same elements; the motifs are almost identical. See LILITH.

*Adam and Eve and Pinch Me* A catch rime which goes as follows:

Adam and Eve and Pinch Me  
Went down to the river to bathe.  
Adam and Eve got drowned,  
And who do you think was saved?

The unwary listener who answers as expected gets pinched.

*Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudestly* An English ballad (Child #116) telling the story of three famous outlaws, all marvels in archery, and how two of them shot up the town of Caerluel to save the third, William of Cloudestly, from being hanged. William had just slipped home from the forest to see his wife and had been caught. The three then forestalled higher justice by going to London and securing the king's grace before he could hear the news. William of Cloudestly is the English William Tell, who shot an apple from his son's head. But the English ballad differs from the European legend in that Cloudestly undertook the shot of his own free will; it was not imposed by the king. The first wonder, too, the splitting of the hazel-rod with "twenty score paces betwene," was done only to make the people marvel. But the two marvels won favor for Cloudestly and his family and his two fellow outlaws with the king forever.

*Adam of China* The first of China's legendary kings: Fu Hsi.

*Adam's apple* The prominence made by the thyroid cartilage in the front of the human throat, conspicuous in men: the morsel of forbidden fruit which stuck in Adam's throat (A1319.1).

*Adam's Peak* A mountain in Ceylon (native name *Samanala*): site of a rock bearing a depression resembling an enormous footprint, and goal of continuous Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist pilgrimage. In Moslem legend, as the place where an angel showed Adam all the ills of the world, it bears the footprint of Adam. In Buddhist legend, it is the site of the Sripada or Sacred Footstep of Buddha, the imprint of Buddha's last contact with this world. The Hindu Saivite believes it to be the footprint of Siva, and a Tamil legend describes how rivers flow from Siva's foot upon the Peak. Christians worship the spot as the footprint of St. Thomas.

*adaox* The Tsimshian Indian word for myth, as distinguished from *malesk*, which is either a personal adventure or historical story. Among the Tsimshian a myth is always a story about the past; animals are the characters, speaking and behaving like human beings; many are origin stories (origin of the world, of man, the animals and their individual characteristics, of various features of the present world, etc.). The *malesk* may contain supernatural incidents and characters, for the supernatural is ever-present in Indian daily life; it may even be weighted with religious significance. But no story is an *adaox* or myth unless its setting is that early, marvelous period when the world was entirely different from the world of the present day. The Kwakiutl word for myth is *nuyam*; Chinook is *iklanam*; Thompson Indian is *spetaki*. All three make the same distinction. The Salmon-Eater tribe of southern Alaska have the word *adaorh* which means myth or a true story. An *adaorh* is not only recounted orally, but is illustrated on totem poles and represented in other carvings. The great Haida and Tsimshian epic about Dzellarhons, revealing the migration to America via the Aleutians of the Salmon-Eater tribe is a typical *adaorh*.

*Adapa* A mythological Babylonian hero and fisherman of the city of Eridu on the Persian Gulf; son of Ea, god of wisdom, by whom he was given the gift of great knowledge and intelligence. One day while he was fish-



to interpret each as representing an aspect of the sun during each of the twelve months of the year. The most ancient concept of the *Adityas*, however, is the literal one: sons of *Aditi*, inviolable, eternal beings sustaining and sustained by the eternal celestial light.

**Adlet** A terrible people believed by the Eskimos to be descended from a red dog. An Eskimo woman who married a red dog had ten children. Five of them were dogs, whom she set adrift in a boat, and five were monsters. The dogs drifted across the big sea, landed safely, and begot the white men. But the monsters begot worse monsters, a cruel, blood-drinking people, called *Adlet* by the Labrador Eskimos and *Erqigdlit* by the Eskimos west of Hudson Bay. The story is also known among the Greenland and Baffinland Eskimos.

**Adlivun** Literally, those beneath us: the underworld of Central Eskimo mythology, where *Sedna* rules in her big house with the big dog at the door. *Sedna* has no deerskins in her house because she dislikes the deer. All who disobey her during life must go to *Adlivun* for one year when they die. Murderers can never leave that place but the others (in Greenland tradition) eventually reach *Adliparmiut* (literally, those farthest below), a darker, remoter, but not quite so dreadful world, where hunters may still know the joys of hunting whale and walrus, though always enduring terrible storms, winds, snow, and ice. Davis Strait tribes believe that the spirit-dwellers of *Adlivun*, called *tupilaq*, return to their villages at times in shabby flapping clothes, as malevolent spirits who cause disease and death. But once the soul reaches *Adliparmiut*, it experiences comparative peace and need never return. See *QUDLIVUN*.

**Admetus** King of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, husband of *Alcestis*, and once unwitting master of *Apollo* doing penance for bloodshed as thrall to a mortal. The kindness and the beauty of *Admetus* soon won the god's admiration and he did much to prosper the fortunes of his master. He discovered that *Admetus* had only a short span of life allotted to him, but secured the promise that a longer life would be granted if *Admetus* could find someone to die in his stead. No volunteers rushed forward as substitutes, not servants, comrades, or aged parents. Finally *Alcestis* offered herself for her husband, and at the appointed hour she died. But *Hercules*, an unexpected guest on the funeral day, wrestled with *Thanatos* at the tomb of *Alcestis* (or with *Hades* in the lower world) and brought her back to *Admetus*. This story is a classic example of the interweaving of common folk motifs: death evaded by substitution, and wife dying to postpone her husband's death. In a Japanese analog of the latter, the devoted wife drowns herself to appease the gods and thus prevents them from capsizing her husband's boat.

**adolescence ceremonies** Among nearly all primitive peoples (North and South American Indians, Australian, Polynesian, Melanesian, and Indonesian, the New Guinea tribes, all Arctic populations, and all African), various ceremonies, often severe and painful, performed for and by young boys and girls at the time of puberty to initiate them into adulthood and its rights, privileges, obligations, and responsibilities. All adolescence ceremonies are initiation rites. Initiation rites, however, are not limited to puberty rites; they usher the indi-

vidual not only into manhood but into all kinds of secret societies, priesthoods, magic powers and mysteries, and other holinesses, even into death.

Adolescence ceremonies are intended as safeguards against the evils and dangers which threaten a youth or young girl at this time of life. They are considered necessary, not only for the individual but also for the welfare of the tribe. Most ceremonies involve certain purification acts and instruction in or preparation for intercourse with the opposite sex. They usually include a preliminary period of seclusion, sometimes the imposition of complete silence for a period, no contact with the opposite sex, and fasting (total, or from certain foods). The importance of dreams and visions is stressed, for through them the youth discovers the guardian spirit which is to walk with him throughout his life. Severe tests (of pain or endeavor) are imposed to develop strength, hardihood, courage, or endurance. Mutilation, circumcision, sub-incision, flagellation, tooth-filing, knocking out a tooth, flesh-gashing, incision of tribal marks, etc., are regarded either as charms against future evils, as purifications, tests of endurance, or are willingly undergone to develop courage and endurance. Solitary confinement or other isolation, accompanied by terrorizing, also often precede final instruction of the youth by the old men in tribal lore, sexual knowledge, and religious or magical matters. The ritual of death and resurrection is also a common puberty initiation rite, especially among totemic peoples.

Among Malay tribes, the word for adolescence ceremonies is *masuk jawi*, literally admission into the Malay people; but they also have another name for it, *chuchi laboh*, which means purification. Tooth-filing and shaving off the characteristic top-knot of Malay boys are typical features of all Malay adolescence ceremonies. The complete ceremony involves purification rites, tooth-filing or tapping, head-shaving, appeasing certain gods, a huge banquet, and culminates with circumcision, which is performed with the ritual bamboo knife in a little hut. Girls undergo ear-boring, tooth-filing, and the staining of the teeth black. Incision is not common among the Malays except as a feature of Mohammedan conversion.

Among both North and South American Indians adolescence ceremonies for boys are often associated with the initiation rites which admit them to tribal membership or introduce them to the mysteries of various secret societies. North American Indian girls, however, step into womanhood through a complicated pattern of behavior involving seclusion or isolation, food and other tabus, looking and contact tabus, symbolic fertilizing, and symbolic hairdressing. Hopi girls go through a four-day corn-grinding task in the house of an aunt during their ritual which also includes fasting from meat and salt, never scratching the head or body with the hand but only with a certain stick, and remaining in a shaded room until the proper moment to emerge wearing the new hairdress which announces to the public that they are marriageable. The Taos girl also grinds corn for four days, always protected from the sun. Should the sun shine upon her during this period she might bear twins after marriage. This fear is possibly related to an almost world-wide belief in magical impregnation from the sun. She also fasts from salt and "Mexican" food, dons the traditional women's boots; both her dress and

he, in his sober anger, would have killed her if she had not fled and sought the protection of the gods. They turned her into a myrrh tree; and from the trunk of a myrrh tree Adonis was born. Most of the stories state that the bark was ripped open by a wild boar and the child came forth. Aphrodite found the infant and, charmed by his loveliness, put him in a little chest and gave him to Persephone to care for. Persephone too became enamored of his beauty and later refused to give him up. So Zeus decreed that Adonis should spend four months of the year with Aphrodite, four with Persephone in Hades, and four he might have for himself. Later he was killed by the boar while hunting. Another variant says that Adonis was brought up by the nymphs, that Aphrodite met him while out hunting and fell in love with him, and that he was killed by a wild boar either sent by, or embodying, the jealous Ares, Aphrodite's previous lover. The judgment of Zeus in allowing him to return to this world for part of every year is the Greek variant of the eastern Tammuz resurrection story.

The trail of the cult is easily followed from Babylonia and Syria through Phoenicia and Cyprus into Greece where Adonis-worship was well established in the 5th century B.C. His worshippers believed that every year Adonis was killed by the boar on the mountain and went to the underworld; every year his goddess-lover left this earth in search of him. While she was absent the earth lay scorched under the sun; no passion, no love existed between male and female; no living thing bloomed or was born. Every year the women of western Asia and Greece mourned the death of Adonis, cast his image into the sea along with the little Gardens of Adonis, sang the beautiful hymn of hope for his return, and seven days later rejoiced for his reappearance on the face of the earth when the red anemone bloomed. In Byblos in Phoenicia the celebration was timed to coincide with the mountain freshets which made the river of Byblos run blood-red into the sea. This was believed to be the blood of Adonis. The appearance of the red anemone in the woods of Syria about the time of Easter symbolized his return. Thus the whole story was dramatized and enacted within the space of about 10 days. Rites at Alexandria were similar. At Argos pigs were sacrificed to Aphrodite to signify her connection with Adonis.

The boar had special significance in the Adonis cult. The boar ripped open the bark of the tree from which Adonis was born; the boar killed the youth in the forest. All the most ancient cults identify the animal that killed the god with the god himself. In one of the most primitive forms of Adonis- (Tammuz-) worship, Adonis himself was the sacred boar, worshipped by a cult of women who believed themselves to be sows. Every year the boar was killed, torn to shreds, and eaten while the women bewailed his death, in a few days celebrating his resurrection with the deification of a new boar.

One 10th century Arabic writer and several more recent scholars have suggested that the Adonis-Tammuz of the eastern Mediterranean peoples is one with the Phoenician corn spirit, deliberately slain, his bones ground up in a mill and scattered to fertilize the fields. In place of the modern corn effigy of the corn spirit, the most ancient rites quite possibly represented the slaughtered god with a human victim whose body was divided into portions, buried at intervals in the field, and regarded as returned to life with the harvest. This

lifts the Adonis story out of the realm of pretty death and renewal of vegetation symbolism, and places it not only in the simpler and starker category of hunger and fear of hunger rituals, but pushes it still farther into that symbolism of the god killed by man for man with the resulting mystery of his resurrection promising life to man.

In addition to the fact that Adonis is identified with Tammuz, the death and resurrection motif, linking his myth with various primitive fertility and vegetation symbolisms, relates it also to the stories of Persephone, of Attis (Phrygian), Osiris (Egyptian), Dionysus-Zagreus (Thracian or Cretan), Jesus (Hebrew), Balder (Scandinavian), John Barleycorn (English). His story parallels also that of the Celtic Diarmud, who was beautiful, beloved by women, killed by a wild boar, and given immortality by a god; but the seasonal vegetation symbolism seems to be entirely lacking here. Adonis is associated with the Jesus story pattern in the motifs of god in human form, death and resurrection of the god, and the coincidence of Easter with both rituals, the long period of mourning and fasting, and the moment of joy. See EATING THE GOD; LINUS; MIDSUMMER EVE.

**adoration** A Haitian Creole song sung (a) after each animal sacrifice at vodun ceremonies, and (b) at the end of the novena in the ritual cycle of the cult of the dead, during the singing of which the officiating priest receives the offerings of money for his services.

**adultery** In Euro-American cultures, usually extramarital heterosexual intercourse, though a more adequate statement would refer it to sexual intercourse outside of the permitted sexual group. Thus in group marriages as among some Australian tribes each person in the group is generally available to all others though local custom may impose restrictions. Among the Tungusic Manchus the wife of the oldest brother was available to all the younger brothers until the next brother married, when she was expected to restrict her attentions to her husband; but the second brother's wife became available to the other brothers. Among the aboriginal Lolos of China marriage to one sister is considered as giving access to all the others. In Islam and under the Roman Lex Julia intercourse was permitted between the master and slaves and servants, and under English common law a master had access to his female servants. Peoples who regard promiscuity as the proper way of life sometimes consider intercourse outside of certain recognized groups as adulterous though it is considered harmless within the recognized groups. Some African tribes do not consider intercourse with a white man as constituting adultery, though intercourse with other members of the group is so considered. The *jus primae noctis* which gave the lord of the manor the right to deflower young wives on his estate on the night of their marriage is another case of recognized latitude.

Christian cultures have surrounded adultery with religious, legal and social prohibitions which give it a character not generally known elsewhere. Occidental ethnographers have been affected by this bias, though no doubt unconsciously, and have hypothesized conditions in prehistoric cultures about which by definition nothing can be known with certainty. By starting with one of two opposed hypotheses they prove either that man began by living under conditions of absolute pro-

studied in detail. The nuns in medieval convents were at one time available to clerics and others who belonged to acceptable circles. A certain amount of promiscuity has been and in some communities still is connected with beliefs about general fertility. In at least one of the aboriginal tribes of China an itinerant priest is expected to have intercourse once a year with one of the women in each community. If the community prospers the act is thought to have been performed adequately. The community greets the arrival of the priest with festivities and there is no reason to assume that the community regards the priest as a god in disguise. Here folk theology like folk philosophy is less involved than anthropologists of the Occidental Christian tradition imply. Promiscuity in the spring seems to be a biological urge among the Eskimos and others and has been rationalized as necessary to assure the germination of the seeds.

Views and customs about adultery in Occidental Christian communities are complicated by Christian mysticism. Roman views were secular rather than religious. In 285 B.C. a temple was erected to Venus paid for by fines imposed on women for adultery. Cicero says that the cult of Vesta was fostered in order that woman-kind might feel that it is woman's nature to suffer all forms of chastity. Under the Republic sexual misconduct was brought before a domestic court or family council. The Lex Julia made adultery an offense against the state. After the marriage was dissolved the woman lost half of her dowry and a third of her estate. The wronged husband had 60 days to take action and if he failed to do so action could be taken by any one who wished to. Although the punishments of Lex Julia were considered severe they did not apply to men equally, a situation which Seneca, Plutarch, and others regretted.

Christ's concern was that men should attain a state of mind that made sin abhorrent or impossible. This, as developed by Saint Paul, introduced into the Christian Occident a mystic view of purity which explains such statements as "Adultery is unfaithfulness of a married person to the marriage bed," "defilement of the home," and the like. Customs in the early Christian communities were not uniform. The Law of Constantine condemned adulterous wives to banishment. Justinian abolished the death penalty and if the wife was not taken back within two years she was sent to a nunnery. The Code of Theodoric also decreed death for adultery and the death penalty was abolished in England under Canute. Caesar's reports on Anglo-Saxon promiscuity are of a general nature. In later England and parts of the United States adultery is the only grounds upon which a divorce can be obtained. Until very recently some Protestant churches would not perform the marriage ceremony for divorced persons. The lives of the troubadours make clear that in the chivalric as well as in both earlier and later periods the laws about adultery were regarded lightly. According to the chivalric code love was not possible between husband and wife and a wife's capacity to draw knights and poets to her husband's party was important in a young couple's ability to improve themselves. One evidence that Percival was an unmannered boor was his embarrassment at being bathed by the young women of the castle.

Current American views about adultery impose rituals and ceremonies as complex as any found among the most "primitive" of "primitive" races. Inasmuch as

adultery is prohibited by social, legal, and religious codes married persons impelled to have intercourse with those to whom they are not married must, if they take the codes seriously, find reason to have the marriage dissolved, and as their own adultery is often not an acceptable reason they must adduce the adultery of either the wife or husband who may be innocent or find other cause which courts will find acceptable. They are then permitted, usually after a considerable lapse of time, to marry again. The ritual divorce and remarriage is thought to give purity to an act which would otherwise be considered indecent.

The laws about adultery do not reflect the folk attitude toward it. The reports of anthropologists of the European-Christian tradition show bias, to the point that one recent study contains a warning that the views about adultery being punished with death at some unspecified former time must be accepted with caution and skepticism. Statistics on the incidence of adultery are unsatisfactory though a paging through of the literature on sexual folklore shows that it occurs in all parts of the world and though it is considered reprehensible by many cultures it has enjoyed a considerable popularity in all cultures and at all times. R. D. JAMESON

advice of helpful animal disregarded The motif (B341) of a group of stories which emphasize the misfortunes and disasters that inevitably befall the hero who does or leaves undone something the friendly animal has enjoined him either to do or not to do. The typical story is that a man meets up with an animal, who, either out of gratitude or admiration, helps him to a marvelous wife, palace, treasure, station in life, or the like. Usually the animal enjoins the hero not to go to a certain place, do or say a certain thing, etc., or asks to be provided with certain daily foods or attentions, etc. Always the hero forgets, wilfully disobeys, or offends by ingratitude, and loses everything, including friendship with the animal.

The advice disregarded motif belongs to the helpful animal cycle of folktales (B300-599). It is closely related to the name tabu motif, and also to the ingratitude punished motif which runs through the Puss-in-Boots cycle. This advice disregarded motif overlaps and fuses markedly with the ingratitude to the animal motif in the North American Indian Zuñi story in which a little flock of turkeys pity a poor, neglected young girl and help her to attend the sacred dance, provide her with suitable garments, jewels, etc., requiring in return only that she not forget or neglect them. She is so popular at the dance that of course she forgets the turkeys. When she suddenly remembers and rushes home, her fine clothes disappear and she is in the same state she was in before. Even the turkeys have gone away.

adykh Among the Buriats, an animal dedicated to a god or ongon. The animal is purified with smoke of burning juniper, sprinkled with wine, and decorated with ribbons of the ongon's color. It is then returned to the herd, never again to be ridden or worked, but is associated with and sacred to the ongon either for a specified time or forever. Animals thus dedicated vary greatly. The adykh may be a horse, a gray ox, a red ox, a raven, a pigeon, even a fish, which of course is henceforth never to be caught. The Mongolian Buddhists took over the custom and the idea, dedicating the ani-

pital) where the priests of the cult applied their secret knowledge plus religious rites to effect their cures. The most famous temple of Asklepios was in the ancient seaport of Epidaurus. Here the sick came to sleep, to be cured by the priests or by the god directly in their dreams. Only the dying or women in childbirth were denied admittance.

To this temple at Epidaurus the Romans came, seeking deliverance from the pestilence that was sweeping their city in 293 B.C. The serpent (that serpent in whom the god himself was known to abide, *anguem in quo ipsum numen esse constabat*) slipped from the image of the god and followed the Romans through the streets into their ship. At the mouth of the Tiber he left the ship, and the temple to Æsculapius was built on the little island where the serpent went ashore.

The serpent is the symbol of Æsculapius, representing, some say, rejuvenation in the sloughing of his skin; the staff too is his symbol, representing his wanderings from place to place dispensing cures. Both are combined in the caduceus, the staff entwined by the snake, still the symbol of medicine and the medical profession.

**Æshma** (Pahlavi *Āēšm*, Persian *Xišm*) In Zoroastrianism, a fiend or demon of lust and outrage: aide of Angra Mainyu. Æshma is the most dreadful of Zoroastrian demons, contriving evil for the creatures of Ahura Mazda. When he is unsuccessful he stirs up strife among the demons themselves. He assails the souls of the dead when they near the Chinvat Bridge. Sraosha is assigned by Ahura Mazda to keep him under control until the final great conflict when Sraosha will destroy Æshma.

**Æsir** (singular *as*) The Teutonic gods. Odin was chief of them, known frequently as the father of the gods. His sons Thor, Balder, Tyr, Vali, Vidar, Hoder, Bragi, and Hermod, and his brothers Vili and Ve were also æsir. Frigga, Odin's wife, and 18 other goddesses or *dýnjur*, among them Sif, wife of Thor, Nanna, wife of Balder, Iduna, wife of Bragi, etc., also belonged to the group. Loki, the evil one, the mischief-maker, is one of the æsir. Their habitat was Asgard, though each had his own home also. Odin's was the famous Valhalla. They were an organized, judicial community and the council met daily under Yggdrasil. Some sources mention among the æsir the names of Hœnir, Forseti, Oller or Ullr, and Ing, an interesting deity of the East Danes, who disappeared eastward over the sea. Compare VANIR.

**Æsop** The vague personage whose name is associated with the most famous group of fables in the world. He was born in the Greek island of Samos, in Sardis in Lydia, Mesembria in Thrace, or Coticeum in Phrygia. His birth is thought to have been about 620 B.C., his death about 564 B.C. Herodotus identifies him in Samos about 570 B.C. Further legend says that he was the slave of two different masters in Samos: first Xanthos, then Iadmon, who freed him out of admiration for his wit. Æsop then visited Cræsus at Sardis and Pisistratus at Athens. Plutarch's *Symposium of the Seven Sages* reports that Æsop was a guest at the court of Cræsus along with the seven sages of Greece, and that Cræsus not only said, "The Phrygian has spoken better than all," but even persuaded Æsop to remain in Sardis and execute for him many difficult matters. Later Cræsus sent him to Delphi to distribute a great sum of money

among the citizens. Æsop was so disgusted and infuriated with the wrangling that arose among them that he refused to give it. "Unworthy," he called them, and they threw him over a high cliff. Such a plague subsequently swept through their city that they advertised a sum of money to atone for the murder of Æsop. Iadmon, grandson of Iadmon, his former master, went to receive it.

Perhaps the most famous of the many folktales about Æsop are how he told the story of *The Frogs Asking for a King* in the public place in Athens and thus saved Pisistratus from being overthrown by the populace; and how he went to a neighbor's house one day to borrow fire and carried it home in a lantern. The passer-by who asked him what he was looking for with a lantern in the daytime received the answer, "A man who will mind his own business."

**Æsop's Fables** The famous collection of fables ascribed to Æsop. Although they come to us now in literary form, they are generally conceded to be not only of folk origin, but to have been current among the folk in Greece during Æsop's lifetime. In answer to the theory advanced by Benfey and others that Æsop is innocent of responsibility for them, we have only the certainty that they were linked with his name in Athens, that Herodotus, less than a century after Æsop's death, mentions him with definiteness, that Aristophanes mentions both Æsop and his "drolleries," that Aristotle and Lucian cite Æsop's story of the wisdom of the bull in having horns upon his head instead of on his shoulders, that Socrates versified some of Æsop's fables, and that they were praised, as Æsop's, by Plato.

Concerning their oriental origin, out of the whole number extant (something between 231 and 256) only one fourth can be directly traced to India. Thirteen of them are identified with certain "Stories of the Past" in the *Jatakas*, among them The Wolf and the Lamb, The Ass in Lion's Skin, The Fox and the Raven, The Goose That Lays the Golden Eggs. Among a few obvious parallels to stories in the *Mahābhārata* are The Lion and the Mouse, The Belly and the Members, The Farmer and the Serpent, The Two Pots, and The Cat Turned into Maiden. All the rest are believed to have been folk fables of Greece and are associated with Æsop as preserver, adapter, and hander-on. That some clever mind used and adapted traditional material is strikingly shown in the religious and political applications of the stories.

Many anecdotes exist pointing up such application. The fable of The Wolf and the Crane is said to have been used by a Rabbi ben Hananiah to prevent the Jews from rising against the Romans. Kriloff used them to needle the Russian bureaucracy. And the first translation of Æsop into Chinese was immediately suppressed by sensitive officials who suspected them of local authorship.

Demetrius Phalereus made the first collection of *Æsop's Fables* and "put them in a book" about 300 B.C., which though lost, is said to be the basis for the famous collection by Phædrus. Babrius, the Roman poet, versified them in the 3rd century A.D. Phædrus translated 42 of them into Latin elegiacs in the 1st century A.D. This is usually considered the most celebrated of the collections. In the 9th century Ignatius Diaconus put 53 of

them into verse. Maximus Planudes, a 15th century monk, collected 144 of the fables, including certain oriental and Hebraic additions and a life of Æsop, and published them at Milan about 1480 along with Ranuzio's 100 *Fabule Æsopice*. This was published again in Paris in 1546 with a few additional fables. There was a Heidelberg edition in 1610 containing 136 fables in imitation of the Babrius rendering. These were followed by various collections of more or fewer fables published in Oxford and Leipzig, 1718-1820. All of the fables, 231 to date, were arranged and published by J. G. Schneider at Breslau in 1810. The numbering system for the fables adopted here follows that of Joseph Jacobs' *The Fables of Æsop* (New York, 1894).

aes or aos síde People of the mounds, or "shee folk": the ancient Irish Tuatha Dé Danann, or people of the goddess Danu, the ancient Irish gods, who took up their abode in the hills and mounds (*síde*) of Ireland after their defeat by the Milesians: now the fairies of contemporary Irish folklore. Compare *DAOINE SÍDE*.

Afrekete A goddess of Dahomey religion; youngest child of Agbè and Naéte of the Sea pantheon, and guardian of the treasures of the sea. She appears also in the role of clever, undisciplined trickster in some of the myths. Afrekete has the reputation of being a great gossip and teller of secrets; those who represent her in the dance hold a finger to their lips. The dance of her possession resembles that of Legba.

African and New World Negro folklore Negro folklore is told today throughout Negro Africa, south of the Sahara, as well as in the regions of North America, the West Indies, and South America where descendants of African slaves are found. Two striking characteristics of this body of tradition—its present wide distribution and its remarkable toughness—can be appreciated only in terms of its history. Surviving the drastic social changes that accompanied the forceful transplanting of African peoples into slavery on a strange continent, Negro folklore has persisted in the New World as a well-defined and basically homogeneous entity regardless of the folklore, culture, and language of the dominant groups, whether English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, or American. Many elements from these European groups have been incorporated into the folklore told today by Negroes in the New World; however, as the term Negro folklore is used in this article, it indicates only those items which have African origin.

The wealth of Negro folklore is no less impressive than its persistence. Struck has estimated the number of African folktales at nearly a quarter of a million. Kiplip estimates that five thousand different African myths and tales have actually been published, although her bibliography, prepared in 1938, contains references to nine thousand. If publications from the New World are included this number is considerably increased. Yet in reality only a beginning has been made at recording Negro folklore. Among the thousands of tribes in Africa, there is not a single one for which a complete collection of myths and tales has been published. Published collections of more than two hundred tales are almost unheard of, although the number of tales known to single tribes undoubtedly runs into thousands.

Numerically at least, the position is better with re-

spect to proverbs, but some of the largest African collections have not been translated and others are almost certainly incomplete. Doke explicitly denies any claim to the completeness of his well-known collection of 1,695 Lamba proverbs from Northern Rhodesia: "Lamba proverbs seem to be without number. Since putting together the present collection I have gathered another two hundred without any effort on my part; and a further number has been laid aside owing to lack of confirmation. Mulekelela, the Lamba story-teller, supplied me in the first place with more than half of these aphorisms: he has a wonderful mine of this lore, and one day reeled off as many as 250 at a single sitting." The largest collection from a single African tribe is still that of 3,600 Ashanti (Twi) proverbs from the Gold Coast, edited by Christaller in 1895, of which 830 have been translated by Rattray. For the New World, the largest collection is Beckwith's 972 proverbs from Jamaica.

In addition to myths, legends, folktales (*märchen*) and proverbs, which have received the most attention, there are several other forms of "unwritten literature" in Africa and the New World. The verses or lyrics of songs are, of course, found in great numbers in all Negro cultures, as are riddles. Tongue twisters and praise names also seem to have a wide distribution. A variety of other set verbal formulae are also widely found in Africa, although they are seldom included in collections of folklore. The Yoruba, for example, distinguish between myths and legends (*itan*) which they regard as historically true, folktales (*aló apagbe*), riddles (*aló*), proverbs (*owe*), songs (*orin*), praise names (*orile*), curses or incantations (*ofo*), and the Ifa divining verses (*ese*).

*Folktales* Of all Negro folklore, the Uncle Remus stories published by Joel Chandler Harris are probably the most widely known. Animal trickster tales of the same type are common in other parts of the New World and in Africa. In Uncle Remus, Br'er Rabbit is the outstanding trickster while Hare or Little Hare appears in this role in East Africa and among the Jukun and Angass of Nigeria. Tortoise, who is the primary trickster among the Yoruba, Edo, and Ibo of Nigeria and is found as a trickster of secondary importance in many parts of West Africa and in East Africa, is the primary trickster in Cuba. Spider, the animal trickster in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, is known by his Twi name, Anansi, in Jamaica and Dutch Guiana and is referred to as Aunt Nancy by the Gullah of South Carolina.

Because of the fame of Uncle Remus, animal stories have come to be regarded as the typical Negro folktales. The larger published collections, however, indicate the importance of human-trickster, and divine-trickster, and other non-animal tales such as those about *Ilakan-yana* among the Zulu. From West Africa a cycle of Dahomean tales collected by M. and F. Herskovits centers about *Yo*, described as a "trickster of gross undisciplined appetite." Among the Yoruba, the deity *Eshu* often appears in tales in a role similar to that of Tortoise, and the part played by *Orunmila* or *Ifa*, the deity associated with divination, does not differ markedly.

*Tricksters* Of the many incidents involving tricksters, several are widely distributed in both Africa and the New World. The trickster feigns illness or fatigue in order to ride a powerful and important animal as if it were his horse. He stations his relatives along the course so that he always appears ahead in a race with a

swifter animal. He challenges two giant animals to a tug-of-war, which he arranges so that they pull against each other without knowing it. He escapes death through counter-suggestion, as when Tortoise begs those about to kill him not to throw him in the water. One by one, he devours the children of a larger animal by posing as their nurse or governess. He borrows from a series of animals, arranging his payments so that each animal who comes to collect is killed in turn by a stronger creditor, and tricks the last one into canceling the debt. He pretends to cook himself to feed a guest; his guest dies in trying to imitate him. He induces another animal to throw his food into the water, smear his face with birdlime, jump into a fire, remain in a burning hut, kill his wife or mother, drive a red-hot nail into his head, or cut off his head or leg. The trickster himself, however, is by no means infallible or immune to tricks, as witness the most widely distributed story of this type, Tar Baby.

The difference between the European and African interpretations of the "Tortoise and the Hare" reveals the distinctive characteristics of the African trickster. Where the European Tortoise wins through dogged persistence while his rival sleeps, his African counterpart uses his wits. Clever, shrewd and unscrupulous, in common with tricksters all over the world, in Negro folktales he is invariably the underdog, apparently at the mercy of his larger and stronger associates. The triumph of brain over brawn and of brilliance over steadiness—the reverse of the European grasshopper-ant fable—is the consistent theme of the Negro trickster tale. Its prevalence in the New World has been interpreted as a psychological reaction to slavery, but this explanation does not account for its importance in African folklore.

To Spider, the Temne ascribe the qualities of "cunning, sleeplessness, almost immortality, an unlimited capacity for eating and an equal genius for procuring necessary supplies." Spider, who appears to be the Temne national hero, is shrewd, designing, selfish, and at times vindictive and cruel, while their secondary trickster, Cunnie Rabbit (actually a chevrotain) is intelligent and loveable. As foils for these two, Elephant is enormously strong but lacking in mental acuteness, while Deer is consistently stupid and helpless. It is not difficult to appreciate the psychological satisfaction to audience and narrator that comes from identification with a trickster who symbolizes freedom from physical limitations and moral restraints.

Tales in which the trickster escapes an impossible obligation by posing an equally impossible condition point up and illustrate a traditional right to contest an unjust display of authority, revealing a significant aspect of the attitudes of Africans toward their chiefs. Among the Kru, when Nymo is commanded by the king to weave a mat from rice grains, he asks for an old mat of the same kind to use as a pattern. Among the Ganda, a person ordered by the king to fashion a living human being, requests a thousand loads of charcoal made from human hair and a hundred pots of tears, to use for materials. In Zanzibar when Kibunwasi is challenged by the Sultan to build a very high house in one day, he invites the ruler to ascend a kite-string to see how the work is progressing. When the Sultan asks "How can a man climb a string?" he counters, "How can a man build a high house in a day?" Other examples are en-

countered in connection with the tests set for prospective sons-in-law. Among the Bulu of the Cameroons, when Tortoise is asked to fetch water in a basket, he asks his future father-in-law for a carrying-strap of smoke.

*Non-trickster tales* While trickster tales are common and widely known, many folktales do not involve tricksters. A common example is the story in which a vegetable or animal agrees to become the child of a barren woman on condition that its antecedents are never mentioned, and returns to its former shape when the bargain is broken. Similar is the theme of the metamorphosed wife or husband. A number of ogre tales, involving neither tricksters nor animals, conclude with the killing and opening of the ogre and the rescue of the victims he has eaten. In another tale, a person finds a pot that produces food whenever a certain magic password is given and then loses it; when he returns to the place where it was found, he receives a stick and, on pronouncing the password, is severely beaten. A deserving person obtains wealth from a supernatural source, while a jealous imitator receives snakes, wild beasts, and insects. A variant of this theme appears in the Hausa tale where a jealous woman, whose co-wife's dead child has been resurrected, kills her own daughter in the hope that she will be restored in a less ugly form, but gets only half a girl, with one eye, one arm and one leg.

A group of unfinished tales leaves the audience presented with dilemmas. A dilemma tale from the Bura of Nigeria, for example, describes a blind man whose mother, wife, and mother-in-law are also blind. When he finds seven eyes, should he leave his mother-in-law with only one eye and be "ashamed" before her and his wife all his life, or should he deprive his mother? As in the case of Stockton's "The Lady or the Tiger," no solution is suggested.

Tall tales are relatively rare in African literature, but several have been published by Frobenius and Fox, one of which contains the following incident: As a man shot an arrow at an antelope, his companion jumped up, ran to the animal, killed it, skinned it, butchered it, packed it away, caught the arrow in flight, and asked, "Are you trying to shoot a hole in my knapsack?"

In one Hausa tale, a combination of the two types is effected. A chief tells his three sons to mount their horses and prove their skill. The eldest charges at a baobab tree, thrusts his spear through it, and jumps through the hole with his horse. The second lifts his horse up by the bit and jumps over the top of the baobab. The youngest pulls up the baobab tree by the roots and rides up to his father, waving it aloft. The story-teller concludes with "Now I ask you who excelled among them? If you do not know, that is all."

*Cycles* Negro folktales often occur in cycles. For example, a narrator may begin his tale with a reference to a situation from which the trickster had just extricated himself. The cycles usually involve a central character, such as an animal-trickster, or the Dahomean Yo. Other cycles center about the adventures of twins, orphans, or precocious children.

The existence of cycles may explain the attempts of some students to read into African folktales a consistency and continuity there is no reason to expect. The appearance of one animal in the role of another, or the existence of several tales accounting for the death of the

same trickster in different ways, need cause no concern. Among the American Indians, where more variants have been recorded, it has become evident that even within a single tribe a search for the "correct" version of a particular tale is artificial and unrealistic. Junod has shown that this is also true for Africa in his discussion of the sequence of episodes in Thonga folktales, where, "although these form definite cycles, it is rare to hear two narratives follow exactly the same order," and "the tricks of the Hare are sometimes attributed to the Small Toad."

The manner in which a different twist may be given to a story by a slight alteration in a familiar plot comes as no surprise if the folktale is viewed as a form of verbal art, and if the story-teller is credited with something of the creative imagination of the novelist. Variation is disconcerting only if one assumes that the only well-told tale is one memorized and recited word for word. Studies of the art of story-telling that take into account the creative role of the raconteur, such as those which have shown such promise in the field of American Indian folklore, will not be possible for Africa until variants have been systematically recorded and published.

Collections of Negro folktales usually suffer from the suppression, deliberate or unintentional, of non-animal tales regarded as atypical or non-Negro, of variants considered inaccurate, and of "dirty stories." Cronise and Ward, for example, assert that "Evidence was occasionally found of the existence of another class of stories such as the missionary would not care to hear or to record." *Legends* Many Negro stories fall into the categories of legend and myth, both of which differ from the folktale in that they are looked upon as historically true. Reminiscences and personal anecdotes often conform so closely to patterns of folklore that they may be considered legends. In the New World there are legends of life in "slavery time," of slave uprisings and suicides, of the emancipation, and of floods, cyclones, famines, and other disasters. In South Africa legends dealing with tribal migrations are numerous, while in West Africa the succession of chiefs, the establishment of ruling houses, the sequence of tribal wars, and accounts of other events are related at length.

Tribal histories of this type are valuable sources of information where written documents are inadequate, and in many cases they contain no more fantasy than our own elementary history textbooks. But while they may refer to actual historical events, these accounts are handed down in the same way as folktales and myths, and in the course of time have assumed the character of folklore. Traditions of this sort cannot be accepted unreservedly as accurate statements of fact. That caution is necessary should be evident from studies of the growth of legends about individuals in Europe or America where historical documentation is available, and from the comparison of American Indian accounts of tribal origin and migration with archeological evidence.

*Myths* Accounts of the activities of the gods and of the origins of natural phenomena appear to be especially important in West Africa where a large body of mythology has been recorded. There are no comparable collections of myths from the southeastern Bantu, but Werner has been able to demonstrate the existence of mythology throughout Africa, turning to analyses of African religion where the literature on folklore was

deficient. The gaps in the literature are understandable, since African myths are regarded as sacred and often esoteric. Frequently, atonement must be offered before a myth may be told. In some tribes the knowledge of a family's totemic myths is believed to give to the knower power of life or death over its members; in such cases an informant's refusal to tell myths to an outsider is not surprising.

In the New World informants may be reluctant to tell myths of African origin because of the fear of ridicule by "progressive" groups or because African cults are proscribed by law. Stories about African deities have survived in recognizable form in Brazil, Haiti, Cuba, and Dutch Guiana, where their African names have been retained. The identification of African deities with Catholic saints, such as the Yoruba thunder god, Shango, with Santa Barbara, is a common phenomenon. From the opposite point of view, the reinterpretation of Christian mythology can be seen in the Sea Island versions of Bible stories collected by Stoney and Shelby.

*Explanatory Elements* Explanatory elements are common in folktales, myths, and legends, although there is considerable variation from one group to another in their use. For example, etiological tales are common among the Ila but infrequent among the Lamba in East Africa; in West Africa the same is true of the Ashanti as compared to the Hausa. In some tribes it is not considered necessary to state the explanation as explicitly as "That is how the tortoise got his shell," or "Since then the leopard lives in the forest." Similarly, while many Negro tales illustrate the consequences of good and bad behavior, the moral is not always explicitly stated.

*Proverbs* When the moral precepts of folktales are pointed up, this is usually done by concluding the tale with a proverb which sums up its philosophical implications. The meaning of a proverb, in fact, may be derived from a folktale in which it occurs, and may be explained to a stranger by reciting the folktale at length. Moreover, proverbs may be quoted by characters in folktales in the course of dialog. This leads to proverbs of the following type: "Sandpiper says: An orphan does not have great desires," or "Chicken says: We follow the one who has something."

The foregoing Jabo proverbs illustrate a form of statement typical of Liberia, but found in other parts of Africa and the New World as well. Thus, the Dutch Guiana proverb, "Koni-Koni says: When there is no more land, there remain the holes in the trees." Koni-Koni is "a rabbitlike animal" to be compared with *Cunnie Rabbit* of Sierra Leone, although the name in both cases is undoubtedly derived from the English "coney." Other typical proverb forms include those which begin "One does not . . ." and "No matter how . . ." and the balanced forms "If . . . , then . . ." "Where . . . , there . . ." "We . . . , but we do not . . ." and their variants.

The piquancy of some proverbs can be appreciated without reference to their cultural context, as in the following Yoruba examples: "One does not set fire to the roof and then go to bed"; "The world is in a bad way when an egg falls and breaks the bowl"; "No matter how sweet the journey, the householder returns home"; "No matter how small the needle, a chicken cannot swallow it"; "The flood spoils the road; it thinks it is renewing

it"; "The chicken alights on a rope; the rope doesn't get any rest, and the chicken doesn't get any rest"; "He who runs and hides in the bush is not doing it for nothing; if he is not chasing something, we know that something is chasing him"; "One does not become so mad at his head that he wears his hat on his buttocks."

**Riddles** Negro riddles are commonly stated in the form of declarative sentences rather than questions; thus, a stranger sometimes does not realize what he is expected to guess. In the following Yoruba riddles, the implied question is "Who is he?": "They cut off his head; they cut off his waist; his stump says he will call the town together." "They tell him to sit beside the fire, he sits beside the fire; they tell him to sit in the sun, he sits in the sun; they tell him to wash, he says, 'Death comes'." In some Yoruba riddles a proper name with no meaning is given to the character whose identity is to be guessed. "I look here; I look there; I don't see my mother, Odele." "Elephant dies, Mangudu eats him; buffalo dies, Mangudu eats him; Mangudu dies, there is no one who wants to eat him." The answers to these four riddles, drum, salt, ear, and cooking pot, might be guessed by strangers. Some riddles, like some proverbs, however, assume a knowledge of Yoruba institutions or artifacts, while others are based on puns and cannot be answered without knowledge of the language.

**Verbal formulae** Negroes employ a variety of set verbal formulae including spells, curses, incantations, blessings, invocations, prayers, greetings, passwords, and the like, which are stable in form and recited verbatim. Some, such as the passwords of the Yoruba Ogboni society or the secret formulae taught to boys in the East African circumcision and initiation rites, are esoteric. All differ in form of expression from ordinary speech or conversation. They fall, no less than riddles or proverbs, within the more precise definition of folklore as verbal art, which would exclude the religious beliefs and social customs with which they are associated, except in so far as study of these is necessary to understand their meaning and to describe the situations in which they are employed.

Examples of set verbal formulae are more often to be found in descriptions of African religion and social life than in collections of folklore, and their analysis from a stylistic or literary point of view has been neglected in favor of the social or religious customs in which they are imbedded. A plausible explanation of their neglect by folklorists would seem to be that their translation is often extremely difficult, and that even when individual words or sentences are understood, no coherent meaning may be recognized and the idea expressed may still be obscure. For example, a magical incantation that has no meaning may still work and often, even when an archaic or esoteric meaning is involved in a formula, it need not be understood by the person who recites it. Neither comprehension nor communication of meaning is essential for these forms so long as they are recited accurately and at the appropriate times. By this characteristic the verbal formulae, like the tongue twisters and praise names, are set completely apart from proverbs, riddles, myths, legends, and folktales in all of which the desire to convey an idea is of primary importance. Tongue twisters are found throughout the area of Negro folklore, but few have been recorded, possibly because they lose effect in translation.

**Praise names** Praise names, which are known as *kirari* among the Hausa, *oriki* among the Yoruba, and *isibongo* among the Zulu, are recited in honor of chiefs, important individuals, sibs, tribes, deities, animals, and inanimate objects. Personal characteristics or individual achievements are recounted in highly stylized form and often in archaic language. A person of exceptional importance among the Yoruba may have a series of praise names, one of which is played to him by the drummers and is referred to as his "drums" (*ilu*). Not infrequently proverbs are employed as Yoruba praise names, and among the Hausa the *kirari* of animals are sometimes encountered in dialog in the folktales. The butterfly is addressed in Hausa as "Oh Glistening One, Oh Book of God, Oh Learned One open your book." The lion is "Oh Strong One, Elder Brother of the Forest." The dog's *kirari* refers to the beatings he receives, to the belief that a prayer will not be heeded if his shadow falls on one who is praying, to his thinness and other characteristics: "Oh Dog, your breakfast is a club, your *fura* a stick, Oh Dog, you spoil a prayer, you are Hyena's perquisite, your ribs are like the plaits in a grass mat, your tail is like a roll of tobacco, your nose is always moist."

**Songs** Songs, of which words rather than music fall within the realm of folklore (considered as verbal art), are included in many African and New World Negro folktales. The verses of ceremonial songs, used to "call the gods" and for other ritual purposes, have much in common with spells and incantations, and what has been said about them also applies here. A third type of song of great importance in both sections of the Negro world is the topical song of current events used to spread news and gossip, and employed at times in a kind of black-mail. Composed in terms of African versification, these songs, even when created in European tongues as in the case of calypsos of Trinidad, the songs of allusion of Haiti, or the *Plenas* of Puerto Rico, frequently ignore rhyme in favor of prosodic rhythms. Many blues songs of the United States fall within the same general category.

Improvised sometimes by amateurs, sometimes by professionals, the topical songs have been known to persist for generations when they commemorate some historic event or when they treat with some incident of lasting interest. Thus, songs referring to battles of the 18th century are still current in Nigeria, just as calypsos were composed in Trinidad deriding certain slave overseers or commemorating the first visits of *The Graf Zeppelin* or *The Duke and Duchess of Kent*. Songs denouncing the infidelity of a sweetheart, or perhaps the injustice of a law-court, are composed constantly, following traditional patterns, and after brief periods of popularity are usually supplanted by others of the same variety.

Spirituals, a widely discussed but relatively unimportant form, are a blend of European and African motifs, deriving their distinctive features from the African musical phrasing they employ. Work songs of the Negro of the New World follow close on African patterns in both words and music. Ring-shouts, common to church parties in the South of the United States, also show African musical and verse structure, as do the Afro-Cuban popular songs.

Consideration of songs has been sketchy in most discussions of Negro folklore and documentary material has only recently become available on phonograph records, notable among which are the albums issued by the



Literary of Character. Yet, to mention only one form, the *signifying* - there are no less important in Negro folklore than are the songs of the troubadours in European literature.

*Setting and function.* Folklore in published collections can be classified according to form, studied in terms of the literary or stylistic devices, and analyzed in terms of the history and diffusion of specific incidents, proverbs, and the like. Recorded texts, however, are only the fleshless, bloodless skeletons of a form of art that is alive and warm. Since they are verbal rather than written, all forms of folklore except some of the secret spells used in black magic, involve both the reactions of the audience and the mode of expression of the speaker. The human, social situations in which folktales are told or in which proverbs are quoted are essential parts of folklore. Related to this is the problem of the functions of the various forms of folklore, the ends they serve, and the uses to which they are put.

Reading folktales is perhaps even less satisfactory than reading a play instead of seeing it. Equivalents of interpretive instructions to the actors are not indicated and stage directions are usually omitted. Moreover, the musical participation of the audience that adds so much to Negro folktales may be impossible to put into words, and is commonly not even indicated. Listeners may reply to direct questions from the story-teller or interject expressions of assent and approval to encourage him. More characteristic, and even more effective, is the response of the audience when they take up the chorus of a song, clapping their hands to beat out the rhythm. To many audiences the songs that stud Negro folktales in both Africa and the New World are more important than the tales themselves. If a Yoruba narrator attempts to cut short a favorite song his audience protests. Each time the song appears he must wait until his audience is ready before he can resume his story. Repetition in Negro folktales, which may strike Europeans or Americans as monotonous, is sometimes explained by the popularity of a melody rather than by any element of the story itself. A good story teller creates additional occasions for well-liked songs. He lengthens or shortens his tales depending on the reaction of his audience, in the same way that he rearranges familiar plots and characters. For this reason tales heard in their actual setting may be considerably at variance with texts set down while working alone with an informant.

The Negro story-teller combines the art of actor with that of dramatist. From all parts of Africa and the New World have come descriptions of his dramatic timing, his expressiveness, and his virtuosity in acting out the various roles, altering his voice and employing pantomime to mimic each character in turn. In both Africa and the New World, folktales are told at night, heightening the fantasy and adding to the effectiveness of the dramatic techniques employed by the story-teller. Sessions of story-telling commonly begin with riddles before the younger children fall asleep, and on certain nights, when the moon is full or a wake is being held, they may last late into the night. It is widely felt that folktales are the special domain of the spirits of the dead, and that story-telling during the day will be punished.

Although it has long been recognized that folklore is a favorite form of amusement, its other functions have usually been disregarded. Praise names, passwords,

curse, incantations, and other set verbal formulae have nothing to do with amusement. Each has its own function and setting, indicated by its name. The same is true of certain types of songs, such as lullabies, love songs, work and war songs.

Songs, myths, and verbal formulae may be essential parts of social or religious ceremonies. Myths, legends, as sanctions of custom, are foundations of cultural stability. When a ritual, a social distinction, or an accepted behavior pattern is questioned, there is need for a familiar myth or legend to explain how it originated, a proverb to show its wisdom, or a moral tale set in a story, for example, what happens to those who are greedy or who disregard their totemic taboos.

A special, but none the less revealing, example of this is found in the Ifa divining verses of Nigeria, Dahomey, and Cuba. These verses usually begin with praise, interpreted as diviners' praise names. Many of them recount how that individual prospered who made a sacrifice prescribed by the diviner, or how one who refused to sacrifice suffered. These accounts are in a form which, under other circumstances, would be recognized as folktales and myths; here, however, they are incorporated as integral parts of the verses and of the divining ritual itself. The Ifa verses demonstrate that folktales, no less than myths or sacred songs, may be essential parts of religious ceremonies, with a function quite distinct from amusement. Many of the tales, furthermore, are etiological, with explanatory elements of the usual "just so" types based on whether the sacrifices were or were not offered. By reciting tales, many of which have the same moral, the diviner strengthens his client's belief in the efficacy of sacrifice and divination, with well-known facts of nature often cited as proof of the truth of the verses. *Functions of proverbs.* Negro proverbs constitute one of the most potent factors for individual conformity and cultural continuity. In West Africa proverbs are cited in court trials in much the same way that European lawyers cite cases which serve as legal precedent. Where questions of equity rather than fact are concerned, quoting an especially apt proverb at the appropriate moment may be enough to decide the case.

Proverbs are constantly being used to influence the behavior of others and as instruments of self-control. The Chaga, who say that proverbs "strike like arrows into the heart," resist the suggestions of evil comrades and the temptations of their own desires when a proverb is called to mind. The same proverb that may be used to criticize the actions of an enemy or rival may be quoted by a friend as kindly advice. The proverb of the flood and road cited above can be used either in criticism or ridicule of someone who thinks he is helping but is only making matters worse, or quoted to him as friendly advice to leave the matter alone. That of the chicken and the rope is used to chide a person who has jumped "out of the frying pan into the fire," or as a friendly warning to "Look before you leap."

A typical use of Negro proverbs is for derision or defiance. The Yoruba proverb about the egg and the bowl is used as a warning to a smaller or weaker person who presumes to challenge or criticize those above him, while that of the needle and the chicken is used in defiance of a stronger or more influential person. So characteristic is this use of proverbs that in West Africa the songs of defiance and derision, which are commonly

based on similar proverbs, are known as "proverbial songs." The proverb of the needle and the chicken is the basis of a topical song sung by Yoruba women in defiance of senior or stronger co-wives.

A fundamental characteristic of proverbs is that they are almost never applied in their literal sense. Once the usage of a proverb is explained, the appropriateness of the interpretation is apparent, but it may be somewhat different from the association which first comes to the reader's mind. For this reason collections consisting only of lists of proverbs with translations and explanations of their literal meanings are inadequate; yet collections such as those of Herzog and Blooah (Jabo), of Herskovits and Tagbwe (Kru), and of Travélé (Bambara), which analyze the situations to which proverbs apply, have been exceptions.

Most Negro proverbs seem to be applicable to a number of different circumstances, yet each is regarded as most apt for one particular situation. An individual's skill in citing the proverb most appropriate to a particular occasion is recognized by the Yoruba. Their proverbs "An elder cannot see a rat but that it becomes a lizard next time" and "An elder does not finish washing his hands and then say that he will eat some more" are both applicable to a person who cannot make up his mind. Yet the former is regarded as more appropriate for this situation, while the latter is reserved for the person who is too greedy in his demands on younger people.

Unlike folktales and riddles, proverbs are seldom recited; they are quoted in the course of ordinary conversation. Almost never does a discussion lack the spice of proverbs. African college girls on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria are said to carry on metaphorical conversations for hours, using nothing but proverbs, but this may be considered atypical and ostentatious. As collections of folktales are devalitized by the absence of gesture, facial expression, vocal emphasis, and the reaction and participation of the audience, so lists of proverbs suffer by being torn from the context of speech in which they normally occur.

*Folklore in education* In operating to ensure cultural stability and continuity, folklore is important in the process of transmitting culture through the education of the individual. Myths, legends, and secret formulae may be a part of the instructions given by a parent to a child or by a priest or chief to an initiate, while other forms of folklore may be learned informally in social situations not specifically directed toward education. Riddles, which are regarded as sharpening a child's wits, also teach lessons which must eventually be learned. In addition to the characteristics of animals, human beings, and other natural objects, they may refer to social distinctions and social etiquette, as the following: "Who drinks with the king?" (Fly). "Who goes down the street past the king's house and does not salute the king?" (Rain water).

The role of Negro folklore in education has been best analyzed by Raum among the Chaga. Stories about monsters are told to the youngest children, with implied threats to those who misbehave. Later, these are gradually replaced by moral tales which indicate such attitudes as diligence and filial piety, and show the consequences of laziness, snobbishness, and rebelliousness. When the Chaga child reaches fourteen, folktales and riddles give way to proverbs. These are employed by

parents to epitomize a lesson which they wish to teach their children, and they appear as a didactic device in the instructions given to Chaga boys during the initiation ceremonies. "When a child flies into a rage, when he lies or steals, when he is recalcitrant or violates the code of etiquette, when he makes an ass of himself, when he is cowardly, he hears his actions commented upon in the words of a proverb." The impression made upon the child is frequently so forceful that the conditions under which a particular proverb was first heard can be remembered in adulthood. The importance of folklore in African life, and of proverbs in particular, is perhaps best summarized in the words of one of Raum's informants: "The Chaga have four big possessions: land, cattle, water, and proverbs."

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RICHARD A. WATERMAN and WILLIAM R. BASCOM

**afrit, afreet, or ifrit** In the Koran, an epithet applied to a demon: later construed as the designation of a particularly terrible and dangerous kind of demon, and prevalently so accepted in Arabian mythology and among all Moslems.

**afterbirth** The placenta. In the folk belief of nearly all the peoples in the world (civilized and primitive) the afterbirth is closely associated with the soul, life, death, health, character, success, or failure of the person with whom it is born, and is therefore equally tied up with the deeply rooted human belief in the separable or external soul. What becomes of the afterbirth (and with it the umbilical cord and caul) either influences or determines the whole life-story of the child. It is variously believed to embody his own soul-substance or his guardian spirit, to be either his brother, twin, or actual double, or to be so mystically and inseparably connected with

him that its treatment or fate will shape his skills, luck, and fate. Among peoples and cultures from British Columbia to Tierra del Fuego, Iceland, Siberia, Europe, and South Africa, among the peoples of China, Indonesia, the south Pacific, and also among certain North American Indians, the afterbirth is regarded with awe and is either preserved or disposed of according to the belief of the group.

The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia present the afterbirth of a boy baby to the ravens, believing that this will endow him with the power to see the future; the afterbirth of a girl baby is buried at high-tide mark to insure her becoming a good clam digger. The Yukaghir peoples of northeastern Siberia have this same reliance on the sympathetic magic involved when they tie up the afterbirth in a reindeer skin and attach to it a miniature bow and arrow, a little wooden knife, and scraps of fur to make a boy a good hunter. A toy woman's knife, thimble, and needle attached to the afterbirth bundle of a girl will make her a skillful worker. A people as far removed from these two groups as the Aymara Indians of Bolivia cover the afterbirth with flowers and bury it along with tiny farm tools for a boy and cooking pots for a girl. All over Europe the people believe that one's fate is tied up with his afterbirth. Great care is taken to prevent its being found and eaten by an animal, or exposed to evil spirits. If an animal should find and eat it, the child would grow up with all the most unattractive qualities (physical or mental) of that animal.

The belief that the afterbirth contains part of the soul-substance of the child is found as far apart as Iceland and Zanzibar, Australia and Sumatra. The Swahilis of Zanzibar bury the afterbirth under the house in which a child is born to insure his loyalty to home. The Karo Bataks (Sumatra) also bury it under the house, believing that it contains the child's true soul. He has another soul for everyday life, but the true soul resides in the afterbirth and must be kept safe. The Bataks of Sumatra also bury their afterbirths under the house, believing they contain the souls of their children. Some of the tribes of Sumatra, however, carefully preserve them with sal and tamarinds and invoke the souls therein, a practice bordering on the guardian-spirit idea. This guardian-spirit idea is shared by the Sumatran Kooboos, who believe the afterbirth contains the guardian spirit that will protect an individual from evil all his life. Sumatran Battras believe everyone has two guardian spirits: one contained in the germ of conception (called elder brother) and one in the afterbirth (called younger brother). Central Australian tribes also believe the afterbirth contains the child's spirit and hide it safely in the ground. Queensland, Australia, tribes believe that only a certain part of the soul, the cho-i, remains in the afterbirth. They never fail to bury it at once and mark the spot with a cone of twigs so that Anjea may easily find it to make another baby.

Among the Baganda of central Africa the afterbirth is the actual twin or double of the child that is born. It is put in a pot and buried under a plantain tree (evidently *Musa arnoldiana*). It becomes a ghost and goes into the tree, which is carefully guarded lest anyone not kin should make food or drink from it. If this should happen the ghost-twin would go away and the child in the house would follow its twin and die. The king's "twin" is kept in a little temple and a special

guardian is appointed, the kimbugwe, to take care of it. He takes it out of its wrappings once a month, allows the moon to shine upon it, rubs it with butter, shows it to the king to assure him of the welfare of his double, and returns it to the safety of the temple. Tribes south of the Uganda also believe the afterbirth is a human being. Certain North American Indians tell vivid stories revealing belief in the afterbirth as twin of the child. In the Creek Indian story of the *Bead-Spitter and Thrown-Away*, the father hides and watches for the secret playmate of his son, who has surprisingly asked for two toy bows with arrows. From his watching place the man sees another boy come from the afterbirth in the bushes (where he himself had thrown it) and play with the other. It is the child's own twin. This development of twin from afterbirth appears also in Wichita, Pawnee, and Cherokee tales. But in the Natchez Indian story, *Thrown-Away* developed from the discarded umbilical cord.

The Batanga belief of the little ghost in the tree ties up the folklore of the afterbirth with another widespread folk belief, i.e. the birth-tree and its identity with the child for whom it is planted. In Calabar, West Africa, a young palm tree is planted when a child is born and the afterbirth is buried under it. The afterbirth insures the growth of the tree as the growth of the tree insures the growth of the child. This belief and practice prevail in New Zealand and the Molucca Islands, in Pomerania in Prussia, and in other parts of Europe. It is paralleled by the Hupa Indians of California who split in two a young fir tree at the birth of a child, put the afterbirth and umbilical cord inside, and bind the tree together again. The welfare of the child depends thereafter on the fate of the tree.

In ancient Jewish practice various mysterious medicines and charms were made from the ashes of the afterbirth. Mixed with milk they would charm the wasting disease away from a small child; mixed with snapdragons and tied in a little bag around a child's neck, they proved a powerful charm against bewitchment. In China medicinal pills were often made from the placenta. The Peruvian Aymara Indians also value its ashes as a kind of cure for various ills.

The Javanese custom differs from all these. In Java the women place the afterbirth in a little vessel, bedeck it with fruits, flowers, and lighted candles, and set it adrift in the river at night to please the crocodiles. This is either because all afterbirths are crocodiles, brothers and sisters of their human counterparts, or because the crocodiles are inhabited by the ancestors of the people, and one twin is religiously returned to them.

**afterworld** The abode of the dead; the world after death: a concept of all human mythologies and religions. Sometimes it is situated in gloomy regions under the earth or under the sea, sometimes in a bright sky world; sometimes it is on a nearby, or distant, island, as the Abokas of New Hebrides (Melanesian) mythology, or it is thought to be far across the sea, or sometimes just "in the west."

Many mythologies contain the dual concept of a wonderful abode for the blessed and a grim underworld for the less fortunate. The Central Eskimo, for instance, have Qudlivun, a happy land in the sky full of games and pleasure, Adlivun, an undersea world of discom-

fort and punishment, and Adliparmiut, an even lower region, which is not quite so terrible as Adlivun, but from which there is no return. Other afterworlds typical of the dual (or multiple) concept are: the Greek Elysium, for heroes and the blessed, originally situated in the western ocean, and Hades, the underworld of shades; the Norse Valhalla, hall of the chosen slain, Bilskirnir, Thor's huge palace where the thralls were entertained as well as their masters in Valhalla, Fensalir, Frigga's palace, where happy married couples were invited to come and stay forever, and Hel, the underground realm of death; and the Christian system of heaven, hell, and purgatory. The Caroline Islands (Micronesian) afterworld includes a sky heaven for those souls who, in the shape of sea birds, manage to reach it, a special region set apart for warriors so that they may go on with their fighting, and a place where earth and heaven meet for women who die in childbirth. But men who hang themselves are shut out altogether, because the gods do not like to see their protruding tongues.

Nai Thombo Thombo is the afterworld of Fijian (Melanesian) belief. Life there follows the pattern of life on earth; but few souls ever reach it because the journey is so beset with perils and frustrations. The soul must carry a whale's tooth, for instance, which has been put into the dead hand. This he must hurl at a certain tree to which he will come. If he misses, he must return to his grave; if he hits it, he may proceed to another place where he awaits the souls of his strangled wives. He cannot continue his journey until they have all caught up with him. (Bachelors are always caught by demons.) The soul with his wives then advances on his journey, fighting demons on every side. If he does not overcome them, they eat him. If he wins, he eventually reaches a mountain place where he is questioned. After the questioning he is either sent back to earth to be deified by his descendants, or he is dumped into the sea: the path to the last place. Nai Thombo Thombo is not only a real place in Fijian belief, but a real road leads to it, through a real town. In this town the people take care to build all doors exactly opposite each other, to make easier the way for the bewildered souls. They are careful, too, to leave no sharp implements lying about which might injure the passing ones.

Tongan and Samoan (Polynesian) mythology has an afterworld named Pulotu, which is either on an island "to the northwest," or under the sea. Samoans believe that the entrance to it is through two round openings in certain rocks on the west end of Savaii island. The big opening is for chiefs, the smaller one for other people. Once through the openings, the souls drop into a pit; at the bottom of the pit runs a river which carries them to Pulotu. There they bathe in the water of life and are young again.

Society Islanders (also Polynesian) believe that the soul is met at death by other souls who conduct it to Po, an underworld of darkness, where it is fed to a god three times and, after the third reshaping, is deified. The people of the Marquesas believe in an upper pleasant world for gods and chiefs, and three lower worlds, one below the other, to which the souls of the dead are consigned according to the number of pigs sacrificed for them. The lowest of these regions is the pleasantest, the top the worst.

The shaman of the Caingang Indians (Brazil) sits

beside the body of one newly dead and instructs the soul how to face the dangers of the journey to the afterworld. The soul must be careful not to take a certain forking path which leads into the web of a giant spider; it must take care to avoid a certain trap which would hurl it into a boiling pot; it must walk warily on a slippery path beside a swamp where a huge crab is waiting. If the soul escape these dangers it will come at last to a western underworld where it is always day; here the aged become young and hunt joyfully in a forest teeming with deer, tapirs, and all kinds of game. Later comes a second death, after which the soul inhabits some insect, usually a mosquito or ant. The death of this insect is the end and obliteration of the soul. Hence the Cain-gang do not kill insects.

In North American Karok Indian belief, mortals who visit the world of the dead see their departed ones living and dancing just as they did on earth. But the earthly visitor discovers that he has been away from the world a year, when he thought it was a day. Among the Omaha the Milky Way is the path the spirits travel to a seven-fold spirit world. An old man sits by the Milky Way directing the souls of the blessed to a short cut. The souls of the Caribou Eskimo pass into the keeping of Pana, the Woman-Up-There, whose sky heaven is full of holes. The holes are stars; and when anything is spilled Up There it comes through the holes in the shape of rain, snow, hailstones, etc. The dead are re-born in the house of Pana, and brought back to earth with the help of the moon, to live again as human beings, or animals, birds, fish, etc. The nights no moon is visible are the nights the moon is busy helping Pana bring the souls to the world again.

The Dahomean Negro afterworld is said by some to be in the sky, by others to be beneath the earth. But the path to it is so well known that there is a map of it. In Bantu mythology the souls of the dead inhabit an underground region referred to by many of the tribes as Ku-zimu. Earthquakes are believed to be caused by agitation among these underground populations.

agaric <sup>4: 351 p. 2.</sup> A fungus of the mushroom group (order <sup>491</sup> Agaricales). The agarics of folklore are the fly agaric (*Amanita muscaria*) whose deadly poison is often used in a decoction for killing flies, and an agaric found growing on birch trees which provides the spunk or touch-wood of such sudden and magical combustibility.

The Siberian Koryaks endow this poisonous fungus (the fly agaric) with a spirit or personality. Wapaq they call it and believe the wapaq are powerful guiding spirits for anyone who dares to eat. The myth says Big Raven caught a whale, but could not send it home again because he could not lift the big grass-bag the whale would need for food en route. He cried out to Valiynin (Existence) and Valiynin said, "Eat the wapaq." Valiynin spat upon the earth and there stood the little white plants with the foam of the spit turning to spots upon their hats. So Big Raven ate the wapaq and suddenly felt so gay and mighty that he easily lifted the big grass-bag for the whale, and the whale went home to the sea. Then when Big Raven saw the whale swimming home he said, "O wapaq, grow on the earth forever," and to his children he said, "Learn whatever the wapaq shall teach." So the Koryaks believe today that a person affected with agaric is guided by the wapaq. If

an old man should eat agaric and the wapaq within the agaric should whisper, "You have just been born," that old man would begin to cry like a baby. If the wapaq should say, "Go to the afterworld," then the old man would die.

In Europe, Scotland, Ireland, and various Celtic islands, another kind of agaric (probably *Polyporus officinalis*) which grows on trees is looked upon as having great mysterious powers and properties. The seeming magic of its sudden combustibility is probably the reason for its use in kindling the Beltane fires (the *teine éigin*, the fire from rubbing sticks). Not only is the flare so instantaneous and bright as to seem pure magic, but this wonderful substance is believed also to possess great potency as a charm against witchcraft and various diseases. It was also thought to be able to render poisons impotent.

Agastya or Agasti A famous Rishi of India, regarded as the author of certain Vedic hymns: in Hindu mythology, noted for his asceticism, his magical birth from a water-jar into which his two fathers, Mitra and Varuna, had dropped their seed on seeing the nymph, Urvasi, and his creation by magic of the beautiful Lopāmudrā, whom he married in order to have sons and save himself and his ancestors from destruction. He is celebrated for halting the growth of the Vindya mountains and for drinking up the ocean. The *Mahābhārata* describes how a certain group of asuras, who were at war with the gods, hid themselves in the ocean and decided to work from there against holy men and Brāhmanas and put an end to the world. The gods appealed to Agastya for help, so he drank up the ocean; the asuras were exposed in their hiding place, and killed by the gods. Perhaps the most famous feat of Agastya was his preventing the Vindya mountains from stopping the course of the sun. Vindya wanted to be higher than Mount Meru around whose peak the sun and moon revolved. So he began to grow up and up until the gods were afraid he would stop the sun in its course altogether. They begged Agastya to do something to stop the alarming growth. Agastya packed up his belongings and with his family started on a journey into the south. When he came to Vindya, he asked a boon: that Vindya cease growing until his return. So Vindya stopped growing, and is waiting yet, the same height as on that day, for Agastya decided to stay in the south forever. Some stories say he came back; but most people believe he never did because the mountain has not grown an inch. How his miraculous digestion put an end to the indigestible demon ram who expected to kill Agastya from within, is another favorite Hindu story.

After his death Agastya was assigned a place in the heavens and is identified with Canopus. Popular mythology ascribes to him the power of staying monsoons, i.e. controlling the waters of the ocean and restoring the sun to man. He is still living (though invisible) on Agastya's hill in Travancore, and regarded as the patron saint of southern India who was instrumental in the introduction of Hindu literature and religion in that region. See MAHĀBHĀRATA.

agate A variegated quartz or chalcedony having the colors usually in bands, but existing also in solid white, brown, and red, as well as white and black, white and gray, white and red varieties: according to Theocritus

named for the river Achates in Sicily where it was first found. Agate relieves thirst if held in the mouth long enough; it reduces fever; and it was once believed to turn the sword of an enemy against himself. It is dedicated to June; symbolizes health and longevity. In Jewish lore the agate was believed to prevent one from stumbling or falling, and was especially prized by horsemen for that reason. In Arabia arrow-shaped amulets made of agate were worn as being good for the blood. The medieval belief that agate was a specific against the bites of scorpions and snakes was somewhat dispelled by Jacques Grevin, a physician of 16th century Paris. He published various writings casting doubt on the efficacy of toadstone and turquoise for detecting poisons, but could not deny that powdered agate *on the tongue* (not worn as an amulet) would cure a poisoned patient. The varieties of agate used by certain North American Indians to make implements and blades are loosely and popularly called *flint*.

**agave** A plant of the genus *Agave*; especially, the century plant (*Agave americana*), so called because it flowers when it reaches maturity (in ten to thirty years) and then dies, giving rise to the fable that it blooms once in a century. The plant is a native of arid regions in the southern United States and Central America and has long been cultivated in Mexico for its sap, which is fermented. The resulting thin, buttermilk-like liquid is called pulque and is widely consumed in Mexico. A very intoxicating liquor, mezcal or aguardiente de maguey, is distilled from pulque.

The goddess and discoverer of the plant, Mayauel, is represented with four hundred breasts and seated before or on the plant. The agave was regarded by the Nahua people as the Tree of Life and its milk was used by Xolotl to nurse the first man and woman created by the Aztec gods.

**Agbe** Chief god of the Thunder pantheon (Xevioso) of Dahomey religion. He was entrusted with full charge of world affairs by his mother Sogbo (in this pantheon, synonym for Mawu). In the Sky pantheon Agbe is the son of Mawu and Lisa, but the Xevioso cult identifies him with Lisa. Agbe has the whole sea for his dwelling, but to converse with his mother Agbe goes to that place where the sea and sky meet. Hence the round rising and setting suns are called the eyes of Agbe (Dahomey being so situated that the sun is seen both to rise from and sink into the sea). In spite of his powers in the world, Agbe was not shown how to send rain. He must send water up from the sea to his mother who causes it to fall from the sky as rain upon the earth. Hence when lightning strikes a ship at sea, Agbe has struck it; but lightning on the earth is sent by Mawu (Sogbo) (see Herskovits *Dahomey* II, 151, 156, 159).

The Dahomey Agbe survives in Haiti as Agwe or Agwe Woyo, a god of the Rada division or class of the vodun pantheon. Here too he is god of the sea and has a son and a daughter, Agweto and Agveta. His worship is strong only in coastal communities. In the overlapping of Catholicism in Haiti upon the basic vodun elements, St. Expeditius has been equated with Agwe.

**Agdistis** Offspring of the seed of Zeus dropped in sleep upon the earth, a hermaphrodite: identified with the Phrygian Earth-Mother, Cybele. The story as told by Pausanias states that the gods abhorred the ab-

normality and severed its male organs. From these grew the almond tree from whose blossom (or fruit) Nana conceived Attis. Later the sight of the beautiful Attis filled Agdistis with such passion, that at the moment of his marriage she drove Attis mad and he castrated himself. The father of the bride in like madness did the same. Attis died of the wound, and Agdistis, grief-stricken and repentant, implored Zeus never to allow the beautiful body of Attis to decompose. This Zeus promised. According to Hesychius, Strabo, Ovid, and many others, Agdistis and Cybele are one and the same. The story explains the practice of the self-emasculation of the priests of the original Attis cults during the orgiastic rituals. It is tied up with the symbolism of the joint male-female potencies in nature, with the theme of the uncorrupted body, and of course with the widespread Adonis-Aphrodite, Osiris-Isis vegetation myths.

**ages of man** The periods of time into which the life of an individual is considered to be divided. What walks on four legs at morning, two legs at noon, and three legs at evening? The answer to this riddle of the Sphinx: Man (who creeps on all fours in infancy, walks upright in manhood, uses a cane in old age). The division of the life of man into seven stages is said to have been first defined by Hippocrates: infancy, childhood, boyhood, youth, manhood, middle age, old age. This has been reworded by many writers as infancy, childhood, puberty, youth, prime, old age, senility. References to these seven periods are frequent in Midrashic writings. Probably the best known is the following: The child of a year is like a king, adored by all; at two or three he is like a swine, playing in the mire. In the third period he is likened to a kid "which capers hither and thither making glad the hearts of all who look upon it." This third period continues until the individual is about eighteen years old. At twenty he is like a horse, spirited and confiding in the strength of youth. Then comes the fifth stage when he is like an ass, burdened with wife and children, and having to travel backward and forward to bring home sustenance. The sixth stage is not attractive, being that time during which man snatches his bread wherever he finds it, caring for nothing but his own household. In the seventh stage he is like an ape, asking for food and drink and playing like a child, "but a learned man like David is a king, though old."

**ages of the world** Those periods of the earth's existence between cosmic cataclysms. Both the Jews and Babylonians record their history as before and after the flood. The idea of the deluge is found in most primitive cultures, either past or future, while many North American Indian mythologies derive creation out of a watery chaos. Most Indians of South America record two destructions, water and fire. The Aztecs record four: earth, air, fire, and water, i.e. famine, hurricane, fire, and flood, although the order is not certain.

The Golden, Silver, Bronze, and Iron ages of the ancient classical world are the most widely known. During the Golden Age, ruled by Saturn, man lived to a great age in an abundant Garden of Eden, free from restraint of law or necessity for work. The Silver Age or Age of Jupiter was characterized by licentiousness and voluptuous living. Men refused to worship the gods and were finally destroyed. The Bronze Age of Neptune was a violent period of warfare in which

everyone was destroyed by internal strife. And in the Iron Age of Pluto, there was neither justice, law, nor religion left in the world. Hesiod in his *Works and Days* gives a fifth age after the Bronze called the Heroic Age when men strove to do better, but failed.

The ancient Hindus divided their existence into four periods, or yugas, of declining morality. Duration of each successive period diminishes by one fourth, as does man's life span, stature, and virtue. In krita yuga, men were giants and lived in plenty. Neither gods nor demons existed and sacrifices were unknown. This period lasted 4,000 divine years (360 years each) plus dawn and twilight periods, or 1,728,000 years. In the treta yuga, which lasted 1,296,000 years, man's life span declined to 300 years. Vice crept in, but sacrifices were made devoutly. In dvapara yuga vice and disease were rife, ceremonies increased, marriage laws were needed for the first time, and sacrifices were made only with the hope of gain. In the kali yuga religion disappears altogether and the world is given over to sin and strife; and at the end the earth will be destroyed by fire and flood. The cycle, which lasts 4,320,000 years, will not be repeated for a thousand times this period.

The Buddhists also use the four yugas which were later elaborated. Their system consists of four imponderable periods made up of twenty intermediate parts of four yugas each. The first imponderable is a period of destruction, the second of nothingness, and the third of reconstruction. First come sun, moon, and gods; then, in nineteen successive stages, life is distributed, including man who lives to the age of 80,000. When demons appear, reconstruction is completed. In the imponderable of destruction, through increase of vice and disease, man's life declines to ten years by the end of the fourth yuga. In the second intermediate period the yugas are reversed and man improves until he is back at the beginning, and so on for twenty intermediates before the next destruction. Even destructions move in cycles of 64, seven by fire and one by water, etc., until the 64th which is by wind and the worst of the set.

**St. Agnes' Eve** The night before St. Agnes' festival day, January 21: a time of divination for young unmarried girls. In England and Scotland all kinds of charms, rimes, and special rituals are said and performed by which young girls expect to be shown whom they will marry. "Agnes sweet, Agnes fair / Hither, hither now repair / Bonny Agnes let me see / The lad who is to marry me," is a favorite incantation, said while sprinkling a little grain on the ground. A young girl about to fall asleep will say, "St. Agnes, that's to lovers kind / Come ease the trouble of my mind." But before getting in bed she has put a sprig of thyme in one shoe, a sprig of rosemary in the other, and placed one on each side of her bed. This is sure to bring the hoped-for revelation, i.e. her future husband's face in a dream.

**Agni or Agnis** In Hinduism, the god or personification of fire: one of the three chief deities of the Vedas (others were the rain god, Vayu or Indra, and the sun god, Surya). Agni represents lightning and the sun as well as earthly fire. In the latter he is always present in every household and is believed to be the giver of immortality who purges from sin, burns away the guilt of the body after death, and carries the immortal part

to heaven. As the altar fire he is the god of priests and the priest of gods, the mediator between gods and men.

He was born of the lotus, according to the earlier Vedas, created by Brahmā (*Mahābhārata*), kindled by Bhṛigu for the diffusion of fire on earth (*Rig-Veda*) as the son of two pieces of wood which he immediately swallowed. He was one of the eight lokapālas, guardians of the cardinal and intermediate points. He is described as red, with two faces and seven tongues to lick up the butter used in sacrifices, or sometimes with three heads and seven rays, clothed in black, carrying a snake standard and a flaming javelin, and is shown in a chariot drawn by red horses.

In mythology, he betrayed Bhṛigu's wife into the hands of a Rākshas, was cursed by Bhṛigu, and condemned forever after to consume everything. Agni rebelled against this and hid himself until both men and gods recognized his indispensability. Then Brahmā assured him that he would devour only in the sense of digesting. He exhausted his vigor by consuming too many oblations, and renewed it by burning the Khāṇḍava forest while Krishna and Arjuna guarded each end of it so that its inhabitants could not escape and Indra could not stop the proceeding.

In popular belief to poke a fire wounds Agni. He is invoked by lovers to intervene in their affairs, and by men for virility. His worship and ritual have degenerated in modern Hinduism and he has no professed sect, but Agnihotri Brāhmins still perform the fire sacrifice or *agnihotra*. Compare *ĀTAR*.

**Agunua** The principal figona of San Cristoval island; a Melanesian creator who, unlike most figona, is represented as a male snake. Agunua created the sea, the land, men, storms, and a woman. When the woman was old, she changed her skin and returned looking young and lovely. Her daughter did not recognize her and would have nothing to do with her. The woman went away again, put on her old skin, and so death came into the world, for men could thenceforth no longer change their skins when they were old.

Rain came to the earth because Agunua was thirsty. Food, too, was given to man when Agunua gave his twin man-brother a yam and told him to plant it in a big garden. The brother cut the yam, put the pieces in a basket, and began to plant them. The basket never emptied and from the crop came all kinds of yams, bananas, almond trees, coconuts, and fruit trees. Then Agunua gave him fire from his own staff and the man cooked the yams. From the burnt ones came the uneatable fruits, from the unbaked pieces came taro and bananas. Finally the figona bore a male child and then produced a girl who knew how to make fire and cook.

Sacrifices are made to Agunua in the form of shell money and by burning a pudding made of yams and almonds. See *MELANESIAN MYTHOLOGY*.

**Ahasuerus** (1) A shoemaker of Jerusalem: one of the personalities and names ascribed to the Wandering Jew. Ahasuerus was standing in his doorway to catch a Jew of Jesus passing by, weighed down under the cross, on his way to Calvary. Jesus stopped to rest a moment, but the shoemaker in righteous zeal told him to move on. Jesus moved on, but turned to say, "Thou shalt wander without rest until the last day." Ahasuerus followed the crowd and watched the crucifixion. At that moment it

came upon him that he must go forth into all lands. He is said to be perpetually wandering over the face of the earth, repentant and longing for the release of death.

(2) In the *Book of Esther*, king of Persia; husband of Vashti and Esther. He has been identified with Xerxes. Ahasuerus was inclined to be swayed by his passion of the moment, or by whoever had his ear, as did Haman. He commanded Queen Vashti to appear before him and his nobles to show her beauty, but the king was drunk and Vashti refused. He therefore degraded her by making her no longer queen and sought among the virgins of his land for a new queen until he discovered Esther, whom he made queen. By Haman's connivance he ordered a slaughter of the Jews in his realm, and when he learned that the Jews were Esther's people, he reversed his orders.

**Ahayuta achi** The twin war gods of Zuñi mythology, culture heroes and inventors, hunters, protectors of gamblers, mischief-makers and benefactors, destroyers of monsters, great and adventurous travelers, and lusty rappers. They live inside the mountain and guard the towns, and in this capacity are called the Ones Who Hold The High Places. They are impersonated at the War Society ceremonies and also as kachinas. As kachinas they have to be killed as symbolic of how they themselves learned to be skilful killers. The War Chiefs pray to them at the winter solstice for good crops and long life for the people.

In story they figure usually as two little boys magically begotten by the Sun: sons of the Sun and Waterfall or Dripping Water. They always live with their grandmother, who is usually named Spider Woman. They are always mischievous, always teasing and disobeying the old lady, stealing salt from animals, stealing masks from the kachinas, and always going where the grandmother says not to. This gives rise to many stories of monster slaying, and specifically to the story of their journey to the sky to find their father the Sun.

As culture heroes they gave the people their whole way of life, and designated the directions of the four quarters of the earth. They founded the Curing societies at Zuñi and Sia. The Tewa Twins also made the mountains; among the Hopi they made the water courses, and dug the canyons to drain the water out of the earth that was so soft and muddy before that, that the people sank into it.

As travelers the Twins had many adventures. Ma'sewi (one of them) of Laguna went to the four corners of the world on errands for the underground Mothers. On one escapade the two of them killed the dreaded Chakwena giantess, after Sun revealed to them that the monster kept her heart in her gourd rattle. They always returned triumphant from their journeyings, having killed a monster, saved a village from a man-eating ghost, etc., in justification of their disobedience in going to that place. The Acoma Twins stole the four magic staffs that bring snow, hail, frost, and lightning, from the Direction Chiefs while they were sleeping. When the Chiefs awoke they sent the Water Serpent after the brothers, and in the wake of the Serpent came destroying floods. The people ran up the mountain while the Twins killed the Serpent with arrows of the Sun and saved the village.

The War Twins are prominent through all pueblo

mythology and folktale. At Zuñi they are the Ahayuta achi, War Brothers, War Twins, little war gods, sons of the Sun; at Taos they are the hayunu, the Stone Men, two brothers; at Tewa they are known as the Towae sendo, Little People; the Hopi call them Pü'ikonghoya, little Smiter, and Pa'lüngahoya; the Keres and Jemez call them Ma'sewi and Uyuuyewi. One of them is the Slayer-of-Monsters developed so elaborately in Apache and Navaho mythology. In Hopi story the Twins once kindly turned into stone two little children who had been whipped and had run away from home, with the result that the Hopi now never whip their children. The Twins punish inhospitality the same way. Many tales of the War Twins resemble very closely Taos stories of Echo Boy and the Hopi, Tewa, and Cochiti stories of Ash Boys, Fire Boys, Poker Boys, etc., but the Zuñi Ahayuta achi are not truly identified with any of these.

At Zuñi they are closely associated with lightning and with falling stars and comets. The myth of their search for their father in the sky merges into their identification with the Morning Star. When the Franciscans first told the Christ story in the pueblos the people identified *Jesus with these two little boys and leaped to the charming analogy between God the Father and God the Son, and Sun and Morning Star.* See TWINS.

**Ahi** Literally, the snake: another name for Vṛitra (although sometimes distinct), the serpent dragon of Vedic mythology, who absorbed the cosmic waters and lay in coils upon the mountains. For this reason he was sometimes called the cloud demon. Indra killed this monster with his thunderbolt, and the precious waters flowed from its riven belly in streams across the land. Sap rose in the trees and warm blood flowed again in human veins. *Ahi* or *Vṛitra* is sometimes otherwise interpreted as the personification of winter (not just the hoarder of rain) whose slaying unlocks the frozen streams.

**ahimsā** The Indian doctrine of the sanctity of life, originally set forth in one of the *Upānishads* about the 7th century B.C.: common to all Indian sects ever since. The Brāhman may deprive no creature of its life, not man, beast, worm, nor ant. He may not even pour out water on the ground lest some aquatic organism perish in the dry sand. Jainism gave the idea first place in its tenets. Ahimsā is the first of the five Jainist ascetic vows, and the true Jainist carries its observance to minute and fanatic extremes. He will not kill body vermin; he sweeps the ground before him so as not to tread or sit on any tiny living thing. He will not eat at night lest inadvertently he swallow a gnat. Early Buddhists would not eat meat or fruit, since both contain worms. But present-day Buddhists do not go beyond reason in their observances or diet. Vegetarianism is widespread but not absolute among them. Discussion still goes on as to whether or not the root and strength of ahimsā is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Consensus seems to be pointing towards the negative answer. Decent human reaction against the callous non-concern with life of the early sacrifices gave impetus to the idea throughout much Brāhmanic writing.

**Ahl at-trab** Supernatural beings inhabiting a world just below the surface of the Sahara desert. In Moslem Tuareg folk belief, these spirits do great damage. They



trip camels and they drink the springs dry just before travelers arrive. They are sometimes seen in the shape of whirling pillars of sand during sandstorms.

**Ah Puch** The Maya god of death: represented in codices as a skeleton or bloated corpse. He was also known as Hunhau, in which manifestation he presided over Mitnal, the ninth and lowest underworld. The modern Maya believe in Yum Cimil, the modern form, who visits the houses of the sick looking for victims. See MULTIPLE HEAVENS, HELLS. [GMF]

**Ahriman** Modern Persian name for the principle of evil, Angra Mainyu.

**Ahti or Ahto** The Finnish god of water, conceived of in the shape of an old man: helpful to fishermen. His wife is Vellamo. The name Ahti is also used as one of the names of the hero Lemminkäinen. [JF]

**ahuizotl** In ancient Mexican (Aztec) folklore, a strange animal about the size of a dog that lived in the water. It had hands and feet like a monkey and another hand on the tip of its extraordinarily long tail. It lived in deep waters waiting for human beings to come to the edge, then it reached out the long tail with the hand on the end and dragged the unlucky one into the water. In three days the body was cast upon the shore without eyes, teeth, or nails. These were the only things the ahuizotl wanted. No one dared touch the body but a priest, who attended to having it carried to its final place, a small house surrounded by water. This was because the Tlalocs (rain gods) had chosen that soul for paradise. Flute music was played to him and his relatives were told to rejoice because of this choosing.

The ahuizotl had another ruse for catching people. Sometimes he caused frogs and fish to jump around near his hiding place, so that some hapless fisherman would be tempted to approach near enough to cast his net and so be caught. The ahuizotl would sometimes even sit on the bank and cry like a child to deceive passers-by, and then grab them with the hand on the end of his tail when pity made them curious. Once an old woman caught one in a jug, but the priests made her put it back in the water, because it was subject to the rain gods. It was said that if anyone ever saw the ahuizotl and was not either caught or scared to death, he would die soon anyway.

The creature appears often in the elaborate and intricate carvings of the Aztecs, but the hand on the end of the tail is never shown. The tail is always carefully coiled and the tip kept hidden. The conventional sign for water is always present, either on the back of the animal or in the base of the representation. The most famous carving of the ahuizotl yet known was taken to the Royal Ethnological Museum in Berlin.

**Ahura Mazda** (Pahlavi *Aharmazd*, Persian *Ormazd* or *Ormuzd*) Literally, Lord Wisdom: in Zoroastrianism, the supreme deity: the principle of good, omniscient and omnipotent; god of law and justice. Ahura Mazda is the spirit of wisdom living in eternal, endless light, the opponent of Angra Mainyu who lives in darkness so thick that the hand can grasp it. The six attributes of Ahura Mazda are Vohu Manah (benevolence), Asha Vahishta (perfect order), Khshathra Vairya (good, power), Spentā Armaiti (devotion, wisdom), Haurvatāt (health, prosperity), Amervāt (immortality), and Sraosha

(obedience) sometimes included as a seventh to complete the holy number when Ahura Mazda is not included with the group. These were frequently personified but never regarded as distinct persons in the *Gāthās*. In the later Avesta they were separated from Ahura Mazda as entities and referred to as gods or archangels who were to aid Ahura Mazda in guiding the world.

Ahura Mazda is constantly regarded as the opponent of Angra Mainyu. According to one myth both sprang from Eternity; according to another, Angra Mainyu was the product of a moment of doubt on the part of Ahura Mazda. Angra Mainyu in the *Gāthās* is pictured as opposing Spentā Mainyu, the Holy Spirit of Ahura Mazda. Later this distinction between the two phases is lost.

In mythology the first man, Gaya Maretan, was born from the sweat of Ahura Mazda who is pictured as a stately, bearded man enclosed in a winged circle, grasping a ring in one hand, the other uplifted as if blessing his followers. He is also depicted as putting on the solid heavens as a garment and covering himself with flames of fire. He has been identified with the Vedic Varuna, Greek Zeus, and Babylonian Bel Merodach. See AMESHA SPENTAS. Compare MARDUK.

**Ai apacc** The supreme deity of the Mochica people of northern coastal Peru: an anthropomorphized feline god carried over from the ancient cat god of Peru's north coast. He is usually represented in the shape of a wrinkle-faced old man with long fangs and cat whiskers. Many Mochica four-faced pottery vessels, however, verify his anthropomorphic nature in showing the human and feline faces back to back with the god eyes in the cat face. The rich ceramic art of the Mochicas depicts Ai apacc also as farmer, fisherman, hunter, musician, and physician. He presided over human copulation, seeing to it that the act bore fruit. He fought (and always won) against demons, vampires, fish-monsters, dragons, eared serpents. He is depicted also as holding court attended by a lizard for servant and a dog for friend.

**Aido Hwedo** The great rainbow serpent of Dahomey mythology, who transported Mawu from place to place as she went around creating the universe. Every morning in whatever place they spent the night mountains stood: the piles of excrement left by Aido Hwedo. When the world was finished, they realized that too many things were too big; the earth was too heavy; it was going to topple. So Mawu besought Aido Hwedo to coil himself and lie beneath the earth to bear its weight. Then because Aido Hwedo cannot bear the heat, she caused the sea to be around him for his dwelling place. If he gets uncomfortable and shifts a little, there is an earthquake. As soon as his diet of iron bars under the sea is depleted, Aido Hwedo will begin to swallow his own tail, and on that day the world will fall into the sea.

The rainbow serpent, Aido Wedo, survives in both Surinam and Haitian vodun belief, ritual, and songs of invocation. In Haiti great care is taken never to arouse the jealousy of this deity. When a young couple wish to get married, if either of them is a devotee of Aido Wedo, he or she makes special offerings to allay whatever jealousy or resentment the god might harbor. Parents and relatives also must "instruct" Aido Wedo not to harm or trouble the newlyweds.

**Aigamuxa** (singular *Aigamuxab*) In Hottentot mythology, a fabulous people with eyes in the back of their

feet: comparable to the ogres of European folklore. They eat human beings, ripping them apart with their extraordinarily long teeth. Jackal, the Hottentot trickster, found out where they kept their eyes, strewed tobacco dust where it would get into them, and thus escaped. Most of the Aigamuxa stories resemble ogre stories elsewhere, containing many of the familiar ruses by which clever victims escape the savage but stupid ogres.

**A'ikren** In the Karok Indian language, he who dwells above: in Karok mythology, the Duck Hawk who lives on top of Sugarloaf Mountain and is guardian spirit to the village of Katimin. It was A'ikren who came to comfort the two maidens weeping for the death of their lovers. He led them through the thick brush to that place where the two youths were; and there the two girls saw their lovers stepping around before the deerskin dance just as they used to do. A'ikren left them there for a year but it seemed like only a day to them. The maidens did not want to go back, but the people gave them a portion of the salmon backbone meat of that place, and showed them how to smear the mouths of the dead with it to revive them. When they returned to earth they showed the people this mystery, so that there was no more death among them for a time. But finally the salmon backbone meat gave out and now people die among the Karoks from time to time. But they do not grieve for their dead as they used to do, because of the knowledge revealed to the two maidens by A'ikren: how the people are dancing in that place just as they used to do on earth.

**Ailill mac Matach** In Old Irish legend, king of Connacht; husband of Medb; father of Findabair and the seven Manes. He emerges in the *Táin Bó Cúailgne* as the henpecked husband of Medb, who, however, praised him in the famous pillow-talk anecdote for being brave, without fear, without avarice, not churlish, and second to none in bounty. The pillow-talk quarrel ends with Ailill still stubbornly declaring that Medb has *not* more possessions than himself. In the *Táin Bó Fraech* Ailill's role is that of the wily king and stern father who opposed the marriage of Findabair with Fraech to the point of tricking Fraech to his death, relenting only at the end of the story, when the restored Fraech promised to aid Connacht in the War for the Brown Bull.

**Aine** In Old Irish mythology, a woman of the side (*ban síde*) of Munster, daughter of Owel, foster son of Manannán and a druid. The ancient story that she was ravished by a king of Munster, whom she killed with magic, survived into the 14th century legend of the fairy Aine and a mortal lover to whom she bore a famous son, Gerald, 4th Earl of Desmond. This Earl Gerald lives today deep in the waters of Loch Gur, reappearing every seven years to ride around the edge of it on a shining white horse. Munster families still claim descent from him. Knockainy, near Loch Gur in Munster, is literally *Cnoc Aine*, the hill of Aine. Reminiscent of Aine in the role of minor earth goddess, associated with love, desire, and fertility, are local tales of how once she planted that whole hill with peas in one night. She is still associated with the fertility observances on the hill on Midsummer Eve. See CELTIC FOLKLORE.

**Airāvata** In Hindu mythology, Indra's elephant: guardian of one of the points of the compass. According

to the *Mātangaḷilā*, after the sun-bird, Garuda, came into existence, Brahmā sang seven holy melodies over the two halves of the eggshell which he held in his hands. The first divine elephant to emerge from the shell in his right hand was Airāvata. He was followed by seven more males and then by eight females which emerged from the other half of the shell which Brahmā held in his left hand. These 16 became the ancestors of all elephants and the caryatids of the universe, supporting the world at the four cardinal points and the four intermediate points.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Airāvata, a milk-white elephant, arose from the Churning of the Ocean. The original elephants and their offspring had wings and roamed the sky, until they were cursed by an ascetic whose class they interrupted by settling on the limb of a tree under which he was teaching. From that time on they were doomed to remain on the ground and serve men. White elephants today are believed to be endowed with the magic virtue of producing clouds.

**aire** Literally, air. Fear of air as a cause of illness is general in Middle America. Evil spirits, unseen, may travel through the air, particularly cold air, and if it is inhaled a person may become sick. Hence, the stereotyped picture of the Mexican Indian on a frosty morning with his blanket drawn up to cover his mouth and nose. [CMF]

**Airi** In Indian folklore, a bhūt of the hills: the ghost of a man killed in hunting, who travels about with a pack of hounds. To meet the Airi presages death. His saliva is so venomous that it wounds anyone on whom it falls. If a man sees an Airi face to face, he will die of fright, but, if he is fortunate enough to survive, he will be shown hidden treasures. Temples to the Airi are placed in solitary regions and he is worshipped for two weeks in the month of Chait (March–April).

**Aïssāoua or Aïsäwa** An ecstatic frenzied dance of the Aïsäwa (a Mohammedan saintly confraternity) of Biskra, Algeria. It is characterized by superhuman feats of whirling and self-mutilation on the part of the dervishes: cutting the flesh with knives, eating live coals, and other manifestations of the subjugation of the body and "loss of self" in religious ecstasy. [CPC]

**Aitvaras** The house spirit, in the shape of a flying dragon, of Lithuanian folk belief and legend. He was first mentioned in 1547 and is common throughout the country still today. He brings to his master stolen goods, mostly corn, milk, and coins, and when flying appears all fiery tail. In the house he is like a cock. He can be bought, or brooded from the eggs of a seven-year-old cock. Occasionally, he is just found, and because unrecognized, brought home, or he may be obtained from the devil for the price of one's soul. He must be fed with omelet, and once in the house it is difficult to drive him away. Nevertheless, it is possible to slay him. A young bride, says a well-known legend, who was obliged to grind grain with a hand-mill, found that the basket was always full. Following clever advice, she discovered by the light of a sacred candle a cock vomiting the grains, and she killed him. The mistress of the house became very sad because this "cock" was the cause of all her wealth. The origin and meaning of the word *aitvaras* is unexplained. See AJATAR; PUK. [JB]

**aiza** One of the most important spirits of Dahomey religion: protector of groups. Aiza differ in kind but never in function; every sib, village, region, compound, and market place has its aiza or guardian spirit and his mound or shrine; and aiza mounds stand also at many important crossroads. The sib aiza is believed to be the spirit of the founder of the sib, and his bones are buried in the mound. To'aiza, protector of a village or region, is the spirit of the founder of that place; xwe'aiza is the spirit of a compound; ax'aiza, of the market place.

Every aiza mound is built over certain specific objects to insure a specific guardianship. For the establishment of an important sib aiza, for instance, sometimes the king permits the sacrifice of one man and one woman, since it is the men and women of the sib the aiza is to protect; for a regional aiza, two men and two women are sacrificed, indicative of a larger group to be protected. A market aiza must be built with the earth from seven well-known markets, and buried in it must be a fragment of each thing bartered or sold in that place: food, crops, cloth, metal, animals, and formerly slaves. The human sacrifices for the establishment of a new market aiza, are sometimes of great number, for the market is a royal institution in Dahomey, and they are believed to be sacrificed for the king himself.

Prayers are made to the ax'aiza for good business and offerings of thanks for good business follow; verbal complaint or abuse and no offerings are given in return for bad business or no business. The mother of twins must bring them to market and "show" them to the ax'aiza with offerings, that they may be recognized as members of the group, and that she herself may become pregnant again. Various cult initiates also are taken to the market shrine when they come out of their prolonged training in the cult house.

**Ajatar or Ajattara** The dragon; an evil female spirit of the woods who suckles snakes and produces diseases; the Devil of the Woods of Finnish folklore. In southern Estonia she is Äi or Äijo or Äijätär, the mother or daughter of the devil. The word is used also as a curse. She is probably a borrowing from the Lithuanian (see AITVARAS). Any explanation connecting these two Finnish words with the Persian or Turkish ones is not convincing (see *FUF* XII, 1912, pp. 150-153). [JB]

**Aka-Kanet, Akakanet, or Algue** In the mythology of the Araucanian Indians of Chile, the power or deity enthroned in the Pleiades who sends fruits and flowers to the earth. Aka-Kanet is similar to Guecubu, the author of evil, perhaps the same deity in a dualistic system.

**akalo** Sa'a and Ulawa (Solomon Islands) friendly ghost of the dead; also, the soul of a living man. Every person becomes an akalo when he dies and as such is invoked by his own people. The ghosts of chiefs, valiant fighting men, and men who have spiritual power, however, become li'oa. The living catch the ghost of a dead man with a miniature rod and put it into a relic case in a corner of the house which contains the skull, jawbone, tooth, or lock of hair of the deceased. Offerings are placed in these cases when someone is ill and at the first-fruit offering of the yam harvest.

**akbi'aruscarica** Literally, woman impersonator; a term applied to the clowns of the Crow Indians. They are not organized and have no ceremonial, despite certain of

their phallic actions. They use mud for their body paint; their cloth masks are smeared with charcoal. They ride the ugliest horses, with ridiculous caparison. They ridicule anything they wish, and perform ridiculous dances, fall down, pretend to die laughing. One of them, dressed as a pregnant woman, used to simulate copulation with a "male" clown. At times they would introduce merriment into the hot dance. [GRK]

**Akhtya** Chief of the yatus or sorcerers of Zoroastrianism. [MWS]

**akonda** Literally, I fight: a gbo or magic charm of the Dahomey people, worn around the upper left arm. It gives the wearer strength for work or conflict. It is a circlet of woven raffia to which are attached tough hairs from the neck of the ram known as agbô. These are included because the ram is a good fighter. As he fastens the akonda on his arm, the wearer must say, "Akonda, when the ram goes to fight, he does not die in his place." (Herskovits *Dahomey* II, 268)

**akpou** Literally, near the pocket: a gbo or magic charm of the Dahomey, carried by travelers to protect them against ghosts. It consists of a slender rod of iron dressed in a skirt. It has one flat pointed end, the other having a cuplike opening. The point is painted with black and white stripes, symbolic of the inherent power of the akpou to repel evil. This power resides in a certain leaf plastered onto the shaft with kaolin under the skirt. Strong drink is fed to the akpou through the cup-shaped end to excite its functioning powers. The traveler by night carries an akpou in one hand. If he meets a ghost he extends the akpou towards it, and the ghost does him no harm. (Herskovits *Dahomey* II, 266)

**Akūpāra** In Hindu mythology, the tortoise upon which the earth rests.

**āl** In Armenian belief, one of a group of demons, half-animal, half-human, male or female, shaggy and bristly, who live in watery or damp places or in the corners of the stable or house: familiar figures in Armenian myths and folktales. Formerly the āl was a demon of disease, now it is a demon of childbirth who also steals seven-months children. It is fiery-eyed with snakelike hair, fingernails of brass, iron teeth, and it carries a pair of iron scissors. The āl is believed to blind unborn children and to cause miscarriage. To keep āls away, women are surrounded with iron weapons and instruments. The king of the āls is chained in an abyss and shrieks continually. Sometimes the devs take over the functions of the āls, stealing human children and leaving changelings in their place. In Afghanistan the āl is a woman about twenty years old with long teeth and nails and feet reversed who feeds on corpses, like the Hindu churel.

**Aladdin** The hero of the story "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp" which appears in most collections as a supplementary tale to the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*.

Aladdin, the ne'er-do-well son of a Chinese tailor, was enticed by a magician from Morocco to enter a cave and obtain a lamp. Before descending into the cave Aladdin was given the magician's signet ring to keep him from hurt and fear. Returning with the lamp Aladdin loaded his pockets with the jewels, which he found growing on trees in the cavern. The magician refused to

help him out of the cave, but demanded the lamp. Aladdin would not hand up the lamp, so the magician closed the entrance.

Aladdin, in despair at not being able to get out of his underground prison, chanced to rub the ring given to him by the magician. Immediately the ring's attendant spirit appeared and at Aladdin's request transported him to the earth's surface. He learned the secret of the lamp also by chance (i.e. that rubbing it called up the jinni of the lamp to do the bidding of the possessor of the lamp) and used it henceforth to keep himself and his mother supplied with everything they needed.

Aladdin fell in love with the Sultan's daughter, Lady Badr al-Budur, and won her after meeting (with the aid of the jinni) the excessive demands made by her father, which included building overnight a pavilion containing 24 windows made of precious stones. Meanwhile the Moroccan magician, having discovered that Aladdin had escaped from the cave and was the owner of the lamp, set out to retrieve it. He went up and down the streets crying, "Old lamps for new! who will exchange old lamps for new?" The princess gave him Aladdin's rusty lamp, not knowing its true value. The magician then commanded the jinni of the lamp to transport the pavilion and the princess to Africa. But Aladdin, aided by the jinni of the ring, soon retrieved the lamp through a ruse and killed the magician.

The motifs of a magic object found in an underground room (D815), of a magic wishing lamp (D1470.1.16), as well as of the lamp's loss and recovery and the loss and restoration of the palace (Type 560-568) appear in both Asiatic and European tales. The scene of the magician and Aladdin at the cave, and the transporting of the wazir's son and the princess to Aladdin's house on their wedding night, are believed to be Arabic. The Arabic and several Indian versions also differ from the usual one in that the talisman is recovered by the devices of the hero. In many tales it is obtained from and later recovered by grateful animals. In a Bohemian story the hero saves a dog, cat, and serpent. The father of the serpent gives him an enchanted watch which procures a palace for the hero and the king's daughter as a bride. She, disliking her husband, uses the watch to build herself a palace in the middle of the sea. The dog and cat recover the talisman but drop it into the sea. It is restored by a fish.

**Alaghom Naom or Iztat Ix** In the mythology of the Tzetzals of Chiapas, Mexico, the highest of goddesses, responsible for the mental and immaterial part of nature: the mother of wisdom.

**alalá** A song type of Spanish Galicia, expressing in emotional terms the dreams and longings of farmers, teamsters, herdsmen, mothers rocking their babies, etc., and generally making use of the typical Spanish ballad stanza. The name is derived from the characteristic nonsense syllables found in the early examples of the type.

**alan Tinguian** (Philippine Islands) spirits, half-human, half-bird, with toes and fingers reversed. They are sometimes mischievous or hostile, but are usually friendly. They are described as hanging, batlike, from trees and as living in the forests. In Tinguian mythology and folktales they appear as the foster mothers of the leading characters and are pictured frequently as living in houses of gold.

**Alasita** A popular fiesta of the Aymara Indians, held in honor of Eq'eq'o, the good-luck fertility spirit. In Bolivia his image is kept in the people's houses, so that he may preside over all sex activity. Every year the Alasita festival is held in certain places where miniature houses for Eq'eq'o have been built and kept in constant repair. Inside these little houses the people place miniature clay farm animals and implements, household utensils, clothing, etc., as a sign to Eq'eq'o that they desire and need these things all the following year. A market is then pantomimed, during which these tiny objects are bought and sold for potsherds, stones, and other trifles, and given to the children for toys. *Alasita*, an Aymaran word meaning *Buy from me* is constantly uttered by the vendors. Sexual license among the young men and women is a feature. [AM]

**albatross** A large, web-footed sea bird (genus *Diomedea*) with very long narrow wings and extraordinary powers of flight. Albatrosses are seen great distances from the land, chiefly in the southern oceans and the northern Pacific. Tales about the bird include the belief that it sleeps in the air because its flight appears motionless, and that an albatross hovering about a ship brings continued bad weather. Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* is based on the more common belief that to kill an albatross brings bad luck.

**Alberich** In Teutonic legend, the king of the dwarfs who lived in a magnificent subterranean palace studded with gems. Among his possessions were a belt of strength, an invincible sword, the Tarnkappe or cloak of invisibility, and a magic ring. His subjects, the dwarfs, were master craftsmen who produced Odin's ring, Draupnir, Sif's golden hair, and Freya's necklace. They also manufactured the sword Tyrfing which fought by itself. In the *Nibelungenlied* Alberich was the guardian of the Nibelung hoard and gave Siegfried a cloak of invisibility and the sword called Balmung.

**Alburz** The sacred mountain of ancient Persian mythology: the first of the mountains, around which the sun and moon revolved. Light shone out from it and light returned into it, but on the mountain itself there was no dark. Mithra's dwelling was upon it, from which he watched the world. Zoroastrian legend holds that all other mountains grew from the root of Alburz. Alburz was the mountain where dread came upon Tahmurath. Here he was overcome, because of fear only, by the demon Angra Mainyu.

**alchemy** The immature, empirical, and speculative chemistry characterized by the pursuit of the transmutation of base metals into gold, the search for the alkahest and the philosopher's stone. Alchemy developed from a secret science belonging to the goldsmith's craft into a mysterious science dealing with changes in the organic as well as the metallic world. Its history includes three distinct epochs: the Greek and Egyptian period, the Arabic period of the Middle Ages, and the modern period extending from the 16th century to the present.

In legend, alchemy was founded by Thoth (Hermes), by the fallen angels, or was revealed by God to Moses and Aaron. Historically it is believed to have originated in Egypt from where it spread to Greece and Rome and thence to Arabia. By the second century it had assumed a mystical and magical character; gods, patriarchs, and

prophets were pressed into its service, for greatness such as theirs implied a knowledge of all mysteries. Adam, Abraham, and Moses were described as the true authors of alchemistic treatises.

The Arabs carried alchemy to Spain. From there it spread to western Europe through the medium of Latin translations of Arabic-Greek treatises. The fundamental theories of alchemy, developed by the Greeks, were modified and elaborated by the Arabs.

Paracelsus in the 16th century gave alchemy a new goal by suggesting that its object was the preparation of medicines. The discovery in the 20th century of the transmutation of radioactive elements has not produced the gold or silver from base metals sought by the alchemists (except as a laboratory curiosity), but it has made it possible to break down elements or to produce new elements in the laboratory and factory—essentially the goal of the alchemists.

**alchera or alcheringa** The mythical past or "dream time" of Australian mythology; the ancestral totemic ancestors who lived in that time and established the world and customs as they are now; also, any object associated with the totem: a term used especially by the central Australian Aranda (or Arunta). The Murngin of Arnhem Land refer to the mythical past as Bamum when totemic ancestral spirits, the Wongar, lived. Great Western Desert tribes of West and South Australia called the period Tjukur. The Dieri call their ancestors Muramurra. Other tribes have comparable terms for the mythical past and their totemic ancestors who lived then. See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY. [KL]

**Aldebaran** (Arabic *Al Dabarān*, the Follower) Originally the name of the Hyades; now the reddish, brightest star, Alpha in the constellation Taurus: the Follower who forever follows the Pleiades. It is also called the Eye of the Bull or the Bull's Eye. The French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, designated it with the Hebrew Aleph and called it God's Eye. One of the most ancient indigenous Arabic names for this star is Al Fanik, the Stallion Camel; another is Al Muhdij, the Female Camel; and the adjacent Hyades were the Little Camels. Aldebaran was worshipped as a bringer of rain by the tribe Misām. The Hindu name, Rohini, Red Deer, is probably from the star's red coloring. Aldebaran, the "Broad Star," is prayed to by Hopi Indian curers. In astrology Aldebaran is regarded as fortunate, and a portent of wealth for those born under it.

**alder** A tree or shrub (genus *Alnus*) characterized by short-stalked, roundish leaves and pendulous, reddish catkins: distributed throughout the north temperate zone and along the Andes in South America. In Norse mythology the first man and woman were made from an ash and an alder. In Brythonic mythology the alder was associated with Bran. Gwydion guessed Bran's name at the Battle of the Trees from the alder twigs in his hand: "Bran thou art, by the branch thou bearest"; and the answer to an old Taliesin riddle, "Why is the alder purple?" is, "Because Bran wore purple." In the Irish Tree Alphabet the letter F (*fearn*) means alder, and in the Old Irish *Song of the Forest Trees* it is described as "the very battletwitch of the woods." In Ireland the felling of an alder was formerly punishable, and is still avoided. It is regarded with some awe probably because when

cut the wood turns from white to red. In the *Odyssey* the alder is one of the three trees of resurrection; and Bran's alder too was a symbol of resurrection. The alder is also one of the ancient Irish trees of divination, used especially for diagnosing diseases.

In Newfoundland an infusion of alder buds is recommended for the itch and for rheumatism; and a salve for burns is made with suet and alder bark. Newfoundlanders also hold that mosquitoes breed in young alder buds.

**alectromancy or electromancy** Divination from the actions of a cock in a circle: an ancient practice. Grains were placed on the letters of the alphabet traced within the circle. From the order in which the cock picked up the grains, the required word, name, or message was read.

**alekoki** One of the first standing hulas or olopa of Hawaii. The Hindu influence is apparent in the fluid gestures of hands, wrists, and elbows, with definite expressive symbolism often identical with the mudras of India. The purpose of these hulas is not erotic, but is intended to refresh the grace of the gods. The alekoki is a women's dance. [GPK]

**aleuromancy** Divination from flour: an ancient practice still more or less in use. Messages, written on slips of paper, are enclosed in balls of flour paste which are distributed at random after being mixed together. One of the epithets of Apollo was Aleuromantes. A modern variant may be found in the "fortune cakes" of the metropolitan Chinese restaurants.

**Alexander the Great** Alexander III (356–323 B.C.), son of Philip II of Macedon, conqueror of the world from the Nile to the Indus, is the great king-hero of the world. Like all folk heroes from Sargon and Gilgamesh to Paul Bunyan and Joe Magarac, the Alexander of legend has drawn to himself tales and incidents originally quite independent of actual historical fact, the whole building into one of the great epic structures; in fact, however, Alexander's historical career is more amazing than any of the apocryphal stories about him. An intelligent youth, tutored by none other than Aristotle, Alexander ascended the throne at 20; by magnificent strategy and military tactics, he conquered first the West and then the East; and he was dead at 33.

He claimed descent from Hercules on his father's side, and from Æacus on his mother's. This is confused with his reputedly being the son of Zeus Ammon; Alexander, who fostered the popular belief in his divinity, made it a point to undertake a hazardous expedition to Ammon's temple in the desert when he was in Egypt. His mother, Olympias, was a devotee of the Dionysian mysteries, and thus arose the legend that Alexander was the son of a snake. It is said that the strained relations between Olympias and Philip began when the king found a snake in his wife's bed. A sophisticated version of the story claims the Egyptian magician king Nectanebus as Alexander's father. This Nectanebus had ruled Egypt, protecting his kingdom by means of wax figures of his enemies' forces, which he destroyed at need. Driven from Egypt, he set up as astrologer in Macedonia, and to him came the queen seeking information about an heir to the throne. Nectanebus told her to prepare for a visit from Zeus Ammon, donned a dragon costume to make

the nocturnal call himself, and thus sired the future conqueror. Philip, who could count, is said to have been suspicious of these events, and Nectanebus once more dressed as a dragon to allay the king's fears. He came to his end at the hands of Alexander. Once, as he explained astrology to the 12-year-old Alexander, Nectanebus was pushed into a pit, the youth at the same time demanding whether he had foreseen the event in the stars. Several other versions of the progenitors of Alexander are known: the Persians, for example, make him the son of Darius, whom he in fact conquered.

The legendary career of Alexander is filled with hundreds of familiar incidents of folklore. The taming of his black horse Bucephalus by leading him towards the sun when he alone recognized the animal's fear of its own shadow; the meeting with Diogenes, the acid-tongued philosopher, who asked the king of all the world to stand out of his light; the forcing of an involuntary, yet auspicious "Thou art invincible" from the Pythoness at Delphi are familiar anecdotes. Also connected with the Alexander story are the general motifs B552.1, hero carried aloft by two birds (he directed them by means of a bit of liver attached to a spear and held before them), and N135.3.1, he orders a feast, on his dying bed, for those who have not known sorrow, and none come to the feast. This is related to the motif of the cure with the shirt of the happy man (the only happy man that can be found is a beggar with no shirt) or the cure in the house where no death has ever occurred. In Arabic legend, Alexander is a spreader of the True Faith, an iconoclast. He carries a black flag and a white, with which he can make night or day. He wars against the race of Gog and Magog, horrible savage pygmies, and builds a wall of iron and brass to keep them confined. In the Arabic tales he is Zu'l-Qarnain, He of the Two Horns, a figure generally conceded to be Alexander, although some say it is a contemporary of Abraham. This horned figure, the horns being those of Jupiter Ammon or of the he-goat or symbolical of the rule of the East and the West, is central in the story of Khidr, the Green One, who became immortal. While Alexander was seeking the Fountain of Life, Khidr, the cook of the expedition (or the king's vizier), went off from the rest of the group to prepare a dried fish for the meal. As he washed the fish in a pool, the fish came to life and swam off. Khidr then drank or bathed in the water and made himself immortal, turning green at the same time. Alexander became jealous when the pool could not be rediscovered and tried to kill the underling. In vain he attempted several methods, and finally threw Khidr into the sea with a stone tied about his neck. Khidr became a sea deity and still lives. This tale appears in a somewhat garbled version in the Koran (*Sura xviii—The Cave*). Familiar to folklore too is the City of Brass Alexander builds in a Persian tale, and so too is his method of obtaining diamonds by tossing meat down into a valley and having eagles carry out the meat with the diamonds adhering to it. In medieval Christian legends, the exploits of Alexander in India include battles with gigantic ants and female cannibals, with six-headed giants, with one-legged dwarfs, with horses with human faces, and with dog-faced people. Also in Christian legend, Alexander tries to storm Paradise, but fails. In a Jewish story, Alexander reaches Paradise and is there instructed in the futility of human endeavor: the eye tries to take

in all the universe and yet may be covered by a little bit of earth.

Stories of Alexander are found among nearly all the peoples from India to the Atlantic Ocean. Most of these stem from the *Secretum Secretorum*, a collection of writings said to have been sent from Aristotle to Alexander after the teacher became too old to travel with his pupil. It is here that the famous story of Alexander and the poison damsel appears. This work, coming from the writings of the pseudo-Callisthenes of the 3rd century A.D., was translated into practically every European language, and was the most widely read book of the Middle Ages. It has left its mark on every one of the European literatures; compare the name Alexandrine for the typical 12-syllabled French verse line, the popularity of Alexander (Sandy) as a Scottish name, etc. Throughout the Moslem world, the legends of Iskander are legion. The story of Alexander is used in the *Shahnama* of Firdausi. In the Ethiopic version of the story, the Greek gods become the prophets of the Bible, and Alexander is an ascetic saint. In the Syrian stories, Alexander is a Christian. In Moslem tales, he is one of the four great conquerors, with Nimrod, Solomon, and Nebuchadrezzar. In medieval Christian legend, he is not only Christian, but a believer in the Trinity, and one of the Nine Champions. Popularly, Alexander is one of the kings in the pack of cards. Alexander, in other words, from the time that he influenced the myth of Dionysus, by having that god and culture hero's itinerary extended to include India, down to the present day, has been the greatest of all folklore figures over a wider area than any other comparable personage. Remodeled in the shape of the hero desired by the various peoples who interpreted the legend, he remains today historically and traditionally without a peer.

**alfar** The elves of Teutonic mythology. The *Prose Edda* divides them into two classes: the Liosálfar, the light elves who live in Alfheim, and the Dökkálfar, the dark elves who live underground. Frey, the sun god, is lord of Alfheim. Wieland the Smith is often thought of as lord of the earth-dwelling ones, the Dökkálfar, because of their confusion with the dwarfs. They are quite distinct from the dwarfs, however. In medieval German legend Alfrich or Alberich became king of the elves.

The alfar possess great supernatural powers and are often associated with the gods as aids and allies against their enemies. Especially are they associated with Thor and with Holde. Intimations of belief in their divinity are seen in the fact that in earliest times a bull was sometimes sacrificed for them, his blood let flow upon the elf-hill, and his flesh prepared for their feasting. See SVARTALFAR.

**alferez** In the modern Andean Indian and mestizo communities of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, a person who assumes the financial responsibility for the religious feasts and ceremonies for one year. This heavy burden is taken on only by the wealthiest individuals and they are assisted by relatives and friends. As a symbol of his function the alferez carries a flag, hence his title, which in Spanish means *flag-bearer*. [AM]

**Algol** A bright white star, Beta in the constellation Perseus: called the Demon, or the Demon Star, from the Arabian Rās al Ghul, the Demon's Head. It was interpreted by Hipparchus and Pliny as the head of Medusa

from the ark by Noah, the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, the Roman feast of Cerealia, the Indian festival of the Huli, the celebration of the vernal equinox, or the uncertainty of the weather at that time of year. Whatever its origin, the celebration of the day came into common custom in the 18th century in England. In Scotland it is called hunting the gowk (cuckoo). In France the person fooled is a *poisson d'avril*. The fooling includes "sleeveless" errands, April Fool candy, rubber mice, the pocketbook on a string, to fool the unsuspecting.

In Mexico All Fools' Day falls on December 28 and centers around the borrowing of objects, if any person is foolish enough to lend, since items borrowed on that day need not be returned. A box of sweets or miniature objects, usually with a poem reminding the lender that he has been fooled, are sent instead. The day is popular in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Germany, and Norway. In the latter two it is celebrated on the first and last days of April.

**allheal** Any of a number of medicinal herbs, referred to also as heal-all in folk medicine. These names are given especially to valerian, self-heal, mistletoe, woundwort, and yarrow.

**alligator** A large reptile (order *Crocodylia*) found only in the southern United States and in the Yangtze River, China. It has a shorter, blunter snout than the crocodile, and is further differentiated by the fact that its lower molars clamp into pits in the upper, instead of into marginal notches. The reports of early travelers in this country constitute a mine of astonishing misinformation about alligators which might be classified as a whole folklore in itself. The alligator is soundless, for instance, or he roars habitually; he roars only in the spring; he makes a "hideous Noise against bad weather." Seeds from trees fall into the small crevices between his scales, germinate therein during his hibernation in the mud, and sprout in the spring, so that the alligator often resembles a small, wooded, swimming island. William Bartram's *Travels* (1791) describe the alligator thus: "Waters like a cataract descend from his opening jaws. Clouds of smoke issue from his nostrils. The earth trembles with his thunder."

Like the crocodile, the alligator is the object of dread or reverence, propitiation, and worship in those regions where it is found, and plays an important role in folk belief, folktale, and "conjure." An important god of the Chiriqui Indians of Panama is depicted in their ceramic and stone art with human body and legs and alligator head, or sometimes with human torso and an alligator head at each end. Typical are the bulging eyes of the god, mouth open to show the alligator teeth, and (in metal work) often a wire coil symbolizing the recurved snout. The Guarani Indians of Bolivia have an alligator ferryman who carries souls to the afterworld. In these instances the reference is probably to the closely allied native caiman.

North American Choctaw Indians, especially the river tribes, also venerated the alligator and never killed it. The Chickasaw Indians have an alligator dance (*hat-cúntcúba' hila'*) a night dance with three songs. A Creek Indian folktale tells how Eagle pounced down and broke Alligator's nose in a ball game, Alligator opened his mouth, Turkey grabbed the ball out of it, and the birds won the game. Alligator retains a dent on his nose to

this day. An Alabama Indian story, *Rabbit Fools Alligator*, tells how Rabbit, the trickster, tricks Alligator into a field of dry grass and sets fire to it. Another Alabama Indian tale, *Benevolent Alligator*, narrates how Alligator grants a certain man two wishes in gratitude for being carried on the man's back and put in the water.

South Carolina Negro folktale attributes Alligator's scaly skin to his being trapped in a fire by Brer Rabbit. This is almost a direct retelling of a Rhodesian Negro crocodile story. It would be interesting to know if the Alabama Indian tale, *Rabbit Fools Alligator*, is of Negro provenience. An Alabama Negro folktale describes how Rabbit, wishing to cross a swamp, induced Alligator to line up his whole family, "one by one across the swamp," to be counted. On the pretext of counting, Rabbit walked across the swamp on their backs, but the last alligator bit his tail off. This same story is told of the Indonesian crocodile with mousedeer as trickster, and in Japan with the monkey as trickster. A Louisiana story explains why Alligator has no tongue. Alligator, who once could whistle, talk, and bark "just like a dog do now," loaned his tongue to Dog, who wanted to make an impression at a party. But Dog never returned the tongue to Alligator, and that is why Alligator goes for any dog that comes to the bank of the river. Gullah Negroes believe that when the alligator roars he is calling for rain and that rain will come.

**alligator teeth** In many folklores alligator teeth are believed to be especially efficacious against poison, pain, witches, etc., and are used as potent ingredients in magic and "conjure." Sea Island Negroes will sometimes tie a necklace of alligator teeth around the neck of a teething baby to alleviate the pain. Such a necklace is also a protection against witches. A visiting nocturnal witch, for instance, would have to stop and count every one of the teeth before she could proceed with her evil business, and day would surely come before she counted the last one. In many localities alligator teeth are believed to counteract poison; even the South American Abipon and Mocovi Indians would press a caiman tooth against a snake bite to heal the wound, or wear one (or many) around the neck to avoid being bitten. Alligator teeth are active ingredients also of many a charm, conjure bag, and hoodoo "hand" of southern United States Negroes; they are also known to be an important inclusion in the bags of New Guinea sorcerers.

**Allison Gross** A popular Scottish ballad (Child #35) in which Allison Gross, the ugliest witch "i the north country" endeavored to seduce a fine young man. Because he repulsed her, she turned him into an ugly worm "to toddle about the tree." But the queen of the fairies, riding by on Hallow-even, broke the spell and changed him back to his "ain proper shape." This is the only known instance, in English or Scottish folklore, of a fairy unspelling the spell of a witch, although numerous ballads are concerned with the spelling and unspelling of evil enchantments.

**All Saints, All Saints' Day, All-hallows, or All hallowmas** November 1: the festival commemorative of all saints and martyrs known or unknown, introduced by Pope Boniface IV in the 7th century probably to supplant the pagan festival of the dead. Originally it was observed on May 13 but was shifted to the November date by Gregory III and has been retained by the Church

of England and many Lutheran churches. In the Greek Church it is celebrated on the first Sunday after Pentecost. Most folk customs center around Allhallow Even or Halloween. Compare ALL SOULS.

**All Souls or All Souls' Day** November 2: a day of commemoration in the Roman Catholic Church on which special intercession is made for the souls of the dead in the belief that those not yet purified sufficiently will be aided by the prayers of the living. The day was instituted as a memorial in 998 by Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, after he was told by a pilgrim returning from the Holy Land about an island on which an opening to the infernal regions permitted travelers to hear the groans of the tormented. By the end of the 13th century the day was almost universally observed. During the Reformation it was abolished in the Church of England, but its tradition and customs survived among Continental Protestants.

Essentially, All Souls is the adaptation of an almost world-wide custom of setting aside a part of the year (usually the last part) for the dead. The Babylonians observed a monthly Feast of All Souls in which sacrifices were made by priests. The Greek commemorative feast of All Souls was held on the last day of the Anthesteria; the Romans celebrated theirs during the Parentalia which fell on Feb. 13-21, the end of the Roman year. The Buddhist Feast of the Dead is celebrated on April 15, the date of the death of Buddha and his attainment of Buddhahood. In China and Japan the ceremony in honor of the dead is known as the Feast of Lanterns.

In many Catholic countries the belief that the dead return on this day is so strong that food is left on the tables (Tirol, Italy) and people (France, Italy, Germany) still decorate the graves of their dead.

**almanacs** These compilations of calendar and astronomical data (ephemerides) and miscellaneous information, wit, wisdom, and humor, originating in the 2nd century A.D., have taken a variety of forms, including prophetic, farmer's, Christian, patent-medicine, comic, *World* (statistical and encyclopedic) almanacs. The almanac's first link with folklore consisted of astrology, serving as the basis both of predictions and prognostications and of the doctrine of planetary influences in medicine and surgery. Long after people had ceased to take these superstitions seriously, the Man of the Signs (*homo signorum*), or Moon's Man, or the Anatomy—"a figure of a man surmounted by the twelve Signs of the Zodiac, each referred to some part of his body by means of a connecting line or a pointing dagger"—continued to adorn almanacs as a trademark or colophon.

This outmoded lore, however, was gradually replaced by the practical lore of weather, crops, health, cookery, manners, etc., with medical advice, agricultural hints, and recipes, supplementing the usual almanac data on rising and setting of the sun, phases of the moon, eclipses, tides, storms, and holidays. Out of the miscellaneous useful information on postage rates, values of coinage, courts, roads, post offices, military firms, population of towns and countries, etc., developed the almanac of the fact-book type. In another direction, the entertaining lore of popular poetry, anecdotes, jests, enigmas, riddles, maxims, etc., passed into the comic almanac and the keepsake.

Through interleaved jottings of family and local his-

tory, observations of weather, records of crops, expenditures, etc., the almanac became a valuable source of social history and "folk history." Through the medium of the allegory and proverb (the former seen especially in *The [Old] Farmer's Almanac* of Robert B. Thomas, established in 1793 and still published, and the latter in *Poor Richard's Almanack*, edited by Ben Franklin from 1732 to 1757) the almanac made important contributions to native American humor and proverbial lore.

Continuing in the jest-book tradition, with the addition of the oral tradition of the fireside and campfire yarn, the comic almanac (probably originating in the burlesque of the serious almanac and its prophetic absurdities) was an important link in the development of native American humor of tall talk and tall tale, as notably in the Crockett almanacs (1835-1856).

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B. A. BOTVIN

**almond** A small tree (*Prunus amygdalus*) native to western Asia, Barbary, and Morocco, but now cultivated widely in the warmer temperate regions.

In the Bible the almond is referred to as the *shaked* or *sheked* meaning "to waken" or "to watch," probably because it is the first tree to flower (January) in Palestine (Jer. i, 11, 12). Aaron's rod (Num. xvii, 10) was cut from an almond tree. In the story of Tannhäuser Pope Urban exclaimed after hearing the minnesinger's tale, "Guilt like yours can never be forgiven! Before God himself could pardon you, this staff that I hold would grow green and bloom!" Tannhäuser returned to the Horsaiberg. Three days later the Pope's staff suddenly put forth almond flowers and leaves. The Pope sent messengers to search for Tannhäuser but he could not be found.

In Greek legend, Phyllis, daughter of the Thracian king Sithon, fell in love with Demophon, son of Theseus. Demophon returned to Attica to settle his affairs before the wedding and was delayed so long (according to one story by interest in another maiden) that Phyllis put an end to her life. The gods, as a token of their admiration for her constancy, changed her into an almond tree. When Demophon finally returned and learned what had happened he fell at the foot of the tree and watered its roots with his tears whereupon it burst into bloom.

In Phrygian cosmogony an almond figured as the father of all things, and in the myth of Attis, Nana conceived him by putting a ripe almond in her bosom, or by eating an almond.

Pliny's *Natural History* states that eating five almonds permits one to drink without experiencing intoxication, but that if foxes eat them they will die unless they find water nearby. In the 16th century pills compounded of almonds, liver, and oil of violet were recommended by Guglielmo Gratarolo to travelers in areas where food and drink were scarce.

The almond is used as a divining rod in Tuscany. Church legend assigns the tree to the Virgin. Moslems regard it as the hope of heaven and use almond paste, mixed with the milk of a mother who has a baby girl, to cure trachoma.



alp Yoruba term for folktales and also for riddles. The more or less general African synonymy of folktale and riddle carries over also into New World Negro dialect and tradition. In the Sea Islands off South Carolina a tale is a riddle, a riddle is a tale. "How you split de diftance between riddle an' story?" said one Sea Island narrator, when questioned. "Dere is singin' in a story." (Mr. Jack in *Folklore of the Sea Islands*. *MAFLS*, vol. 16, p. xix.) Compare ITAN. See AFRICAN AND NEW WORLD NEGRO FOLKLORE.

Aloadæ In Greek mythology, the giants Ephialtes and Otus, twin sons of Poseidon and either Iphimedeia or the Earth-Mother, who imprisoned Ares in a bronze pot. When they were nine years old the twins, who measured nine cubits in breadth and nine fathoms in height, threatened to do battle with the Olympian gods, planning to pile Mount Pelion upon Mount Olympus and Mount Ossa upon Pelion so that they might reach the heavens. Apollo, however, killed them before they were able to carry out their plan. In the *Iliad* they sought Artemis and Hero in marriage, but Artemis tricked them into killing each other. In some legends the Aloadæ were beneficent beings, founders of cities and rescuers of their mother and sister.

'Alo'alo In the religion of the Tongans of western Polynesia, the god of wind, weather, vegetation, and harvest; son of the sun: the "fanner."

aloes The term as used in the Bible (*Num.* xxiv, 6; *Ps.* xiv, 8; *Prov.* vii, 17; *Cant.* iv, 14; *John* xix, 39) refers to the gum of the *Aloexylon*, *Aquilaria ovata*, and *Aquilaria agallochum* which are not true aloes. Aloes were used medicinally by the Romans. They were used in the Middle Ages in suffumigations and magic compounds. In the 16th century they were used in medicines. In India aloes are used in the treatment of eye infections, and modern Americans sometimes paint babies' fingers with an extract of aloes to stop finger-sucking or nail-biting. In Egypt an aloe plant is hung over the door of a newly built house to insure long life and success to the occupants and the house. The aloe will live thus for two or three years without water or earth.

alomancy (more properly *halomancy*) An ancient method of divination using salt. From the flames of a fire into which salt has been thrown, the diviner reads the message he seeks. The present-day custom of throwing a pinch of salt from an overturned saltcellar over the left shoulder may be connected with this.

alphabet rimes A mnemonic and usually acrostic device to assist children and other illiterates in learning letters of the alphabet. The idea is at least as old as the 119th Psalm, which consists of 22 eight-verse sections corresponding to the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, with every verse in each section beginning with a word whose first letter is, for instance, in section one, "aleph," section two, "beth," and so on. There are several other acrostic alphabets in the Hebrew scriptures (See *Enc. Rel. & Ethics*, vol. I, p. 75) notably in the well-known description of a virtuous woman in *Proverbs* xxxi, 10-31, in memorizing which the Jewish girl learned both virtue and the alphabet.

Chaucer's "A. B. C." (c. 1375), a poem in honor of the Virgin Mary, is the oldest extant alphabet rime in English, but it was taken from a French original, *Pèlerinage*

*de la vie humaine*, by Guillaume de Deguileville, written a half-century before.

Two very old alphabet rimes are still repeated by children today. The popular Tom Thumb's Alphabet contains the lines:

A was an Archer, who shot at a frog;  
B was a Butcher, who had a great dog; . . .  
I was an Innkeeper, who loved to bouse;  
J was a Joiner, who built up a house; . .

Here the age of the rime is betrayed by the riming of "bouse" with "house," whereas we now pronounce and even spell it "booze." Later in the alphabet the use of Tinker, Usurer, and Vintner, to say nothing of "Zany, a poor harmless fool," confirm our suspicion that Tom Thumb's Alphabet is at least 300 years old. Perhaps not quite so old, but of respectable age and well worn by use is the Apple-pie Alphabet, beginning:

A was an Apple-pie.  
B Bit it.  
C Cut it.  
D Dealt it.  
E Eat it. . . .

The use of "eat" (pron. ett) instead of "ate" for the past tense goes back to colonial days in New England, where they were then using in learning their "A. B. abs" another more pious rime from the *New England Primer* which began with:

In Adam's fall  
We sinned All,

and ended with:

Zaccheus he  
Climb up a tree  
His Lord to see.

(And don't let anyone tell you it should be "Did climb a tree" with a long i in climb. It is *short i* for the past tense, for I got it by oral tradition through 12 generations from Elizabethan England.)

The "Peter Piper" who "Pick'd a Peck of Pickl'd Peppers" is the sole stanza now known to our children from a merry alphabet rime popular in England and America in the early 18th century, beginning:

"Andrew Airpump Ask'd his Aunt her Ailment," and running through such exciting adventures as that of "Matthew Mendlegs" who "Miss'd a Mangl'd Monkey," and "Needy Noodle" who "Nipp'd a Naybour's Nutmegs."

In 1833 Thackeray composed and illustrated one of these alphabet rimes for "Little Eddy" who until he died in 1915 at the age of 86 could still recite the whole poem beginning:

Great A; it is an Animal & called an Alligator.  
Its countenance will shew you, that it's of a cruel  
Natur.

But Col. Edw. Fred'k Chadwick preferred to say the P:

P is a Pimple—'tis a thing which grows  
Sometimes upon a luckless Parson's nose.  
(*The Thackeray Alphabet*, Harper, 1930.)

Contemporary with Thackeray was Edward Lear, who composed for another little Eddy, who became the 15th Earl of Derby, some of the world's most famous children's rimes, including many alphabet verses. With Lear, A was sometimes an Ape who stole some white tape, or an Ant who seldom stood still, or even an "Absolutely

Abstemious Ass." (*The Complete Nonsense Book*, Dodd Mead, 1934.)

Of the flood of modern alphabet rimes the most interesting are the ones in Lois Lenski's *Alphabet People*, (Harper, 1928) where occupations are featured, as:

A for Artist in a smock  
With brushes, paints galore;  
She hangs her paintings on the wall  
And then she paints some more.

With these I place the clever *The Jaw-Breaker's Alphabet* by Eunice and Janet Tietjens (A. & C. Boni, 1930) with its intriguing:

A's for Archacopteryx  
Of whom perhaps you've heard,  
The up-and-coming reptile  
Who first became a bird.

Nor can we well omit "A Moral Alphabet" in Hilaire Belloc's *Cautionary Verses* (A. A. Knopf, 1911) where:

A stands for Archibald who told no lies  
And got this lovely volume for a prize.

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Alphabet Song** An occupational song of sailors, giving the names of the parts of a ship in abecedarian order, and forming a sort of catechism for the greenhorn. This is an example of an ancient type of song outlining facts or principles to be memorized, a similar one being sung by woodsmen of the northeastern United States to the same air, cataloging the tools and tricks of the logger's trade.

**alphorn** A long wooden trumpet, four to 12 feet long, used in the Alps for centuries to call herds, for signal over long distances, and for sunset rites. The pitch is controlled by lips and breath, rather than by stops, and the few traditional tunes, also sung as *kuhreihen* or *ranz des vaches*, show signs of archaism. The word *lobe* used in some of the songs is of magical significance and probably imitative. The tone is strong, audible for miles, and is believed to prolong the light of day when twilight draws on. The period of dusk was thought to be dangerous for men and herds, and the sounding of the alphorn, or imitation of its tone with the voice, was protection against the dangers of transition. In some areas Christianity has added the singing of the evening prayer as the instrument sounds. Similar sunset practices are observed in Norway, Poland, Rumania, India, South America, and Australia.

**alraun** The German name for the mandrake root or for a similar root such as that of bryony used in magic as a substitute. Small good-luck images shaped from these roots are also alrauns; and so is the helpful elf or goblin associated with both. This goblin was one foot high, was kept in a cupboard, and fed on milk and biscuit.

**Alsirat, al-Sirāt, or Al Sirat** In Moslem religion and legend, the bridge and only way to paradise over the abyss of hell. It is sharper than a sword, narrower than a spider's thread, and beset on either side by briars and hooked thorns. The good traverse it with ease and swiftness; the wicked miss their footing and fall into hell. In later Moslem eschatology the bridge is described as the length of a journey of 800 years. The righteous pass over it quickly, but less perfect Moslems take longer to

traverse it, the length of time required depending upon the degree of sin committed. In the Koran, it is the narrow path or correct way of religion.

**Altjira** In the religion and mythology of the Arunta of Australia, the sky-dweller or All-Father who is generally considered to be indifferent to mankind.

**alum** In modern Egypt, a charm against the evil eye. A piece about the size of a walnut is placed upon burning coals and left until it has ceased to bubble while the first and last three chapters of the Koran are repeated three times. When the alum is removed from the fire it will have assumed the shape of the person whose malice is feared. It is then pounded and mixed in food fed to a black dog. A piece of alum ornamented with tassels is sometimes attached to a child's cap as a protective amulet.

Negroes of the southern United States use alum to stop bleeding, to cure blindness, and to cure chickens of cholera. Used with bluestone it is believed to cure gonorrhea; boiled with poke root and salt it is used as a liniment for rheumatism. Sucking a ball of alum is believed to be effective in preventing harm from conjuration.

**Alviss** Literally, All-Wise: in the lay of Alviss in the *Elder Edda*, the underground dwarf who sued for the hand of Thrud, Thor's daughter. Thor was against the match, but said he would not refuse his daughter if Alviss could answer certain questions. Alviss, just having run through nine worlds, thought he would know all the answers and consented to answer the questions. So Thor put his 13 questions: what is the name of the world, the sky, the moon, sun, clouds, wind, calm, fire, sea, trees, night, wheat, beer, in all the worlds of the aesir, vanir, giants, elves, and gods. Alviss knew all this and easily answered. Then Thor revealed his trick: the questions and answers had occupied the night; the sun was already in the room; Alviss had to hurry off with the light of day or be petrified. This is one of the oldest of the world's riddling suitor-test stories, except in this case the successful riddler did not get the girl.

**Amadán** Literally, fool: the fool of the side, or the fairy fool of Irish folklore, whose touch is incurable. Those whom he touches forever after have a crooked jaw or twisted face (facial paralysis) or suffer crippling injury, or else die soon. For this reason the amadán is also often called the *stroke lad*. June is the time one is most in danger from him; June is the month when the Fool is most apt to give his stroke. Lady Gregory says "If you don't say 'The Lord between us and harm' when you meet him, you are done for, forever and always." A young girl who passed by his castle (*bruidéan*) one night was crippled forever after. But it is equally well known that he often punishes wrong deeds with his stroke, for once he struck a miser who was mending shoes on Sunday. Amadán Mór is the Great Fool of the fairy host of Irish folklore and poetry. Amadán na bruidéne, the fool of the fairy mounds or fairy palaces, is greatly feared.

**Amaethon or Amathaon** In Brythonic mythology, a son of Dôn mentioned in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which tells the story of the field impossible to till, tilled by Amaethon. His name is basically Cymric *amaeth*, plowman, and for this reason he is often interpreted as an agricultural god or culture hero. This role is further

substantiated by a later story in which he brought back to this world a roebuck and a young dog belonging to Arawn, lord of Annwfn, the Otherworld. See *BATTLE OF THE TREES*.

**Amala** In Tsimshian mythology, the supporter of the world. The world is flat and circular and turns continually on the end of a long pole which Amala supports on his chest. His predecessor was an old chief who lived on an island in the vast southwest sea. The old chief, ill and dying, heard of Amala's supernatural strength and sent for him to take over the task. Amala came, lay down beside the aged chief, and the old man transferred the pole-of-the-world to Amala's chest. Amala still holds the world on his chest, but when he dies the world will end.

This is the final incident in a long story about Amala or Very Dirty (literally the word means 'smoke hole'), involving, in addition to the Atlas motif, both the youngest son and Cinderella themes in varying degree. Amala or Very Dirty was the youngest of a number of brothers. He slept late, took no part in family activities, was ridiculed, named Dirty, thought weak and worthless, but secretly acquired supernatural strength, performed the impossible, such as pulling up trees and saving his relations from their enemies. He then conquered the big animals, the strong trees, the strong birds, and the big mountain, and was chosen to take care of the world. The story partakes of the Cinderella theme in that Amala slept in the ashes, wore only one ragged deerskin, was disregarded or ridiculed by the rest of the household, was unhappy about his lot, received supernatural aid, astounded one and all with his beauty and prowess, and was eventually chosen to fill a superior position.

There are eight variants of this story among the Tsimshian, Nass, Skidegate, Kaigani, Masset, and Tlingit tribes. The earth on the pole idea is limited to the Tsimshians, Tlingits, Skidegates, and Hates. The white man's influence is suspected, but not assumed, by J. R. Swanton, in the turning of the earth upon the pole idea; but no doubts are cast on the originality of Amala's having a big spoonful of grease for the pole to turn in, or his sustaining his own strength for the task with annual anointings of wild-duck oil.

**Amalthra or Amalthia** In Greek mythology, the goat who provided milk for the infant Zeus while he was hidden in Crete. One of the horns of Amalthra, reputedly broken off by Zeus, became the cornucopia or horn of plenty.

**Amarāvati** In Indian mythology, the capital of Svarga, Indra's Heaven, situated near Mount Meru. The city has a thousand gates, is decked with the fruits of desire (jewels, objects of vanity and pleasure), and adorned by the Apsaras. There is neither heat nor cold, grief nor despondency; to it come those who do penance or sacrifice, and the warriors who fall in battle.

**amasiado** A popular term for the type of extra-legal mating found among Brazilian Negroes, this word is derived from the verb *amasiar-se*, which is a synonym for *amancebar-se*, this giving the word *amancebido* the more literary designation for this kind of relationship.

The institution it designates is that found in the lower socio-economic strata of all Afroamerican groups whose patterns of family life have been studied from the ethnological point of view. Terms recorded for its coun-

terparts are as follows, the word in each case being that most often encountered, without indication as to whether it refers to the situation itself, or to the participant: *arrimao*, (*arrimado*)—Cuba; *companya*—Curaçao; *placage*—Haiti; *endamáda*—Honduras (Black Carib); *keepers*—Trinidad; *commonlaw* (verb, to *commonlaw*)—United States. All these forms are socially sanctioned, even though, for the woman, they carry less prestige than marriage, as mating in accordance with legal formalities is always termed, in contradistinction to them.

To understand the significance of family groupings of this kind, it is essential that the economic and social position of women be taken fully into account, since this has struck all students of the New World Negro family. The woman's primacy, whether as grandmother, mother, or aunt, contrasts strikingly with patterns of the majority groups among whom the Negro lives. She is the focus of the family group, and, where there is no male head, its provider. She wields authority over its members, and is thus characteristically to be termed the significant parent.

This does not mean that matings of this kind are haphazard. They are always distinguished, by verbal symbol, from transient relationships in the same societies. They are entered into with an assumption of permanence, which they obtain to a degree surprising to outsiders. In Brazil, *amasiado* matings of lifetime duration are not uncommon, and numerous instances of twenty years' duration and upwards have been recorded. In such cases, the place of the father becomes of increasing importance; and even where a couple separate, his relations with his children may continue warm, and he will in many instances contribute to their support.

This institution is to be referred to the dominant family form of those parts of Africa from which New World Negroes were derived. The nucleus of this system is the woman's hut within the polygynous compound, headed by the common husband, who lives in his own hut where his wives cohabit with him in turn. The continuation of the polygynous household, like that of the wider social groupings of extended family and sib, all male-dominated, was rendered impossible by circumstances of slavery in the New World. This left the nuclear woman-dominated group as the one on which the Negroes could build, since in it were retained not only a traditional form, but the emotional focus that it manifested in Africa.

This would also explain why, though a deviant from legally sanctioned norms, this New World family type is in no way to be considered as an index of the demoralization of those societies where it is formed. No stigma attaches to children born of matings of this sort, nor to those party to it. It is thus to be considered as a mode of adjustment and as a means by which social stability has been retained despite the difficulties of life experienced by Negroes in adjusting to slavery and to various post-slavery regimes.

M. J. HRSKOVITS

**Amaterasu Omikami** The Japanese Sun Goddess; also called *Tensho Daijan* in Sino-Japanese pronunciation. See JAPANESE FOLKLORE. [JLM]

**Ama-tsu-mara** In the Shinto religion and mythology of Japan, the cyclopean blacksmith god who, with *Ishi-Kori-dome*, made the solar mirror which was used in enticing Amaterasu out of the cave in which she had taken refuge.

**Amazon** In Greek mythology, one of a race of female warriors who lived on the north coast of Asia Minor with their capital, according to Herodotus, at Themiscyra. From there they invaded at various times Thrace, the islands of the Aegean, Greece, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Libya. The Amazons were ruled by a queen. To prevent their race from dying out once a year they visited the neighboring Gargareans. Their girl children were brought up and trained in the pursuits of war, riding, hunting, and agriculture. According to some, each girl had her right breast cut off in order to handle arms more freely, from which custom arose the common ancient derivation of the name "a-mazos," without breast. However, since no work of art shows the Amazons without breasts, other etymologies, none quite satisfactory, have been suggested. The boys were sent to the Gargareans, put to death, blinded, or maimed.

Folktales and myths of women warriors are found among the people of India ("Story of King Vikramāditya," for example, in which the king dreams of the man-hating Princess Malayavati), in Arabia, England, Ireland, and among the Makurap of the upper Guaporé River, Brazil. The Makurap believed that a village not far from their territory, called Arapinjatschäküp, was inhabited only by warlike women who kept men at bay.

The Koniag Eskimos of Kodiak Island have several woman-warrior tales, among them one in which a girl was abandoned by parents who were too poor to feed her. An old man came and told her to drink from the river. When her strength had increased the old man (strength-giver) disappeared and the girl became a huntress. There are four footprints on a certain cape of that region which are said to be hers. Later she went to her family's camping place and outshone her brothers who became jealous. They attempted to trick her, took away her arrows, and left her. She gnawed the flippers of a seal until only the nails were left and then used these to shoot otters. She grew very handsome and finally married. While she was hunting at sea a storm came up, so she cut off her female parts and threw them into the sea, calming the waters. See HERCULES.

**amber** A cloudy or translucent yellowish to brownish fossilized resin of coniferous trees of the Oligocene epoch, found along the coasts of England, of the Baltic Sea, in Sicily, Rumania, Burma, and Yunnan, China. The greatest amber-producing region is in East Prussia.

Amber is second only to the pearl in the antiquity of its use. Strings of rough amber beads were worn even in prehistoric times. The resin was carried down the Elbe and Moldau trade route, through the Rhone valley to the Mediterranean, and to the British Isles. Such trade is believed to have flourished before 2000 B.C. Amber has been found in early Minoan strata in Crete; Homer mentions the flourishing Phœnician amber trade; and Pliny chides Sophocles for his falsehoods concerning it. According to Apollodorus its origin is in poplar trees. The Romans used it for throat infections and to prevent fever.

In Greek legend, amber was a concretion of the tears shed at the death of Meleager by his sisters. In Scandinavian mythology, it was the tears shed by Freya when Odin wandered out into the world. To the Chinese, amber was the soul of the tiger transformed into the mineral after death. They used it as a symbol of courage and attributed medicinal properties to it. In the Buddhist

paradise pure beings have bright yellowish faces and their merit may grow in the shape of diamonds, flowers, amber, etc.

In the Middle Ages amber was worn to ward off croup; and amber necklaces for small children were sold as croup-preventatives throughout Europe as late as the 19th century. It was dissolved and used as a cordial. It prevented epilepsy if placed over the heart, checked paralysis if the spine were anointed with it, and acted as a restorative if one inhaled it. In the 15th and 16th centuries in India it was mixed with food as a medicament.

Moslems include amber beads on their talismanic chains and bracelets, believing them a cure for jaundice. They rub sore eyes with ashes of amber and take it in powdered form internally to strengthen a weak heart or to induce sweating. The Italians use amber amulets against witchcraft. The French of Louisiana still use it to cure croup.

Amber mountains and amber islands were the forerunners of the glass mountains and islands in the folktales of Scandinavia, central and eastern Europe, and the British Isles. The Scandinavian Glacisvellir was an amber valley-paradise and Glacsir an amber grove at the gates of Valhalla. The word glass, originally meaning "resin" or "amber," was applied to glass when that product was introduced into northern Europe.

**Ambrogio and Lietta** A popular ballad of northern Italy (from the Piedmont region) in which Ambrogio cruelly and heartlessly compels his wife, Lietta, heavy with child, to travel faster than she is able. This ballad closely parallels the theme of the English *Child Waters*.

**ambrosia** In Greek and Roman mythology, the food or drink of the gods which made all who partook of it immortal. In Homer, ambrosia was the food of immortality and its accompanying nectar the drink of the gods. Sappho and Anaxandrides spoke of ambrosia as the drink of the gods, nectar as the food. Compare AMRYT; MEAD; SOMA.

**Amen or Amon** An important god of ancient Egypt, almost always worshipped as identical with another god. Amen was probably originally a local god of Thebes and the neighboring Luxor and Karnak and may have been an air god. However, in later religion, he became a god of reproduction, was spoken of as one of the creators of the gods, of mankind, of the universe. As patron of Thebes he became, in the XVIII Dynasty and afterwards, the chief god of Egypt (Amen-Ra), and his priests wielded power greater than that of the pharaohs. He was depicted as a bearded man wearing a cap with two tall plumes, or as a ram. Both the ram and the goose were sacred to him, and at Thebes he was said to be embodied in the ram. As the national god of Egypt, he was incarnate in the Pharaoh. The ruins at Karnak are the remains of his temple. The Greeks identified him with Zeus, and his great oracle was the famous stone in the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

**Amenti or Amentet** In the Osiris cult of Egyptian religion and in mythology, the underworld; literally, the hidden land, located in the west where the sun sets. When the soul entered Amenti, Anubis conducted it into the hall of Osiris where it was judged by the 42 judges; then the heart was weighed against the feather of truth. Those souls which passed the test went on to the fields of Aalu while the others were consigned to torment. The four spirits of Amenti, the tutelaries of

the underworld and children of Horus, represented upon the four Canopic vases, were Amset, Hapi, Tuamatef, and Kebhsnauf. Compare BA.

**American Anthropological Association** Formal interest in anthropology is of long standing in the United States, but it was not until 1879 that an immediate progenitor of the American Anthropological Association was organized. In that year a group of men, mainly ethnologists and doctors of medicine, formed the Anthropological Society of Washington "to encourage the study of the natural history of man, especially with reference to America."

It was not long before the localized interests of this group and others such as the American Ethnological Society in New York (founded in 1842) and the Philadelphia Anthropological Society (later in origin) widened enough to require an organization of greater scope. Thus, in 1882 the American Association for the Advancement of Science created an anthropology section which brought together for the first time in a nationwide structure persons of anthropological interests. In 1899 this anthropology section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science took over the journal *American Anthropologist*, which had been the organ of the Anthropological Society of Washington since 1888, and reestablished it as the *American Anthropologist*, *New Series*.

The needs of anthropologists and the growing dignity and importance of the science were still in part unfulfilled, however, and as a consequence the first steps toward founding an independent, national organization were taken during the latter part of 1901. Subsequently, an Act of Incorporation for the American Anthropological Association was recorded on March 26, 1902, in the District of Columbia and a founding meeting was held in Pittsburgh on June 30, 1902.

The purposes of the Association, as quoted from the original constitution, were "to promote the science of Anthropology; to stimulate the efforts of American anthropologists; to coordinate Anthropology with other sciences; to foster local and other societies devoted to Anthropology; to serve a bond of union among American anthropologists and American anthropological organizations present and prospective; and to publish and encourage the publication of matter pertaining to Anthropology." The original constitution has been amended in 1916, 1941, and 1946. The last date saw the institution of major changes with an increased attention to the professional interests of the membership. Thus, to the original aims were added the provisions that the Association shall "take action on behalf of the entire profession and integrate the professional activities of anthropologists in the various special branches of the science; promote the wider recognition and constant improvement of professional standards in anthropology; and act to coordinate activities of members of the Association with those of other organizations concerned with anthropology, and maintain effective liaison with related sciences and their organizations." In the furtherance of these aims, the amended constitution gave increased authorities and discretion concerning professional matters to the executive board of the Association. One of the first acts of the executive board was the establishment in August, 1947, of an Executive Secretariat, with the aid of a grant of \$10,660.50 from the Carnegie Corporation

of New York, charged with general responsibilities concerning professional information and public relations. Another measure, designed to enhance the professional interests of the Association, was the creation of two classes of membership, Fellows and Members, with eligibility to the former status restricted to persons who meet certain professional standards. Early in 1948 two further statuses, Foreign Fellows and Liaison Fellows, became effective. At the end of 1948 the Association's membership was about 2,330, comprising 475 Fellows, 1,225 Members, and 630 institutional subscribers.

With regard to the encouragement and organization of research the Association is unique among learned societies in having official representative membership on all three of the major research councils in the United States, i.e. the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies, and in addition provides two representatives to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The publications of the Association consist of the *American Anthropologist*, a quarterly now in its fiftieth volume, and the *Memoirs*, occasional in nature and now sixty-nine in number. These two publications have contained many articles and monographs of milestone importance, which have affected the currents of anthropological thought not only in the United States but in other nations as well. A third publication, a mimeographed *News Bulletin*, was established in 1947; it is designed to report matters of current interest and importance to the Fellows of the Association. The *American Anthropologist* is also the official organ of the American Ethnological Society, the Anthropological Society of Washington, the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Hawaii, and the Western States Branch of the American Anthropological Association, all of which are affiliate organizations. In addition, the Association maintains close relations variously through joint membership, reduced annual dues, and an editorial council with all of the above as well as with the Society for American Archaeology, the American Folklore Society, the Linguistic Society of America, the Society for Applied Anthropology, the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, the Inter-American Society for Anthropology and Geography, and the periodicals *Primitive Man*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, and the *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

Annual business meetings have been held every year since the Association was founded, with a scientific meeting held in conjunction nearly every year as well. Whenever possible, these meetings are held jointly with various of the affiliated and kindred organizations noted above.

Since 1946 the Association has, through the offices of a special committee, selected the annual recipient of the Viking Fund Medal and Prize in Cultural Anthropology.

D. B. STOUT, SECRETARY

**American folklore** Even without insisting on special American qualities in American folklore, we can now safely assume that there is such a thing as "American folklore" and not "only European (or African, or Far Eastern) folklore on the American continent."<sup>1</sup> The late Alexander Haggerty Krappe's objection to the term

"American folklore" as a "bad misnomer" must be judged in relation to his Old World conception of folklore as synonymous with "survivals" and of the folk as synonymous with the peasantry. In America it is no longer possible to accept his definition of the former as the "sum total of stories, songs, beliefs, and practices which belong to a bygone age and have ceased to have any direct and organic connection with actual life," or of the latter in terms of "purely agricultural regions."

The real trouble, however, lies in the ambiguity of the word folklore, which has the double meaning of the material and its study. It is true (and Krappe may have had this in mind) that there can be no scientific, historical study of American folklore apart from Old World sources. But equally important to the study of American folklore is what happened to the Old World heritage after it was transplanted and took root. Although Krappe rightly insists that the folklorist must be equipped with a "good history of the American 'land-taking,'" he still thinks of this largely in terms of the "ethnic provenance and age of each settlement" and the "shifts of populations." But provenance is only half the story. If folklore is universal in diffusion, it is local in setting. And the study of the local setting takes special importance from the fact that "it is upon the mass of the inarticulate in American society that effects of environment are likely to be most marked."<sup>2</sup>

There is, in other words, such a thing as an indigenous American folk, in terms, as the present writer stated in 1929, of "not one folk but many folk groups—as many as there are regional cultures or racial or occupational groups within a region."<sup>3</sup> As basic to this conception the writer accepted J. Frank Dobie's definition of the folk as "any group of people not cosmopolitan who, independent of academic means, preserve a body of tradition peculiar to themselves." Or, as Martha Warren Beckwith put it in 1931: "The true folk group is one which has preserved a common culture in isolation long enough to allow emotion to color its forms of social expression."<sup>4</sup> She names as isolating factors "geographical conditions," "common language and national heritage," and "occupation," found separately or in conjunction with one another.

From the cultural point of view, there is not only an American folk but also an American study of the folk and its lore. This involves, more than the provenance and distribution of folk songs and tales in the United States, the social and cultural history of folk groups. It is the study not simply of diffusion but of acculturation—"those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."<sup>5</sup> And folklore acculturation studies in turn involve not only local folklore collections, correlated with life histories of and interviews with informants and with field and historical studies of cultural areas and centers and routes of migration, as in the *Linguistic Atlas*, but the whole relation of local and regional history to American social and cultural history and of folklore to the "roots of American culture" in what Constance Rourke calls the "humble influences of place and kinship and common emotion that accumulate through generations to shape and condition a distinctive native consciousness."<sup>6</sup>

Recognition of the cultural diversity of the American

folk, as well as of the fact that, for the purposes of collection and study, American folklore is too big to be treated as a whole, led to the following division of the field by the American Folklore Society at the time of its organization in 1888: "(a) Relics of Old English Folklore (ballads, tales, superstitions, dialect, etc.); (b) Lore of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union; (c) Lore of the Indian tribes of North America (myths, tales, etc.); (d) Lore of French Canada, Mexico, etc."<sup>7</sup> With the addition of later immigrant and other nationality groups, these categories still mark the main cultural divisions of American folklore and the division of labor among American folklorists.

Although the study of the lore of foreign-language groups, like that of the American Indian, has been delegated to specialists, it must not be thought that the folk culture of national minorities is entirely cut off from the main body of English-speaking groups. Ghettoes, islands, and "pockets," it is true, make for partial or relative isolation; but linguistic barriers are no obstacle to the diffusion of folklore, which follows the principal cultural routes and areas, with resultant interchange and modification of the folkways and folklore of the various ethnic groups.

The nature and degree of separation and exchange between groups are further affected by social and economic influences, education, and mass communication. Although the forces that make for standardization are diffused through all groups and areas with apparent uniformity, the interplay of cultural norms and variations is complicated by group acceptances and resistances, local attachments and sectional loyalties, and traditional reliance on folk beliefs and practices as an alternate mode of procedure to scientific and institutional forms.

To the forces of survival and contra-acculturative reversion must also be added the forces of revival as intercultural and folk education, folk festivals, etc., seek to promote group self-respect and mutual understanding by showing the essential unity underlying differences, stressing participation in a common culture rather than "contributions," reconciling conflicts between old and new cultural patterns, and generally replacing stereotypes with cultural variations.

As part of this cultural dynamics, the following trends may be distinguished in the development of American folk groups and their lore. Where regional variations are coupled with a distinct ethnic and linguistic stock, in a state of partial or relative cultural isolation, a more or less homogeneous body of regional lore exists in much the same sense that regional lore and regional dialects are found in the Old World. This is true, for example, of the lore of the English-Scotch-Irish mountain whites; the Afro-American lore of the Deep South (Coast, Sea Islands, Delta), and the West Indies; and more particularly the lore of the Pennsylvania Germans, the Louisiana French, and the Spanish-American and Mexican-American groups of the Southwest. Again, where work is related to place, a distinctive occupational lore has grown up about such callings as deep-water sailing, whaling, fishing, canal-boating, steamboating, railroad-ing, lumbering, grazing, and coal- and metal-mining. Regional culture and folkways have further conditioned and fostered the growth of certain regional types of lore, such as the Southern Negro slave songs and prison work

songs, white spirituals of the Southern uplands, Shaker songs and dances, and Mormon lore, as well as regional styles of story-telling, singing, square-dancing, square-dance calling, and folk arts and crafts.

With the recent revival of interest in American folkways and regions, scholarly and popular attention has been focused on the lore of such colorful subregions as the Maine coast, the White and Green Mountains, Cape Cod, the Catskills, the Allegheny, Cumberland, Blue Ridge, Great Smoky, and Ozark Mountains, the Tidewater, Florida, the Gulf Coast, the Mississippi Delta, the Bayous of Louisiana, the Great Lakes, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the Rockies, and the various Southwest and Northwest areas.

Turning from folk groups to folklore, we note a two-fold effect of the twin forces of diffusion and acculturation. On the one hand, the same song or story, in slightly altered form (the product of localization), may turn up in different localities, attached to different individuals, each claiming to be the original. Such is the case with migratory legends and traditions of lovers' leaps, haunts of the devil, witches, ghosts, pirates, and buried treasure. On the other hand, a genuine body of place lore (inseparable and sometimes indistinguishable from regional culture) has grown up about local traditions connected with topographical features, landmarks, flora and fauna, artifacts, population, settlement, foods, architecture, speech, place names, and local attachments and loyalties of all kinds, from social, political, and economic feuds and rivalries to local pride and patriotism generally. Place lore, of course, is mixed with historical traditions, as in the South, where colonial, plantation, Civil War, and Reconstruction days have their respective legends, heroes, and symbols.

If American folklore is, on the whole, closer to history than to mythology, it is because America as a whole is closer to the beginnings of settlement and to the oral and written sources of local history. America is rich, not only in local history (much local historical writing, it is true, being amateurish, antiquarian, and local in spirit) but also in folk history—history from the bottom up, in which the people, as participants or eye-witnesses, are their own historians. And in so far as everyone has in his repertoire an articulate body of family and community tradition he is to that extent his own folklorist as well as a folklore informant.

The combination of history, folklore, and folk history is nowhere seen to better advantage than in old-timers' stories and reminiscences, which not only contain valuable folklore data but also throw valuable light on the backgrounds of folklore and folk groups. Through the combined efforts of old-timers, folklorists, and historians, an extensive literature (much of it in the vernacular) of pioneer folkways and customs has grown up in America. This tells us how people lived in the early days; how they fought wild animals, Indians, drought, fire, flood, cyclones, blizzards, sandstorms, pests, sickness, disease, crime; how they made their own entertainment and how many hands made light work in the social gatherings, merrymakings, and work bees of the frontier; what they ate and what they wore; how they educated themselves and how they worshipped. All this, if closer to folkways than to folklore, is still valid material for the folklorists' study, since folklore properly includes the life of the folk as well as its lore.

The relation of history to legend is also close in America. The mixture of the two has given rise to a large body of unhistorical "historical" traditions (corresponding to "unnatural" natural history) or apocryphal traditions of doubtful exploits of historical characters and "untrustworthy traditions of doubtful events." And in so far as history, with its fables and symbols, selects, transmits, and shapes traditional values and assumptions, it acquires folklore coloring and significance.

The lore of place names is particularly rich in local history and historical traditions. Factual place names arise "either from an immediate circumstance attending the giving of the name, a happening, an object present, a natural feature of the landscape, or from memory association with other places or names."<sup>8</sup> Mythological names originate in assumed or folk etymology which may "sometimes furnish under the guise of fiction useful clues to the real facts."<sup>9</sup> But there are historical and mythological elements in both kinds of place-name stories, as myth has some basis in history or history is touched with fantasy.

The somewhat overstressed predilection of the American folk for extravagant or ludicrous exaggeration, which would seem to be in contradiction to its historical impulse, is related to the proverbial traits of boasting and boosting and the burlesque thereof, and may be explained and reconciled on the ground that in America and American history nothing is usual. In the first place, Americans, living in a land of marvels and being born travelers, have always loved to hear and tell tales (especially travelers' tales) of the marvelous. In the second place, since Americans have always tried to improve on nature, American story-tellers are seldom averse to improving a tale. In this task of "making a good story a little better," folk story-tellers have had the example and assistance of professional historians, from the Mathers, with their habit of glorifying marvels (or "providences") as a means of improving religion, to the latest historian or pseudo-historian who uses legend to heighten the drama and color of history.

In spinning extravagant yarns and lying tales the folk has also had the cooperation of professional story-tellers in the reciprocity of oral and written tradition that exists in America. Thus a long line of Southern and Western humorists, culminating in Mark Twain, converted the yarn and tall tale from oral to literary use, emulating the matter and manner of the oral and natural story-teller. As a result (e.g. in New England), the line between folklore, local history, and local-color writing is sometimes hard to draw. On the one hand, almanacs, newspapers, magazines, chronicles, memoirs, travel accounts, and town and county histories have helped to circulate oral traditions and anecdotes of the smart sayings and doings, the jests and pranks of local characters and old-timers. On the other hand, poets, dramatists, and fiction-writers have made liberal artistic use of local anecdotes and legends.

The fact that American folklore grew up in an age of print has had still other effects on the aesthetics, culture, and science of this lore. It has, according to Paul Engle, resulted in a greater and more successful effort (on the part of untrained, and even unconscious, as well as trained folklorists) "to retain in print those often insubstantial folk sayings, folk customs, folk anecdotes, which are the rich substance of a country's life."

It has also given American folklore more than a touch of the sophisticated and even synthetic. In the case of Paul Bunyan, for example, there is strong evidence of diffusion from above downward, and more than a suspicion that lumber advertising men had as much to do with inventing the logger hero as he had to do with inventing the lumber industry.

Paul Bunyan stories, originating fairly recently in separate anecdotes or jests of the Munchausen and joke-book variety, also illustrate the tendency of anecdotes to escape from print into oral tradition. Short, pithy, funny stories, learned from either source and both in and out of cycles, have always been popular among the folk because easily remembered and quickly told. But the anecdotal, fragmentary character of much American story-telling and the relative scarcity of long, involved tales may indicate that the more highly developed forms of folk story-telling have become a lost art. Certainly, under the influence of commercialized mass media of entertainment and with the general speeding up of modern living, shorter, snappier forms have displaced long-winded tales and ballads.

The anecdote also flourishes in America as a result of the separation of story-telling from mythology and ritual and its survival chiefly as a social pastime growing out of the chat or as a practical device for clinching an argument or illustrating a point. Hence the vogue of the anecdote as a rhetorical form popular with political, after-dinner, and other speakers and the large number of collections preserving oral anecdotes of master story-tellers like Lincoln and continuing in the tradition of exempla and ana.

The typical American form of story-telling, however, is not the anecdote but the yarn, which may be considered the parent type or an elaboration and expansion of the anecdote, depending upon whether one considers the anecdote a vestigial or germinal form. As a long, loose, rambling tale of personal experience, the yarn has its roots in "own stories" and reminiscences of thrilling or improbable adventures. Like the anecdote, the yarn is told "casually, in an offhand way, as if in reference to actual events of common knowledge," and with the utmost solemnity in the face of the most posterous incidents. Unlike the anecdote, however, the yarn often substitutes anticlimax for climax, building up elaborately to a letdown instead of sacrificing everything to the punch line. The accumulation of circumstantial detail, often digressive and irrelevant, after the fashion of garrulous raconteurs, is also a device for establishing confidence and securing credence.

Although more involved than the anecdote, the yarn still falls short of the highly developed art of the Old World folktale. Two favorite devices of the yarn—the repeated obstacle and the retarded climax—are devices of the fairy or household tale, which survives in the United States chiefly on the childhood level. Thus one of Richard Chase's informants for *The Jack Tales* (1942) confessed that he didn't like to tell stories "unless there are a lot of kids around."

Underlying the art of stringing out the story in a yarn is often the purpose of stringing or taking in the listener. Even where the latter is not having his leg pulled, the favorite theme of anecdotes and yarns (in the universal and perennial folk tradition) is pranks and tricks, hoaxes and deceptions (also seen in animal tales of the trickster

type). The "scrapes and 'scapes" of yarns satisfy the taste for marvels and adventures once supplied by fairy tales and tales of ghosts and witches. At the same time they provide an outlet for the "individual competitive aggressiveness" of American society.

In the latter connection one is frequently struck by the antisocial character of much American lore and many American heroes. Just as the myth of the individualism of the pioneer has been revised in the direction of cooperation, as evidenced by neighborhood undertakings like the log-rolling and the barn-raising, so the socially useful folk rituals of cooperative work and play are partly offset by the rough, tough, antisocial humor of the frontier. This ranges from sells, pranks, and practical jokes in the hazing tradition of breaking in the tenderfoot and the greenhorn (snipe hunts and badger fights, fool's errands, circular stories, mythical monsters) to the grim hoaxing and persecution of minorities (Indians, Negroes, Mexicans, and Chinese) by frontier bullies and rogues like Mike Fink and Roy Bean. To the horse sense and cracker-barrel wit of the shrewd Yankee and the suspicious squatter (as in *The Arkansas Traveler*), with its characteristic "reluctant" eloquence, were added the raucous horseplay and horse laughter of the backwoods, where "pretty cute little stunts" and fool doings became crazier as the country became wilder and where the traditional form of expression was reckless and bamboozling tall talk and sky-painting oratory, or making a noise in language. In this way the pioneer let off steam and "laughed it off" or made "terrible faces playfully" at the hazards and hardships of the frontier.

The same raw buffoonery and the same distrust and manhandling of the stranger and the outsider produces, in the direction of verbal rather than practical jokes, the lore of popular reproaches, taunts, and gibes, and local cracks and slams—facetious place names, uncomplimentary nicknames, satirical repartee, and bywords, ribbing anecdotes and jests about Boston, Brooklyn, Arkansas, Missouri, "dam Yankees," Southern pride, California and Florida climate, the "big country" of Texas. Whether based on literary or social stereotypes and myths or on historical traits and rivalries, such as existed in neighborhood feuds, county wars, sectional conflicts, feuds between cattlemen and sheepmen, the parochial, invidious lore of hoax and libel (the seamy side of local tradition and the provincial or neighborhood spirit) reflects the geography of culture, the ruthlessness of frontier and industrial society, and the intolerance of clannishness and chauvinism.

In the folklore of pride and prejudice brags and lies go hand in hand with cracks and slams, since the desire to see what one wants to see, believe what one wants to believe, and make others see and believe as one wants them to leads to extravagant as well as to insulting representations and distortion. Boosting and booming, or exaggerating the advantages of a place, accompany the American myth of a paradise on earth, the dream of a land flowing with milk and honey, the search for God's country. The fairyland of guide books and official puffs is full of the same wonders that one encounters in countless yarns and tall tales—of a climate so healthful that people rarely die, except from accident or old age; of soil so fertile that a man has to cut his way out of cucumber vines that spring up as he plants the seed; of corn that grows so fast that a man who ties his team to



a corn stalk finds himself, team, and wagon pushed up into the air so that food has to be shot up to him to keep him from starving to death. On the adverse side, one hears complaints about a climate so dry that people sweat dust or so wet that the pores sprout watercress or a country so poor that it takes nine partridges to holler "Bob White" or that the dogs have to lean against the fence to bark.

The unnatural natural history of queer animal behavior, fearsome critters, and other freaks of nature is related partly to hoaxing and boasting and partly to superstitious awe and dread and the hallucinations inspired by the mysteries and terrors of the wilderness of sea and forest, mountains and deserts, and the violent extremes and contrasts of weather and climate. Here the anthropomorphism of shrewd, benevolent, or malevolent beasts is balanced by the theriomorphism and totemism of the half-horse, half-alligator and the ring-tailed roarer, of tall talk and strong language, with "many terms transferred from animals to men by the hunters of the West." In their brags and war cries, boasters like Davy Crockett refer to themselves as "an entire zoological institute," claiming various animal traits and features to prove their intestinal fortitude and savage destructiveness. In this rampant and raucous animalism is additional evidence of what Lucy Lockwood Hazard calls "the dwindling of the hero" from the godlike to the human and ultimately to the subhuman level under the picaresque, predatory influences of the frontier.

Real and mythical flora and fauna also enter into the symbolism of state flowers, seals, nicknames, emblems, flags, automobile license plates, and the totemism and fetishism of local legendry and mythology, politics, and business. "Look for a Thunderbird Tourist Service," writes Mary Austin of the "Land of Little Rain." "What more competent embodiment of the spirit of service, in a land where for ten thousand years it has been looked for from the corn rows, augury of a fruitful season, the dark-bodied, dun-feathered cloud of the summer rain, wing stretched from mountain to mountain, with arrows of the lightning in its claws."<sup>10</sup> Half-gargoyle, half-Phoenix, the legendary bird of Kansas, the Jayhawk, gives its name and likeness to things Kansan—the bird with the large yellow beak and bright yellow slippers that "flies backward and so doesn't care where he's going, 'but sure wants to know where he's been.'" <sup>11</sup> And in the old hall of the Massachusetts House of Representatives the sacred codfish commemorates the maritime and fishing preeminence of the Bay State.

The same mingling of the primitive and the practical characterizes American mythology as a whole. American popular and legendary heroes are divided between the prosaic, plebeian Yankee virtues of hard work, perseverance, common sense, thrift, faculty or "know-how," and handiness, and the primitive virtues of red-blooded courage, muscle, brawn, brute force, and animal cunning. Because the New England ethos bred strong characters and eccentrics rather than heroic types, the typical American hero is the Western hero—the picaresque type of footloose adventurer, product and symbol of a "society cut loose from its roots" and of a "time of migrations." In the thin and shifting line that separates law-enforcement from law-breaking on the frontier, hero-worship glorifies the good bad man and the bad good man along with the poor boy who makes good.

Yet throughout the galaxy of American heroes—tricksters, showmen, conquerors, saviors—the familiar lineaments of the whittling, tinkering, scheming, prying comic Yankee are seen. As a culture hero he culminates in the comic demigod of the Paul Bunyan type—the superman and the work giant in a world of gadgets, who has the whole country to tinker and whittle with.

The logging fraternity of the generous camp boss and his loyal crew grew out of the fluid, mobile social relations of the frontier, before the tightening of class lines and the sharpening of the struggle between worker and boss. In the same way cowboy songs reflect a society in which the "boss rode with the hands" and "every cowpuncher was a prospective cowman; all that was needed to start a herd was a stout rope and a running iron."<sup>12</sup>

Thus the frontier ideal of a free, resourceful, outdoor, migratory life, self-sufficient and individualistic, is perpetuated in American hero tales and songs, whose heroic age is the age of industrial pioneering and craftsmanship, before the days of mechanization and unionization of labor. The heroes are lusty, blustering strong men and champions, star performers, and master workmen, the "biggest, fastest, and bestest" men on the job. The ballads of the men who built America are the rousing, rhythmic, dramatic, humorous shanties, hollers, and gang work songs of the leader-and-chorus type—last encountered in the Negro prison camps of the South.

In the progression from the comic demigods and roughnecks of the Paul Bunyan-Davy Crockett-Mike Fink breed to the heroes of endurance and duty—Johnny Appleseed, John Henry, Casey Jones, and Joe Magarac—one notes a heightened sense of social responsibility and mission. A similar development of social consciousness results in the sharpened criticism and protest of campaign and revival songs, coal miners' songs of disasters and strikes, wobbly and union songs, and Negro spirituals and freedom songs.

As the folklore of a new, young, and big country, mirroring the rapid changes from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial society, American folklore is a mixture not only of the lore of peoples from all lands and all parts of the country, but of oral and written tradition, of the sophisticated and the primitive, the very new and the very old, the antisocial and the social. In such a country men become heroes within their own lifetime and living story-tellers may encompass within their memories the whole cycle of development of their community and region. And if the genius of this lore has been for realistic anecdote, extravagant yarn, and comic hero legend rather than for sacred hero tale, other worldly myth, and fairy tale, the reason is simple. Americans, like people the world over, sing, yarn, jest, brag, create heroes, and "whistle in the dark," not only about universal themes and motives and in age-old patterns, but also about the experiences that are closest to them and interest them most.

#### Notes:

1. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, "'American' Folklore," *Folk-Say, A Regional Miscellany* (Norman, Okla., 1930), pp. 291-297.
2. Constance McLaughlin Green, "The Value of Local History," *The Cultural Approach to History*, ed. for the Am. Hist. Assn. by Caroline F. Ware (New York, 1910), p. 278.

3. "The Folk in Literature: An Introduction to the New Regionalism," *Folk-Say, A Regional Miscellany* (Norman, Okla., 1929), p. 12.
4. *Folklore in America: Its Scope and Method* (Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1931), p. 4.
5. "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. 38 (Jan.-March, 1936), no. 1, pp. 149-152.
6. "The Significance of Sections," *The New Republic* (Sept. 20, 1933), p. 149.
7. *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 1 (April-June, 1888), no. 1, p. 3.
8. George Philip Krapp, *The English Language in America* (New York, 1925), vol. 1, p. 188.
9. Robert L. Ramsay, Foreword to Frederic G. Cassidy's *The Place Names of Dane County, Wisconsin*, Publication of the American Dialect Society, Number 7 (April, 1947), p. 5.
10. *The Land of Journey's Ending* (New York and London, 1924), pp. 443-444.
11. John Gunther, *Inside U. S. A.* (New York and London, 1947), p. 262.
12. Margaret Larkin, *Singing Cowboy* (New York, 1931), p. xi.

B. A. BOTKIN

American Folklore Society The American Folklore Society was organized at Cambridge, Massachusetts on January 4, 1888. Its founders were the most important folklore scholars in America: Alcée Fortier, the first president, W. W. Newell, permanent secretary and editor, Franz Boas, F. J. Child, George A. Dorsey, J. Walter Fewkes, Alice Fletcher, Joseph Fortier, Daniel Brinton, T. F. Crane. The list of presidents of the society reads like a bead roll of the important folklorists of America: Alcée Fortier 1888, 1894; Francis James Child 1889; Daniel C. Brinton 1890; Otis T. Mason 1891; Frederick Ward Putnam 1892; Horatio Hale, 1893; Washington Matthews 1895; John G. Burke 1896; Stewart Culin 1897; Henry Wood 1898; Charles L. Edwards 1899; Franz Boas 1900, 1932, 1935; Frank Russell 1901; George A. Dorsey 1902; Livingston Farrand 1903; George Lyman Kittredge 1904; Alice C. Fletcher 1905; Alfred L. Kroeber 1906; Roland B. Dixon 1907-08; John R. Swanton 1909; H. M. Belden 1910-11; John A. Lomax 1912-13; Pliny Earle Goddard 1914-15; Robert H. Lowie 1916-17; C. Marius Barbeau 1918; Elsie Clews Parsons 1919-20; Frank G. Speck 1921-22; Aurelio M. Espinosa 1923-24; Louise Pound 1925-26; Alfred M. Tozzer 1927-29; Edward Sapir 1930-31; M. W. Beckwith 1933-34; Archer Taylor 1936-37; Stith Thompson 1938-39; I. A. Hallowell 1940-41; H. W. Thompson 1942; G. A. Reichard 1943-44; B. A. Botkin 1944-45; M. J. Herskovits 1945-46; J. M. Carrière 1946-47; E. W. Voegelin 1948-49; Thelma James, 1949-50.

The original proposal in which the object of the Society is stated is as follows: "It is proposed to form a society for the study of Folk-Lore, of which the principal object shall be to establish a Journal, of a scientific character, designed:—

- (1) For the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of Folk-Lore in America, namely:
  - (a) Relics of Old English Folk-Lore (ballads, tales, superstitions, dialect, etc.).
  - (b) Lore of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union.

- (c) Lore of the Indian Tribes of North America (myths, tales, etc.).

- (d) Lore of French Canada, Mexico, etc.

- (2) For the study of the general subject, and publication of the results of special studies in this department."

This proposal and the practices that grew out of it mark a major development in the study of folklore. Up to this time folklore as generally studied in Europe had consisted largely in investigation of the *relics* of culture: popular antiquities, and popular literature. The founders of the American Folklore Society, probably because they were in the New World, enlarged the study of folklore to include all categories of culture, not simply literary, and to include in addition the study of "living" folklore as found especially among the American Indians. The American Folklore Society from the beginning inspired the collection and investigation of Negro folklore: literature, music, songs, superstitions, and beliefs. With the American Anthropological Association it also pioneered studies in Indian folklore, considering it most promising, for here "the investigator has to deal with whole nations and as a result the harvest does not consist of scattered gleanings."

From the time of its origin, the American Folklore Society recognized that its function could not be insular, that only by a study of folklore in general could the folklore of any one people be understood and so from the beginning the papers in the Journal were open to general studies of folklore and to studies of the folklore of peoples everywhere in the world. As the Society has developed it has constantly broadened its functions until today a more accurate name would be the American Society of Folklore.

The first number of the Journal appeared in April, 1888, under the editorship of W. W. Newell. Its contents are representative of the publication through the years. T. F. Crane wrote of the diffusion of popular tales, William Newell on voodoo worship and child sacrifice in Haiti, H. Carrington Bolton on counting-out games of children, D. G. Brinton on Lenape conversations; W. M. Beauchamp published a collection of Onondaga tales; Franz Boas presented a detailed study of the songs and dances of the Kwakiutl.

The Journal is now (1949) in its 62nd volume. These 62 volumes contain many very important collections and studies from the pens of the major folklorists of America. There exist, for example, in the Journal nearly one hundred articles on the ballad in America—a body of material that constitutes a large appendix to the great Child collection. It is unfortunate that no adequate index of the contents of the Journal exists.

In 1906 the Society was incorporated in Massachusetts and a constitution embodying the original proposals was adopted. The Society operated under this constitution until 1946 when the present constitution was adopted.

Early in the history of the Society the Editor and Officers felt the need of a monograph series in addition to the Journal to contain book-length specialized studies in folklore. Accordingly, in 1894 the Memoir Series was inaugurated with the publication of Heli Chatelain's *Folk-Tales of Angola* as volume 1. Now (1949) the Memoir Series is in its 42nd volume. These studies are highly diversified, concerning themselves with Japanese peasant songs, fiddle and fife tunes of Pennsylvania,

myths and tales of the Gran Chaco of Argentina, Spanish songs and tales, French folklore, studies in Negro and Indian folklore, collections of folklore from specific regions of America, such as Maryland, Iowa, Nova Scotia, plant and animal lore, Filipino folktales. For many years members paid additional dues to secure the Memoirs, but since 1943 the Society has followed the policy of giving both the Journal and the Memoirs to all regular dues-paying members.

Every year the Society holds a two- or three-day meeting for transaction of business and the reading and discussion of papers. These meetings are usually arranged to coincide alternately with those of the Modern Language Association and those of the American Anthropological Society.

Throughout its history the American Folklore Society has fostered the establishment of local folklore societies. Some fifty such societies over the United States and Canada have at one time or another been affiliated with the mother society. At the present time ten such societies are closely affiliated with the American Folklore Society through joint membership arrangements. The American Folklore Society is a constituent of the American Council of Learned Societies, and of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore.

At present the Society has a membership of over 1,000, the largest in its history. Dues are \$4 a year for individuals, \$6.50 for institutions. All members receive all publications without further cost. The 1949-50 officers are: Thelma James, President; Sigurd B. Hustvedt and Erna Gunther, Vice Presidents; MacEdward Leach (Bennett Hall, 34 and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania), Secretary-Treasurer; Wayland D. Hand, Editor. MacEdward Leach

**Amesha Spentas** (Persian *Amshaspend*) In Zoroastrianism, the attendant ministers of Ahura Mazda; archangels: literally, Immortal Holy Ones. The function of the Amesha Spentas is to aid Ahura Mazda who prefers to act through their ministering hands. They are invisible, immortal, and dwell in Paradise, sitting, according to the *Bundahishn*, before the throne of Ahura Mazda on golden thrones. The guardianship of an element of the universe is assigned to each. Vohu Manah is responsible for the care of useful animals, Asha Vahishta for fire, Khshathra Vairya for metals, Spentā Armaiti for the earth, Haurvatāt for water, and Ameretāt for vegetation. These six are constantly opposed by the six archfiends, Aka Manah, Sauru, Indra, Naonhathya, Zairicha, and Taurvi, whom they will finally vanquish at the time of the resurrection.

Originally there were six Amesha Spentas in addition to their leader, Ahura Mazda, but some of the angels, among them Sraosha, Atar, and Gošurvan, were admitted to the group so that the number varied.

The Amesha Spentas receive special worship and are said to descend upon paths of light to the oblation. A special month and day are assigned to each in the pontifical calendar. According to the *Dinkart* they appeared before King Vishtāspa and helped Zoroaster convert him. Compare ADITYA; ARCHANGEL.

**amethyst** A purple or violet gem of the quartz family, known since early times: birthstone of February or Pisces. Its name derives from the Greek word *amethystos*, meaning non-intoxicating, and its principal attribute

throughout the ages has been to enable its wearer to drink his fill without becoming intoxicated. Wine drunk from an amethyst cup will not intoxicate. It is supposed to put a sobering check on the passions, control evil thoughts, quicken the intellect, and make a man shrewd in business matters. It protects soldiers, aids hunters, and is extensively worn by sailors, businessmen, lawyers, bishops, and medical men, especially on the third finger of the left hand. Curative powers are ascribed to it both when worn and when taken internally. It is especially effective against headache, toothache, and the gout, and protects its wearer from poison and the plague.

An 18th century French poem tells how Bacchus, angry at neglect, vowed the next mortal he met should be devoured by his lions. This was a maiden on her way to worship at the shrine of Diana who, hearing the maiden's cries, turned her into a beautiful transparent stone. Bacchus, in remorse, poured wine over the stone which accounts for its beautiful color. The Romans valued it as a preventive of intoxication, as a means for access to kings, and as a talisman against spells, hail, and locusts. Among the tribes of the Upper Nile, the *rain-makers* use the amethyst as a rain stone, plunging one into water and motioning with a cane when rain is desired. In ancient Egypt it was used in amulets and as a gemstone.

The amethyst is mentioned in *Exodus* as one of the stones in the High Priest's breastplate, and in *Revelation* as one of the foundations of the New Jerusalem. St. Valentine is said to have worn an amethyst ring engraved with a Cupid.

**Amis and Amiloun** A Middle English romance, French in origin, of two perfect friends. Amiloun fights instead of Amis at a combat trial; as punishment, he becomes a leper. Amis kills his two children after dreaming that their blood will cure Amiloun. The leprosy disappears and the children awake as from sleep.

**Amitābha, Amita, or Amida** In Mahāyāna Buddhism, one of the five Buddhas of Contemplation: Infinite Light. Amitābha has practically replaced Śākya-muni, the historical Buddha; he is the embodiment of every divine grace; he is all-wise and all-powerful with the attributes of grace, mercy, and beneficence. The worship of Amitābha emphasizes devotion rather than emulation. As O-mi-to-fo he was the most revered and popular of the celestial Buddhas in China. The Jodo sect introduced the doctrine of Sukhāvati, the Western Paradise of Amitābha, into Japanese Buddhism, where its patron was called Amida. In Sukhāvati there is neither mental nor bodily pain but only perpetual bliss. With the aid of the Bodhisattvas Avalokita (Kuan-yin) and Mahāsthāma (Ta-shih-chih) all who invoke Amitābha's name are brought to salvation. In legend, Amitābha was born spontaneously from a lotus.

**Amleth or Hamlet** In early Danish legend, the son of Horvendil, king of Jutland, and Gerutha. As Saxo Grammaticus tells the story, Horvendil was killed by his brother Feng (or Fengi) who took the throne and married Gerutha. Amleth (which means mad) escaped death at the hands of his uncle by feigning madness. He rode his horse facing the tail, called sand the meal of storms, etc. The young girl sent to test his sanity proved to be a friend and would not betray him. Feng's old counselor then suggested that Amleth be left alone

with his mother, while he would hide in the room and witness his conversation and his actions. But Amleth was not deceived; still playing mad he ran his sword through a pile of straw in the room and killed the old man hiding in it.

Feng's next move was to send Amleth to Britain with a letter to Britain's king, directing him to put the bearer to death. The wary Amleth, however, changed the message to read that the king give his daughter in marriage to the "wise youth" who brought this letter, and that the two courtiers with him be put to death. At the feast that night Amleth would not eat. When questioned he replied that the bread was bloody, the water tasted of iron, the meat smelled of human dead, and three times the queen had behaved like a bondswoman. These insults were reported to the king, who instead of being angry, investigated the source of the food. He discovered that the corn for the bread was grown on an old battlefield, that a rusty sword lay in the bottom of the well, that the pigs had broken loose and eaten the unburied corpse of a robber, and it was true that the queen had picked her teeth at table, lifted her skirts when she walked, etc. The king was impressed with the wisdom of this "wise youth," and carried out in full the details of the altered letter.

Amleth then returned to Denmark, killed Feng with Feng's own sword, and was received joyfully as king by his own people. Here is shown the ancient Teutonic (especially Danish) belief, the deep-rooted and almost religious conviction, that all perjurers and traitors must, and inevitably do, die by their own swords.

Later Amleth returned to Britain, where his father-in-law, the king, sworn to avenge the death of his friend Feng, sent Amleth on an errand to Hermutrude, queen of Scotland, again bearing a sealed message instructing his death. But after once seeing Amleth and learning his story, the lady herself altered the letter to read that she must marry the bearer. Amleth was easily convinced that he should take a second wife, and did so. He defeated the king of Britain in battle by the stratagem of placing dead men in upright positions to simulate a huge army. His first wife remained loyal to him, so Amleth, with two wives, returned to Denmark. Later he was killed fighting against Wiglek of Denmark. Hermutrude had vowed she would die with him, but comforted herself by marrying Wiglek.

There is a very old Norse version of this story in which two sons of the murdered king feign madness and avenge their father by setting fire to the hall. Through Saxo Grammaticus the Danish legend became widely known among Germanic peoples. It is, of course, the source of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. [MEL]

**Ammit or Ammut** In Egyptian mythology, an underworld monster, compounded of the hippopotamus and lion and having a crocodile's jaws. Ammit was stationed at the scales of judgment in the hall of Osiris; those souls whose hearts were found heavy with sins were eaten by her. Compare CERBERUS.

**Ammon or Amon** The Greek and Roman name for the Egyptian god Amen, appearing as Zeus-Ammon and Jupiter-Ammon: when associated with Ra, Ammon-Ra, Ammon Re, Amon-Ra, or Amon Re.

**amniomancy** Divination from the caul occasionally found enveloping the head of a new-born child: gener-

ally European and believed to be originally from the East. The condition of the caul, lax, dry, etc., indicated the future general state of health of the owner.

**amorous bite** A folktale motif (T467) commonly found in the various poison damsel stories, in which the poison damsel bites her lover on the lip, thus causing her own poisonous saliva to enter his bloodstream, so that he dies. This seems to be associated with the very ancient (Babylonian) and very widespread belief that the spittle of witches is poisonous. See POISON DAMSEL.

**amphidromia** The festival, held on the fifth day after the birth of a child in Attica, Greece, during which the baby was carried at a running pace around the family hearth. During this celebration friends and relatives brought presents and the women who had assisted at the birth cleansed their hands. This custom has been variously explained as a purification rite, as an initiation rite, or as a rite to ensure fleet-footedness for the child.

**amṛita, amṛta, or amṛit** In Hindu mythology, the drink conferring immortality; the water of life produced at the Churning of the Ocean. The name is applied in the Vedas to various things sacrificed, but especially to the soma juice.

Rāhu, an asura, disguised himself as a god and obtained possession of some of the amṛita which he drank in order to make himself immortal. Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) caught him and cut off his head. Rāhu's body became the progenitor of the comets and meteors; his head, immortal because of the amṛita he had been able to gulp, chases the sun and moon which betrayed him to Vishnu, and sometimes swallows them (eclipse). Compare AMBROSIA; MEAD; SOMA.

**Amsterdam** The oldest of the capstan chanteys, mentioned, though not specifically as a sea song, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, by Thomas Heywood, which was seen in London early in the 17th century. The chanter celebrates the charms of a maid of Amsterdam who was "mistress of her trade," and has become popular as a glee-club song. It is also called *A-Rovin'*, from the words of its refrain.

**amulet** A material object, usually portable and durable, worn or carried on the person, placed in a house, or on or among one's possessions, to protect the owner from dangers such as death, shipwreck, lightning, attacks by thieves or animals, evil spirits, witchcraft, or the evil eye; to aid him in acquiring luck, wealth, physical strength, magical powers; and to bring success in hunting, trading, battle, or love. The use of amulets is world-wide among almost all peoples, and is familiar to almost all Americans in the form of horseshoes, lucky coins, watch-chain charms, and the rabbit's foot. Amulets are not only worn by men, women, and children, carried in bags or pockets or sewn to clothing, but they are attached to domestic animals, buildings, tools, weapons, placed in fields near growing crops, in storehouses, barns, henneries, and tied to dangerous roads, bridges, or at the top of passes. They are sometimes used as containers for the soul. Eskimo medicine men, for instance, conjure the soul of a sick child into an amulet to keep it out of harm during the illness.

Amulets are primarily preventive and are to be distinguished from talismans which transmit qualities from charms which are magic formulas to be sung or

recited (also loosely applied to amulets over which charms have been said).

Amulets of common stone chosen either for shape, color, or the importance of the place where found, are worn by the Mongols as a protection against thunder and lightning, by the Jews to prevent miscarriage, in Italy as a protection against witches (madieporite) and for the prevention and cure of snake-bite (serpentine). In the Torres Straits water-worn pebbles are regarded as love charms. In Ireland perforated stones of any kind are hung on cattle byres to prevent malicious fairies from stealing the milk. Stones are worn by the Blackfoot Indians as hunting charms. The Aymara use bezoar stones removed from the stomachs of llamas or vicuñas as amulets. Fragments of stone are carried by childless Japanese.

Amulets of animal parts or substances depend frequently for their efficacy on the sympathetic transference of the characteristics or qualities of the animal from which they are acquired. Greenland Eskimos sew a hawk's head or feet into a boy's clothing to make him a great hunter, the skin from the roof of a bear's mouth to give him strength, and a piece of a fox's head or dried fox dung to give him cunning. The Chickasaw Indians put the foot of a guinea deer into hunting pouches to make themselves successful hunters. Hidatsa girls wear beavers' teeth to make them industrious. The Dogribs carry antler points for success in luring deer or moose within rifle range. The Bororo wear breast ornaments of jaguar and monkey teeth to give them strength and skill.

Plants or parts of plants such as seeds, berries, pieces of wood, and leaves, are world-wide in amuletic use. Vegetable amulets far outnumber all other types in India, where one of the most potent is made of chips from ten different kinds of holy trees glued together and wrapped with gold wire. In Europe peas are thrown into the lap of a bride. Eating the fruit of a tree bearing for the first time, possessing mandrakes, or drinking birch-sap are all supposed to produce fertility. The Greeks used snapdragons and peony tea against sorcery and an olive leaf bearing the name of Athena or an herb grown on the head of a statue tied around the head to cure headache. The Romans used garlic to keep off witches and touched the doorway with a sprig of strawberry plant for the same purpose. The Japanese use fruits, flowers, and vegetables amulettically in their homes and hang garlic at the doors to keep out infectious diseases. Double walnuts and almonds are worn as amulets against the evil eye, witches, headache, and for good luck in Italy. A powerful Chinese amulet to ward off evil spirits is made of peach wood or peach stones; padlocks made from peach kernels are believed to bind children to life when attached to their feet. Many peoples believe that a potato carried in the pocket keeps off harm and cures diseases. The Shoshone Indians use powdered spruce needles to prevent illness. The Apache and Navaho filled and wore buckskin bags with pollen from the cat-tail and other plants to secure peace, prosperity, and happiness. Petrified wood is used in Hopi amulets.

Manufactured amulets are as widespread in use and almost as old as are natural objects. Figurines of gods were buried under the thresholds of Assyrian palaces. Egyptian uzas or sacred eyes made of lapis-lazuli, gold, pottery, or wood, and the uza or green column usually made of feldspar, as well as the dad and buckle were

placed in tombs for amuletic reasons. The Greeks used images of gods and geometric figures as amulets. The Romans attached small metal rattles and bullae to their children's clothing. Vedic Indians used rings as amulets. The Celts had figures of the horse, bull, and models of a wild boar's tooth; the Mayas used golden frogs arranged singly or in groups, images of lizards, crocodiles, crabs, eagles, gulls, parrots, or monkeys, each provided with a ring for suspension on a cord or chain. Certain Eskimos sometimes wear an image of the object for which they are named. The Lengua use wax images for good luck in hunting. The Iroquois carry miniature canoes to keep from drowning. The Hindus wear lockets containing the image of a god or goddess. And the Japanese use bells and images of deities in addition to the more common written amulets.

Whether or not all ornamental jewelry was originally amuletic is open to question, but jewelry is worn for amuletic purposes in many parts of the world. In India, rings of copper, silver, gold, or iron are worn to repel sorcery. In the Punjab copper rings or earrings are worn to frighten away the sciatica spirit. In southern India an important part of the marriage rite is the tying-on of the lucky thread which is a saffron-colored cord attached to a small pendantlike gold ornament. This is worn around the neck for the same reason the wedding ring is worn in Europe, and because it is believed to bring good luck. The Lapps attach a brass ring to the right arm while transferring a corpse to a coffin and then to the grave to prevent the ghost of the deceased from doing any harm. American Negroes believe a silver ring, a ring inscribed with Chinese characters, or a ring made from a horse-shoe nail to be good luck. Chinese children are protected from harm by jade bracelets or anklets, and Tibetan women wear chatelaines depending from a small silver casket which usually contains an amulet or charm.

The elements included in Jewish written amulets were the names of God and angels, Biblical expressions or phrases, a list of the functions of the amulet, and the name of the person for whom the amulet was designed and that of his mother. Another type of written amulet consisted of a series of figures made of curved and straight lines tipped with circles, interspersed with geometric forms. The Zahlenquadrat or magic square, formed by a series of numbers arranged so that the sum of the numbers in each row, whether added vertically, diagonally, or horizontally, would be the same, was popular among Christian cabalists and adapted by medieval Jews. The mezuzah, originally anti-demonic in character, was given a religious significance by the rabbis who had Bible verses (*Deut.* vi, 4-9; xi, 13-21) inscribed on it as a reminder of the principle of monotheism, but its amuletic properties have always outweighed its religious significance. The Chinese and Moslems use similar strips of paper. The former hang them over doors, on bed curtains, and even wear them in the hair.

Tibetan amulets are frequently pieces of paper inscribed with sentences to Buddha, while those of Ethiopia (which measure from 50 centimeters to two meters in length) contain legends, spells, secret signs, words of power, spells, and legends explaining how they originated. These scrolls are rolled and bound with cord, sewed in a leather case or inserted in a telescoping capsule. Japanese amulets against lightning, dangers while traveling, sickness, burns, and to better one's fortune,

are usually roughly printed sacred texts or rude woodcuts of the divinity appealed to, printed with words explaining the purpose of the amulet, folded, and enclosed in an envelope. These are sold at temples, are not taken out and read, but are renewed annually. Compare FETISH; GBO; GRIGRI; MAGIC OBJECT; TALISMAN. [SPH]

**An or Ana** The Sumerian god of the sky, to whom Nammu, the sea, gave birth. By Ki, the female earth-goddess, An was father of Enlil, god of the air. When earth and sky were separated, An carried off the heavens, Enlil the earth. Enlil superseded An as chief god of the Sumerian pantheon by the 3rd millennium B.C., though An nominally remained chief. The word *an* is ideographically represented by an eight-pointed star which is prefixed to the names of gods; it signifies high or heaven, and may also signify, as here, "god," dingir. Compare ANU; ANUNNAKI.

**Anāhita** The ancient Iranian Great Mother; the goddess of fertility, especially of fertilizing waters, and specifically of the spring among the stars from which flowed all the rivers of the earth: worshipped from Iran westward to the Aegean and identified with other Great Mothers of the region like Nina, Ishtar, Semiramis, Cybele, Aphrodite. She appears in the pantheon of Mazdaism after Zoroaster and is closely associated with Mithra or Mazda as one of the chief deities of the religion. An entire Yast or hymn of praise, is given to her in the *Avesta*. She is called there Ardvī Surā Anāhita, the high, powerful, undefiled one. Anāhita is the goddess of reproduction and of the maintenance of good things; she "purified the seed of the male and the womb and the milk of the female." She was called upon by marriageable girls and by women in childbirth; she aided in time of great illness. She is described in the *Avesta* as a beautiful maiden, tall and powerful, wrapped in a gold-embroidered cloak, wearing earrings, necklace, and crown of gold, and adorned with thirty otter skins. Anāhita was also the goddess of war and drove a chariot with four white horses (wind, rain, cloud, hail); she gave victory to a contender. Through the influence of Chaldean star-worship, she became identified with the planet Venus.

In Armenia, as Anāhit, she was the most popular of all the gods. Here she was identified with neither the planet nor the waters of fertility. She had several temples, particularly the great sanctuary at Akilisene, where members of both sexes of the nobility entered her service as slaves, and where the female slaves practiced sacred prostitution.

In Pontus and Cappadocia, and perhaps in Cilicia, she became identified with the goddess Ma. She was probably brought to Sardis in Lydia by Artaxerxes II, and there merged with Cybele. Her noisy and licentious rites occurred in Armenia about the 15th of September.

The Greeks, who also called her Anaitis, the Athena of Ilium, and the Persian Artemis, confounded her with Aphrodite as a fertility goddess, and with Athena as a war goddess. Since the bull was sacred to Anāhita, she became confused with the Greek Artemis Tauropolos in Lydia, Armenia, and Cappadocia. Generally she was known as the mistress of the beasts; sacred herds of white heifers were branded with her mark, a torch, and sacrificed to her along with green branches in Armenia. After the 1st century A.D., her worship as Magna Mater spread

through the Latin world along with that of Mithra.

Anāhita is probably of Semitic origin, perhaps identical with Anath. The temple prostitution practiced by her worshippers and her identification with Nina and Ishtar give support to the view. Herodotus says that the Persians learned from the Assyrians to worship the heavenly Aphrodite "whom they call Mithra," which latter may be a misreading of Anāhita. In inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings of Persia, Mithra and Anāhita are united.

**Ananga** The bodiless: an epithet of Kāma, Hindu god of love: so called because he was consumed by the fire of Śiva's eye when he interrupted Śiva's devotions with thoughts of Pārvatī.

**Anansem** Literally, spider stories: generic title of a class of folktales told by the Akan-speaking peoples of West Africa, and so called whether the spider takes part in the story or not. The Anansem are told for group entertainment and are definitely distinguished from the myths. They are also known as Nyankonsem, or "words of the sky god."

Once upon a time Kwaku Ananse, the Spider, went to buy the sky god's stories. The price to be paid was very great. Nyame, the sky god, demanded in exchange that Kwaku Ananse bring him the python, the leopard, the fairy, and the hornets. Spider promised all these things and returned home. One by one he tricked the prizes into his possession, and then added his mother to the lot for good measure. The sky god was so amazed that Kwaku Ananse, the Spider, could bring in the price of the stories when very great kings and chiefs had often failed, that he called his chiefs and leaders in for consultation. The verdict was that beginning that day the sky god's stories should henceforth belong to Kwaku Ananse and be called Anansem, Spider stories, forever. The Paramaribo Negroes of Surinam, South America, give the generic title of Anansi-tori to all their folktales. In Curaçao they are called *cuenta di nansi*.

**Anansi** The Spider: hero and trickster of an enormous body of West African folktales. Under various names he plays the same outrageous, cunning, and wily role in the folklore of the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberian, Togo, Dahomean, Hausa, Yoruban, Warri, Fio, Cameroons, Congo, and Angolan peoples. He is known everywhere in the West Indies and other parts of the New World, and has become almost as familiar to white children through their countless Mammies and Uncle Remuses, as to Negro children.

Among the Hausas the Spider is named Gizō; the Akan-speaking peoples call him Kwaku Ananse. In Curaçao Anansi has become Nansi. He turns up as Miss Nancy in South Carolina Sea Island folktales, and in Gullah, specifically, as Aunt Nancy. 'Ti Malice is his name in Haiti. He survives as Anansi, however, among the Surinam Negroes, both Paramaribo and Bush, and in Jamaica. In Jamaica the Anansi stories are now told chiefly at wakes and other gatherings for the dead. The Negroes of Trinidad are said to have lost interest in them; but here too they are still told at wakes. The real Anansi perpetrators in Trinidad, however, are the children, who not only know the stories, but know them well, and tell and retell them to each other.

Anansi was originally a creator of the world in Gold Coast mythology, and still plays the role of culture hero

in such tales as those in which he steals the sun. In Bantu folklore Spider is definitely associated with the sun. His dominant role, however, throughout Negro folktale everywhere is that of the crafty and cunning trickster who prospers by his wits. He is always duping other animals, to his own profit, and sometimes man, in some modern versions sometimes missionaries. Tiger is frequently the butt of his jokes; but occasionally Anansi falls into his own pit or fails to outwit one or another of his intended victims. He is also somewhat of a magician, being able to appear sometimes as man, sometimes as spider. There are a number of stories in which Anansi turns into a spider at the moment of greatest danger, thus saving himself from some awful retribution, and thus sometimes explaining the origin of spiders. He figures in numerous versions of the tar-baby story, of which several variants account for his flattened body.

The character of the Spider of West African folktale is paralleled by that of Hare and Tortoise in the story cycles of certain Bantu tribes, and by Brer Rabbit in the southern United States. Br' Rabby in the Bahamas is the same folktale trickster hero. His name is a byword in West African proverb: "Woe to him who would put his trust in Anansi—a sly, selfish, and greedy fellow" and "The wisdom of the spider is greater than that of all the world put together." One of the most famous of the Anansi stories (Ashanti and Yoruba) is the one about the pot always full of food, found and broken by Anansi's children, and the whip which he got to punish them, which would not stop beating them when they investigated it as they had the pot. See ANANSESEM.

*Anansi and the Gum Doll* Anansi kept stealing the food out of a man's (or the king's, or another animal's) big field. But the man did not know who it was. So he put a big gum doll out there. When Anansi saw the gum doll he thought it was a real person. "Hello, there," he called out. But the gum doll made no answer. "Answer me or I'll kick you," cried Anansi. The gum doll did not answer. Then Anansi kicked him and his foot stuck. "Let loose or I'll hit you," he cried. The gum doll did not let loose. Then Anansi hit him and his hand stuck. He kicked with the other foot and that stuck; he hit with the other hand and that stuck. Then the man came out to find the thief. And the man beat Anansi until his body was flat as flat (until he got eight legs; until he had the mark of a cross on his back).

This story is especially interesting as being the bare bones of the Anansi-tar-baby combination as told in Africa, with a few of the Surinam variants indicated. The same story is told of Hare in Angola, of Jackal among the Hottentots. For the whole gamut of Anansi-Hare-Rabbit-Tortoise-Jackal substitutions and tar-baby variants, see each of these and also BRER RABBIT; STICK-FAST; TAR BABY.

*Anansi Rides Tiger* Anansi remarked to the king that he rode Tiger. The king doubted it, so he asked Tiger. Tiger said "No" and went to fetch Anansi to make him take back the words. But Anansi said he could not go now; he was too ill; he could not walk; he could not stand up. But Tiger would not wait; Anansi must come to the king at once and take back that lie—even if Tiger had to carry him there himself! So Anansi consented—just to prove to Tiger that he never said any such thing

in the first place. But Anansi needed a saddle, just to brace his feet, he was so weak, lest he fall off. Tiger was in a hurry; he consented with impatience. Then Anansi needed a bridle, just to hold on to!—and a whip, just to swish the flies away! Tiger did not care, as long as Anansi would come to the king right away and take back the lie. So they arrived at the king's house: Tiger galloping, Anansi in the saddle, plying the whip, pulling on the bridle, and crying to the king to come look—Anansi rides Tiger!

This is the story as told by the Surinam Negroes, both urban and bush. They have another version which ends with the spider living in the king's house forever, as reward for bringing him such a fine horse. In the parallel Sierra Leone story Turtle rides Leopard. Br'er Rabbit rides Br'er Fox or Br'er Wolf in southern U. S. Negro versions.

*Anansi-tori* The Anansi stories: generic term among the Surinam Negroes for the great body of spider stories transplanted from West Africa. They vary very little in urban and bush versions. These are the same spider trickster folktales known to the Ashanti as Anansem, and include also the same story of how they came to be so called.

The Paramaribo Negroes include the Anansi-tori as an important feature of their rites for the dead, especially on the eighth night after a death, when the evening begins with hymns and riddling and the stories last till dawn. They are never, never told in the daytime by anyone, lest the dead come and listen and their proximity cause the death of the narrator or his parents. The Saramacca Bush-Negroes tell these stories to the dead during the seven days a body lies in the village death house awaiting burial. Owing to the importance attached to them as entertainment for the dead, the term has become extended to include also the dances for the ancestors and the songs sung during these rites.

*Ananta* In Hindu mythology, an epithet meaning the infinite, applied to the serpent Sesha and sometimes to Hindu deities, especially to Vishnu.


*Anapel* Literally, in the Koryak language, Little Grandmother: the name for the divining stone whereby the Koryak father discovers the name of the dead relative whose soul has just been reborn in his newborn child, and whose name that child must bear. The divining stone is hung on a stick and allowed to swing to and fro of itself while the stick is suspended. The father calls the roll of all dead relations on both sides of the family. When Anapel quickens in her swinging, it is a sign that at that moment has just been mentioned the name of the dead relative whose soul has come to live in the newborn child. Thus the child is named, and the father carries it through the village announcing, "A relative has come," or to this one and that one, "Your father has come" or "Your uncle has come."

*Anath* or 'Anat A primitive Semitic war goddess of Syria, the "queen of heaven, mistress of the gods," worshipped widely in the Semitic world, whose cult was in Egypt by the reign of Thothmes III (15th century B.C.) where she became daughter of Rā. She is represented with helmet, shield and spear in right hand, battle-ax or club in left; a late picture shows her seated on a lion. No connection of Anath with the Babylonian Antu has been proved; she may be identical with the Syro-Phœ-

nician Anthy and the later Antæus, both Phœnician war goddesses. She was identified in the Hellenistic period with Athena. See SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**ancestor worship** Veneration (only occasionally actual worship in the religious sense) of ancestral spirits: perhaps the most widespread of all religious forms, always implying animistic belief, and sometimes linked with totemism. The cult of the dead, those observances meant to dispose of the body and attend to the comfort of the spirit of the dead, is based in the belief in souls; ancestor worship considers the effect these not-quite-departed spirits may have on the world of the living and varies its cult observances accordingly. The dead may be malevolent or benevolent, feared or admired, given bribes to keep them from working mischief or gifts to make them happy. The tremendous mass of evidence of ancestor worship indicates that belief in the unfriendly dead is more prevalent than belief in well-wishing spirits, but no conclusion drawn from this, no generalization about the ways of the mind of primitive man, is completely valid. That ancient Greek and other religions seem based in propitiation of the ever-present evil spirits of the dead is balanced by an equally widely distributed belief that the spirits of dead parents and dead chiefs guard those who remain alive. The dead father or chief continues to guide his family or tribe; the stranger or the enemy, or the victim of an accident snatched from life suddenly, still may cause trouble through evilness or envy. Offerings are made, occasionally or at stated intervals, in either case: the evil spirit must be made to feel that he has something to gain by not molesting the people; the good spirit is deserving of the care a grateful people can give him.

Possession by an ancestral spirit may be oracular, or it may be through metempsychosis (or reincarnation). The newly born child may have the spirit of a departed ancestor, thus the naming of children for the revered dead. Thus also the feeling that a family has a larger bond, beyond its immediate descent, in the duty it owes to the dead. In a wider application, the clan, claiming descent from a common ancestor, may heroize or deify the ancestor; and if the clan or tribal myth is such, the ancestor may be the totem animal. There is no way of knowing into what form or shape the ancestral spirit will reappear on earth; it may be in a stone, a mountain, a scorpion, a cat, or any person whatever. See MANISM.

 In ancient China, ancestor worship was a well-developed cult in the Chou Dynasty, c. 1000 B.C. In modern China it has religious and civic aspects. Religious: The male head of the family or clan must make periodic sacrifices of ceremonies and food before the tablets and graves of his ancestors, though the more recently dead receive the greater homage. The two souls, the superior soul in heaven and the inferior soul informing the body, are thus nourished until disintegration occurs. If the souls of the ancestors are not sufficiently nourished they become ghosts and create mischief. Civic: The doctrine that proper respect must be paid ancestors, living or dead, was part of the Confucian attempt to restore seamliness in a decadent culture. Parents' natural desire that they be taken care of after death and tales of the wickedness of hungry ghosts are two facets of an attitude which has had such wide social acceptance that it is much more than a doctrine or creed. [snj]

**ancestral tablets** In Chinese and Japanese ancestor worship, wooden tablets inscribed with the names and birth and death dates of the deceased, kept in the ancestral hall of a clan or in a household shrine, to which offerings and prayers are made, and used when sacrifices are to be made at the shrine rather than at the tomb itself: probably derived from the burial of the deceased within the home plot. The tablets are believed to be occupied by the spirits of the deceased when the offerings are made, but after the offerings are completed the spirits depart. The Chinese tablets, traditionally originating during the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) but finding their source much earlier, are interlocking and fit into a wooden base. The last two characters of the inscription mean "spirit throne," and the very last is left uncompleted until a ceremonial "canonization," when a priest adds the finishing touches to the letter. The tablets are carried in the funeral procession and are kept, following the mourning period, in the ancestral shrine. Among the poorer classes, who cannot afford ancestral halls, the tablets are usually kept in the left rear corner of the living room in the household shrine being placed there with invocation of Tso Sha Shun Chun, the God of Spirit-Tablet-to-Ancestors. Offerings are made before the tablets in certain days, such as the anniversary of death, and the Ch'ing Ming Festival, some three months after the winter solstice.

In Japanese Buddhism, the *ihai* is a rectangular tablet, rounded at the top and inscribed with name and dates. Offerings are made to it, especially at the Bon festival, when spirits are thought to come into the world. Similar tablets are found in parts of coastal New Guinea.

**Anchanchu** A terrible demon in the folklore of the modern Aymara Indians. He deceives the unwary with his smiles and friendship and then afflicts them with deadly diseases. He also sucks the blood of his victims during their sleep. The Aymaras believe that his presence is accompanied by whirlwinds, and they avoid rivers and isolated places where he is supposed to reside. [AM]

**anchunga** Tapirape Indian (central Brazil) term for two kinds of spirits: true spirits (i.e. the disembodied souls of human beings), and malevolent demons. Tapirape shamans often see the true spirits in dreams. A famous shaman and culture hero of Tapirape legend, named Ware, destroyed all the evil anchunga in the south. He set fire to their hair, which was so long that it dragged on the ground behind them. The anchunga to the north, however, are still active.

**Ancient Spider** The creator of Nauru Island (Micronesian) mythology. See AREOP-ENAP.

**Andersen, Hans Christian** (1805-1875) Danish poet and story writer, second perhaps only to the Grimms in world-wide reputation as a teller of fairy tales. He was born in southern Denmark, the son of a shoemaker who died in 1816, leaving the boy more or less to his own devices in spending his time. He quit school and, becoming interested in the theater, built his own toy theater, dressed his own puppets, and read every play he could lay his hands on. In 1819, convinced that he had a good voice, he went to Copenhagen and haunted theatrical managers unsuccessfully, getting a reputation for being slightly crazy, and starving slowly. However, some



friends he had made, notably Jonas Collin, director of the Royal Theater saw to it that the king, Frederick VI, had the youth sent to grammar school, where he remained until 1827. In 1829 his first success, a satirical fantasy, *A Journey on Foot from Holman's Canal to the East Point of Amager*, was published. After some indifferent pieces, in 1835 *The Improvisor* became a great success, and Andersen an established author. In the same year he published the first of his *Fairy Tales* (*Eventyr*), and until 1872 they continued to appear, slowly gaining for their author a world-wide fame. He continued writing novels, plays, miscellanies, travel books, as well. In 1872 he injured himself severely, falling out of bed, and died three years later without ever having fully recovered from the effects of the fall. Among Andersen's best known fairy tales, somewhat literary and often tragic and moralizing renderings of well-known types and motifs in the folktale, are: The Ugly Duckling, The Tinder Box, The Red Shoes, The Snow Queen, Big Claus and Little Claus, The Fir Tree, The Emperor's New Clothes, The Fellow Traveler, The Little Mermaid, The Tin Soldier, The Little Match Girl, The Ice Maiden. His stories were first translated into English by Mary Howitt in 1846 and by Caroline Peachey also in 1846.

**St. Andrew's cross** The saltire or decussate cross, formed like the letter X, common in ancient sculpture, and still to be seen as a symbol (usually white on a blue field) as in the Union Jack of Great Britain. St. Andrew is said to have been crucified on such a cross, but the legend has not been traced back farther than the 14th century, and the cross in the convent of St. Victor at Marseilles, reputed to be his, is an ordinary upright cross exhibited resting on the cross beam and foot. Achaius, king of the Scots, and Hungus, king of the Picts, saw this cross in the heavens before their battle with Athelstane, which they won. They therefore adopted the cross as the national emblem of Scotland.

**St. Andrew's Day** November 30: the day of the martyrdom of St. Andrew, and the only Apostle's day said to be observed on such an anniversary. It is a day for reunion of Scotsmen residing abroad, and for banquets and feasting by Scotsmen everywhere. There are several local customs in the British Isles on this day, as the carrying of a sheep's head in procession before the Scots (London), a driving out of evil spirits with noise and a ringing back again of good ones with bells (Stratton in Cornwall). On the evening of St. Andrew's Day in Germany [Luther's *Table-Talk*], young maidens strip themselves naked, recite a prayer to St. Andrew, and hope to see "what manner of man it is that shall lead me to the altar." A form of divination is performed on St. Andrew's Day by young Germans, in which little cups of foil representing each of the young people present are floated in a vessel of water and, by their approach to each other and to cups representing priests, establish a sort of marriage and sweetheart divination.

**Androcles and the Lion** Designation for a type of folktale appearing all over the world and belonging to the great cycle of grateful animal tales. The type takes its name from a story appearing in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, but is undoubtedly much older. Androcles, a runaway slave, hides in a cave, into which comes a lion. Instead of attacking him, the lion holds up a paw in which a thorn is sticking. Androcles extracts

the thorn. He is recaptured and sentenced to fight a lion in the arena. The lion is the one he has aided and refuses to kill him, with the result that Androcles gains his freedom. The story appears in *Aesop*, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, etc. The moralizing turn of the tale, goodness for goodness, marks it as being probably of oriental origin. In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, a Brāhman rescues a monkey and in return is given a fruit which makes him immune to old age and disease. A hunter abandoned by his companions, in a Wyandot story, draws a sharp object from a lion's paw and is given many hunting charms.

**Andromeda** In Greek legend, the daughter of Cepheus, king of Ethiopia. Cassiopeia, her mother, boasted that she was more beautiful than the Nereids, and Poseidon, at the nymphs' request, sent a monster to ravage the country. At the direction of the oracle of Amon, her parents had Andromeda chained to a rock, said to have been at Joppa, as a sacrifice to end the monster's ravages. Flying back from the slaying of the Gorgon, Perseus saw her, fell in love with her at sight, and after a bitter struggle with the monster slew it, either by means of Medusa's head, or with his sword. Cepheus then fulfilled his promise and gave Andromeda in marriage to Perseus. A disappointed suitor, Phineus, burst in on the marriage feast, but Perseus again raised the Gorgon's head and changed Phineus and his followers into stone. The couple later went to live on the island of Seriphus. They had many children, among them Electryon, the father of Alcmena; Alcæus, the father of Amphitryon, and Perseus, the ruler after whom the Persians were named. Compare ANDROMEDA THEME.

The constellation Andromeda is hung just north of Cassiopeia, appropriately between Perseus and Pegasus, and safely out of reach of Cetus. The concept of this constellation as the Woman Chained is far older than the classical story. The Maiden Chained was known to the Chaldeans, for instance; and the Babylonian story of Marduk and Tiamat as told in the *Creation Epic* is perhaps the basis for the later Andromeda legend. Almost everywhere and in all times it has had the same designation. The Arabs too interpreted it as Al Mar'ah al Musalsalah (the Woman in Chains), but never showed the human form in their depictions, lest the image demand its soul on the Judgment Day. Instead they showed it as a Seal with a chain around its neck. Alternate names for it among classic Latin writers were Persea, an interpretation of Andromeda as the bride of Perseus, and Cepheis, for her father.

**Andromeda theme** A principal theme of the dragon-slayer type (#300) of the folktale, in which a maiden about to be sacrificed to a monster is rescued by a hero: spread all over the world, and often combined with other themes of the dragon-slayer type. It is perhaps an elaboration of the very ancient concept of the fight between light and darkness found in the Babylonian Marduk-Tiamat combat, or a reflection of the ancient custom of making human sacrifices to the water gods. Tales containing the theme are found from Central Asia to the Americas. In a French-Canadian story, Ti-Jean kills the monster, cuts out its seven tongues, and confounds a would-be glory-stealer when the latter presents the seven heads as proof of his supposed prowess. A Gipsy tale from the Transylvanian region tells of a hero transformed into a woman who slays the

motionless in a trance) flies away with it to unknown strange regions where he may propitiate the angry ones. Sometimes he is tied with ropes during this spirit-flight, but when he returns the ropes are always found to be untied. His hardest job of all is to drive away Sedna from the village. This is undertaken only by the most powerful of the angakut and is accomplished at the Feast of Sedna. The angakok is always paid for his services. He is always feared and obeyed; but if he is discovered using his powers to a bad end, he is killed.

**Angang** The ominousness of an encounter; a form of divination, usually limited to the first person or animal met in going on or returning from a journey, but sometimes including those encountered while journeying: a German term applied by folklorists specifically to this belief throughout northern Europe, although similar beliefs are world-wide. The omen may be lucky, as in encountering a man or a horse, or unlucky (old woman, priest, raven, etc.). There seems to be a relationship between the purpose of the journey and the role of the one encountered. For example, while any such meeting with an old woman, a symbol of barrenness, would be considered unlucky, an encounter with any woman in starting a specifically manly pursuit, like hunting, would be unpropitious. Meeting with an animal is ominous in so far as the animal itself is generally ominous; divination from such encounters sometimes takes on totemic overtones.

**angel of death** Azrael, the terrible angel of Jewish and Mohammedan belief, who takes the soul from the dying body. Related to belief in the angel of death is the concept of the psychopomp, a being who, like the Greek Hermes and the Araucanian Tempulcague, conducts the soul to its afterworld home or to the judgment place.

**angels** An order of spiritual beings attendant upon the Deity: the heavenly guardians, ministering spirits, or messengers, or their fallen counterparts. The term must be limited to such beings in monotheistic belief, the subordination in duty and in essence inherent in the definition not being present in polytheistic or animistic religions. Angels, as in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, often seem to be almost polytheistic deities of natural phenomena and abstract qualities. There have been times, for example, when the cult of angels has become very strong within the framework of Christianity. However, where Zeus may be strong as father, ruler, and despot among his surrounding gods, clearly his rôle is not the supreme one of Jehovah amid the angels. It has been surmised that where some saints and similar personalities preserve local pagan deities in the changed context of a new religion, angels are the survival in a like attempt to satisfy a popular belief in animistic deities while preserving the monotheistic outline. The yazatas, fravashis, and Amesha Spentas of Zoroastrian belief are, most clearly of all angelic beings, simply deposed animistic gods.

In pre-Captivity Hebrew literature, angels, not much further differentiated, are the "sons of God" or the "messengers of God," "the messengers" or the "holy ones." Later, beginning with the book of *Daniel*, certain angels are named and take on distinct personalities, e.g. Michael, Gabriel. Some time previously, there had been attempts to differentiate and rank the various classes of

angels—cherubim, seraphim, hayyot, ofanim, arelim—but on the whole the Biblical writers accept and do not speculate on the angels. In the centuries between the completion of the Old Testament canon (about 100 B.C.) and that of the Talmud (4th to 6th centuries A.D.), a great angelology arose, diffuse and formless because of the variations in place and time in which the materials came into being, but strongly affecting written tradition. At about the same time as the writing of the Talmud, the supposed writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, who is mentioned (*Acts* xvii, 34) as hearing Paul preach at Mars Hill, set forth the basic structure of the angelology which was to be accepted in the Middle Ages and after [*The Celestial Hierarchy*, ch. 15].

According to the pseudo-Areopagite writings, there are three triads of the celestial hierarchy between God and man. The first and nearest to God includes Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; the second, which receives the reflection of the Divine Presence from the first, comprises Dominions, Virtues, and Powers; the third, the angelic triad, ministering directly to man, includes Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. The term angel is applied to all, though specifically limited to the ninth and lowest class. The names themselves come from earlier writings: seraphim and cherubim from the Old Testament; archangel and angel from later Jewish texts; and the remainder from the New Testament (*Eph.* i, 21; *Col.* i, 16). On this structure there was later piled a mass of cabalistic magical terminology, the names of angels (and demons) to be invoked for personal reasons of gain, of health, etc., with the formulas for calling and controlling each.

The many theological questions concerning angels—their elementary composition, their existence before the Creation, the well-known cliché about their size (how many could stand on a needle point), their duties, aspect, etc.—do not fall within the scope of folklore. Nor properly is the question of their representation in heraldry and art a folkloric subject, except in so far as it is later reflected in popular belief, although the transformation of the angel to resemble the Greek winged victory, and the evolution of the cherubim from the terrible figures placed to guard Eden to the cupidlike winged babies, are inherently interesting. It is rather in their contacts with men that the angels enter the province of folklore. Many of the texts of the Bible, for example, have a later embroidery of angelology in the traditions of the people, although here too it is sometimes difficult to determine the boundary lines among theological, literary, and folk traditions. For example, in Jewish legend, Esther, wishing to accuse Ahasuerus of condemning her people, had her hand directed by an angel to point at Haman; when Haman tried to plead with her while the king walked in the garden, an angel tripped him so that he fell on her bed in an attitude that made Ahasuerus think he was trying to attack Esther (compare *Esther* vii, 5-8). The angel visitors to Abraham find parallels in the visits of the gods and other superhumans in other folktales, e.g. the visit of Zeus and Hermes to Philemon and Baucis in later Greek tradition, and the European story of the three wishes granted first to the good host and then to the bad one.

An Arab story concerns two fallen angels, Harut and Marut, who came to earth, were tempted, and fell. Offered the choice between punishment on earth and

punishment hereafter, they chose the former as having a limit. Thus, Harut and Marut hang in a well in Babel where they teach the secrets of magic to men, "Yet no man did these two teach until they had said, 'We are only a temptation. Be not then an unbeliever.'" (*Koran*, Surā ii, 96).

Perhaps the best known of all folktales in which an angel figures is the originally Indian story told in one form by Longfellow about Robert of Sicily (*Tales of a Wayside Inn*). The angel replaces the proud prince who is then thrust out by his own retainers, and who cannot gain recognition until he realizes true humility. With varied incidents, the story has been told of a number of princes, even of Solomon in Jewish tradition, Solomon being tricked by the demon Asmodeus who takes his place for three years, during which Solomon wanders. Finally the true king forces Asmodeus to flee by demanding that he show his foot. Compare AMESHA SPENTAS; ANIMISM; ARCHANGEL; FRAYASHI; POLYTHEISM.

**angklung** An ancient musical instrument of south-eastern Asia and Indonesia, consisting of bamboo pipes set loosely in a frame and tuned so as to produce a chord when shaken. Whole sets of such instruments have been found used together as an orchestra in old Balinese villages. The music accompanies marching. In Java it was used to signal the approach of the ruler and in time of war.

**Angler and the Little Fish** One of Æsop's fables (Jacobs #53). An Angler once caught a little fish who begged to be thrown back in the river. He was too small, he said, hardly a mouthful, but if the man would throw him back, he would then grow to full size so the man could catch him again to greater profit. "Oh, no," said the man, "I have got you now, and there is no certainty that you would not escape me in the future." Present possessions are preferable to future possibilities. A small thing surely possessed is better than a great thing in prospect. See BIRD IN THE HAND.

**Angra Mainyu** (Old Persian *Drauga*, Modern Persian *Ahriman*) In Zoroastrian religion, the devil or principle of evil: the opponent of Ahura Mazda. Angra Mainyu arose from the abyss of endless darkness or was the product of a moment of doubt on the part of Ahura Mazda. He is a demon of demons from the beginning, whose sole purpose and choice is to thwart good, and whose greatest satisfaction and victory is achieved when a human soul rebels against Ahura Mazda. He is the source of death, disease, and disorder, and the innovator of all imperfections. At his side is Druj, the female embodiment of evil.

In Zoroastrian mythology and legend, to destroy the faithful he formed the dragon Azhi Dahāka; to destroy the gaokerena, or tree of life, growing in the sea Vourukasha, he created a great lizard. In one myth he slew the primeval ox, Gēush Urvan.

Angra Mainyu is not eternal. At the resurrection he will be annihilated or imprisoned in the earth, since sin will be removed from the world. He does not know his fate, so is unable to devise means to guard himself against it. Compare SATAN.

**Angur-boda** or **Angrbōdha** In Norse mythology, a giantess of Utgard, the worker of calamity, whose name is literally "anguish boding." She was the mother, by

Loki, of the Fenris wolf, the Midgard serpent, and Hel, and by Gymir, of Gerda.

**Angus Og** or **Óc** Literally, Angus, the Young. In Old Irish mythology one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, son of Dagda and Bóann, queen of the side (the divine race of Ireland) and father of Macha, ancestress of the Red Branch. He is regarded as the god of love and beauty, special deity of youths and maidens, and is sometimes referred to as the Irish Adonis. He was accompanied by four bright birds flying over his head, and seems to have traveled with the pure, cold wind. He was also called Angus of the Brúg because he lived with his mother in the Brúg na Bóinne, the famous city of the side on the River Boyne.

**Angus Og and Caer** A story in the Ulster cycle of Old Irish legend: one of the most famous swan-maiden stories in the world. Angus Og fell in love with a young girl who came to him every night for a year in his dreams, but whose name he never succeeded in asking. After her disappearance from the dreams, and a fruitless year's search, Bodb Derg discovered that she was Caer, daughter of Ethal Anbual, one of the side of Connacht. With the help of Ailill, king of Connacht, Ethal Anbual was brought before them. He disclosed that Caer was under a spell and lived year and year about in the shape of swan and maiden alternately. Angus sought Caer in her swan-shape on the lake and was transformed into a swan beside her. The two of them flew, singing unearthly music as they flew, to Angus's home in the Brúg na Bóinne.

**Anguta** Literally, his father: the supreme being of the Central Eskimo, father of Sedna. He created the earth, the sea, and the heavenly bodies. He lives in Adlivun with his daughter, each occupying one side of the big house where no deerskins are, and where the big dog guards the door. He is the one who carries the dead to Adlivun, where the big dog moves aside just enough to let him through with the hapless soul. Here the souls must abide for a year and sleep side by side with Anguta, who pinches them.

**Anhanga** A forest spirit or demon of the modern Indians and caboclos of the Amazonian basin: formerly a bush spirit of the Tupi tribes of eastern Brazil. He was regarded as a mischievous being who played tricks on travelers and hunters. [AM]

**Anher** or **Anhour** A sun and sky god of ancient Egypt, "he who leads heaven." He was the god of several places, Thinis in Upper Egypt particularly claiming to possess his mummy. He appears in human form, carrying a scepter. As a sun god he became identified with Shu, son of Rā. See ANHUR.

**Anhur**, **An-hôret**, **Anhert**, or **Onouris** A war god and god of the dead, local deity of Abydos in Egypt, sometimes shown as a man standing with spear poised. In the period of Greek influence, he became identified with Ares. He is probably identical with Anher.

**animal as earth-anchor** In the mythology of the Huchnom Indians of California, after the Creator, Taikomol, had made two unsuccessful attempts at creation, he at last was able to achieve a fairly stable earth stretching from the north to the east. But the world still swayed, and Taikomol sent a coyote, an elk, and a deer

to the northern end to steady it. That did not quite do it, for the animals too floated about. Finally Taikomol had them lie down and the earth thenceforth was still, except for the earthquakes which still occur when the animals stir.

**animal children** Children in the form of animals, either real animals, transformed human beings, or masquerading gods, born to human mothers: a concept found in the folklore, folktales, and mythology of many peoples all over the world. Often the animal children result from a beast marriage; the ideas are intimately connected. But the principal significance of the animal children theme is rather in the direction of etiology and totemism. Among the etiological stories is one of the Dyaks and Silakans in which a boy and a cobra are twins. The cobra goes off into the forest, advising the mother that if ever any of her children is bitten by a cobra, he must remain in the same place for twenty-four hours. Later the twin meets the cobra in the jungle and cuts off his tail, so all cobras since then have had blunted tails. There is a Belgian story of the origin of the first lizards, which says they are the offspring of a vain girl's intercourse with the devil. The Formosans account for the origin of crabs and fish as the result of a brother-sister marriage. These latter are, in addition to being etiological, part of the generally held belief that illegal intercourse can result only in the birth of monsters, etc. (Twins, for example, are in several cultures unmistakable evidence of adultery.) Such concepts as these reflect some of the feeling of horror or awe attendant on the birth of teratisms, twins, and the like. In the typical totemic legends, twins are born, one the ancestor of the tribe, clan, or group, the other the totemic animal. Thus, the Dogrib Indians tell of a woman who bore six puppies, three remaining dogs, three changing into the human ancestors of the tribe. Sometimes the child is an animal when born, and is transformed into the ancestor later. The tale, in Herodotus, of the lion born to one of Meles's concubines is illustrative. Meles was one of the Heraclic kings of Lydia, and Hercules, his ancestor, has been identified as a development of the lion god, often being pictured as wearing a lion-skin. Among the famous animal children of mythology are the Minotaur, born of Pasiphae's lust for the sacred bull sent by Poseidon; the Fenriswolf and the Midgard-Serpent, born to Angurboda and Loki; and the Celtic seal or fish twins, such as the trout born to Mugain before she gave birth to Aed Slane. Compare ADLET.

**animal curers** The animal or beast gods of Pueblo Indian religion; certain animals believed to possess great powers for curing disease. The prey animals especially are thus regarded. They are patrons of the curing societies and are impersonated by the shamans in the curing rituals. Among the Keres, for instance, bear, badger, mountain lion, wolf, eagle, shrew are all curing animals; but Bear is the most powerful doctor. Bear and Mountain Lion predominate ritually among the Hopi. At Zuñi Bear and Badger are both prominent. Weasel, rattlesnake, and gopher also occur. All the curing societies function through the animals they impersonate. Chiefs of the Zuñi curing societies have animal names: White Bear, Wildcat, Mountain Lion, etc. During a curing ceremony a thread from a blanket or shawl and a small portion of the prayer-meal offered to the

shaman are placed in a corn husk together and regarded as food and clothing for the animal being invoked.

That animals can both cause and cure disease, especially illnesses caused by fear, is common Zuñi belief. A woman in childbirth will wear a badger's paw, or place one on the bed, because badgers can dig themselves out quickly. Hopi women regard the fat, meat, or skin of the weasel as powerful delivery medicines. The Zuñi also believe that one can make a lifelong friend of an animal by giving it a compulsive gift, i.e. the receipt of the gift compels the animal to reciprocate with friendship or guardianship. In return, for instance, the animal will cure the donor's sores. See ANIMAL GUARDIANS; BADGER MEDICINE; BEAR MEDICINE; BEAST GODS.

**animal guardians** Certain prey animals regarded as guardians and protectors: a general Pueblo Indian concept. Figurines of animals are carried as guides and protectors in the hunt. Zuñi hunters "feed" their lion figurines just before undertaking a deer hunt; and the little lion image which the individual hunter carries with him is buried in the deer's heart, as reward for the hunter's success, or is dipped into the blood. Details of practice vary among the pueblos. Animal stone images are found on almost all pueblo altars. The family group also usually houses at least one such image as guardian (at Laguna, Hopi, Acoma, and San Juan). Among the Hopi, a traveler carries with him a small animal image and sleeps with it in his pillow so that it may warn him of danger in his dreams. Pueblo doctors also give their patients animal images to protect them against disease-sending witches, and are apt to leave one with a sick man to watch over him. See ANIMAL CURERS; BEAST GODS.

**animal languages** The languages spoken by animals among themselves: a recurrent motif (B210-217.5) of the folklore and mythology of Europe and Asia and thence in much of the rest of the world, in which the gift of understanding these languages is obtained by a human being who thereupon is able to use it to advantage. Underlying the almost universal use of the theme is the same primitive concept basic to augury: that animals in many ways are wiser than men. The ancient Arabs, for example, believed that eating the heart or liver of a serpent gave the power to read omens from birds.

Among their other accomplishments, animals, especially birds, have unlimited opportunities for discovering secrets simply by being unobserved at important meetings and by being able to travel to places inaccessible to men. The fortunate man who possesses the power of understanding their speech, whether that faculty is acquired as a gift from a god or a grateful animal, by magical means, or by his being born with the gift, has opened to him therefore a storehouse of knowledge not available to other men, and he is able to do extraordinary things.

By far the most common way of acquiring the gift is through a serpent or a dragon, perhaps stemming from the belief that the snake is intermediate between the birds and the beasts. A well-known story of the folktale tradition of Asia and Europe, told specifically of Melampus in Greek legend, attributes the knowledge of the language of the birds to the licking of his ears by snakes. Siegfried or Sigurd, tasting the dragon's blood, understands the language of the birds at once. In other

tured by she-goats. That the idea has not completely disappeared today is apparent from the occasional Antelope-Boy or Wolf-Girl receiving publicity in the press, or from such as Mowgli or Tarzan in contemporary fiction.

**animal paramour** The animal lover of a woman or a man: a motif (B610-613.2) used from earliest times in the folklore and mythology of many peoples in every part of the world. While the idea is somewhat similar in theme to the beast marriage, in stories of animal paramours the transformation theme is not so prominent, or so essential to the sense of the story. Beast marriage tales as a rule are of the *märchen* type, and depend for their principal effect on the happy ending. Animal paramour stories on the other hand are as often as not etiological or moralistic. The beast husband or wife often turns out to be a prince or a princess; the animal lover usually is slain and the human paramour is punished, although in various totemistic or etiological stories these events may not occur. In the famous *āsvamedha*, or horse sacrifice, of India, the horse is dead before he copulates with the queen; and in a Lipan Apache story, the dog is killed by the woman's husband, and the woman is scratched to death by the puppies with which she is pregnant. Among the many animal paramours are birds, dogs, bears, horses, bulls, fishes, crocodiles, and snakes. Perhaps the most famous animal paramour is Europa's, Zeus in the form of a bull. A scurrilous tale still alive says that Catherine the Great of Russia kept a specially trained stallion in her stables to satisfy her abnormal sexual appetite. Medical records attest to actual and perhaps frequent cases of bestiality, but the popular tales of women and greyhounds or wolfhounds, and of pet cats and lapdogs, if taken at their frankly exaggerated face value, may be classed as animal paramour stories.

**animals** The dramatis personæ of folklore and folk-tale to such tremendous extent that almost *sine qua non*. From the moment man was aware of himself on the face of the earth he recognized his kinship with the animals and called them brothers. Only the so-called "higher" civilizations relegate them to separateness. To early man the animals were different only in shape, not in nature. He witnessed their acuteness and wisdom, in many cases also their superior strength and cunning. He sought to learn in their school; he mimed them in his dances; he admired, loved, feared, and worshipped them, both dead and alive.

To the primitive mind a living animal is open to argument and persuasion, a dead one's spirit to propitiation and appeal. Hand in hand with cognizance of the transience of all physical form goes belief in transformation, the separable soul, and reincarnation.

Thus throughout the folk belief and religions of the world, animals figure as reincarnated ancestors, creators or as aids to a creator, scouts, messengers, and earth-divers (in deluge stories), as guides of souls to after-worlds, messengers of gods, and as gods themselves and hence recipients of worship and objects of cults. They figure as supporters of the world and causers of earthquakes, as swallowers of suns and moons and thus causers of eclipses, as witches' and magicians' familiars and household familiars, weather prophets and weather-makers, as life tokens and doubles, and as such, habitats of individual separable souls. There are friendly and

helpful and grateful animals, animal guides (both individual and tribal), animal tricksters, animal culture heroes, tutelary animals, and animal field spirits. The animal or beast marriage, a commonplace of all folklores, gives us innumerable animal husbands, animal wives, animal lovers, animal children, and animal nurses. Animal ancestors are prominent in etiological and totemic myths.

There are animal kings and chiefs, kingdoms, and armies, and animal languages which human beings are sometimes allowed to learn. Animals as baby-bringers include not only the well-known and traditional stork, but the equally well-known and traditional (Malay) lizard who brings the baby and also causes its soul to enter into it.

Many a folktale begins with the statement that "these things happened" long ago when animals could speak like men. But contemporary primitive folk belief does not relegate speaking animals to the past. That animals can (and do) speak is a living and unquestioned fact among North and South American Indians, Australian aborigines, among various African peoples, and in other contemporary primitive societies. Agricultural folk in Europe and America still believe that on Christmas Eve the animals speak together in the barn, only no man dare listen.

**animal tale** A story having animals as its principal characters: one of the oldest forms, perhaps the oldest, of the folktale, and found everywhere on the globe at all levels of culture. Excluding the animal myth as being essentially religious, three classes of the animal folktale type should be distinguished: the etiological tale, the fable, and the beast epic. The animal tales current in western folklore stem from such sources as the literary fables of India, the *Jātaka*, the medieval and Renaissance embroiderings of collections like *Æsop's Fables* and the Reynard cycle, and the oral tradition of northern Europe (especially of the countries of the Baltic and Russia).

At its simplest, the animal tale is an attempt to explain the form and habits of the several animals, a fruitful source of material for the primitive storyteller. These stories underlie the mythologies of various peoples, as is evidenced by the animal attributes of many gods in their pantheons. In various instances, as with the Great Hare of the eastern North American Indians and the animal-headed gods of Egypt with their dual animals, it is comparatively easy to reconstruct an etiological animal story antedating the stated myth. In other cases, like the wolf attributes of Zeus and Apollo or the lion story behind the Hercules legend, the process may be more difficult. Other etiological tales, like the one telling how the bear lost his tail, have become attached to one or another of the beast epics. One curious explanatory motif is that of the exchange of parts, found in most parts of the world, telling of the trading or lending of eyes, fur, or the like, among animals, and purporting to explain such natural phenomena as the lack of eyes of the blindworm (he loaned his single eye to the nightingale who added it to hers and kept it).

The line between the literary and the folk fable is not easy to determine, since tales from collections like that attributed to *Æsop* have had wide popular circulation and have been taken from and gone back into the oral traditions of large groups of people. However, the area

and women with whom he comes in contact. He must tread with care, propitiating where necessary, but if necessary chastising the object, or destroying it and the spirit living in it.

The complexity of the relationship between animism and fetishism, between animism and ancestor worship, between animism and the various other forms of elementary religious belief, cannot be easily unraveled, and leads to what is often confusion in the writings of the several students in the matter of religion. Animism, as used in this book, indicates a belief in the existence of personality in objects. These objects may be in natural form, or they may be manufactured forms.

**anito** Supernatural beings of Filipino religion: a general term including deities, lesser spirits both benevolent and malicious, and the souls of the dead, in fact, any incorporeal being. The meaning and application vary from tribe to tribe. The most prevailing concept, however, seems to be that the anito are the souls of the dead, with the result that ancestor worship is the prevailing cult. The Filipino fears the anito, but does not exactly worship them; to keep their good will is his chief aim. He will pay their debts and make sacrifices to them. Sacrifice, as practiced in Luzon and Mindanao, is of the most logical kind. If a man would sacrifice a jug of wine to his anito he takes the jug of wine to the spirit house, repeats his prayer of dedication, allows the jug to stand in the place for a certain time, then takes it back home for family consumption, leaving the soul of the wine to the soul of the ancestor. If a Bagobo man would sacrifice his spear, he leaves it in the presence of the anito only long enough for the soul of the spear to pass into the possession of the anito. He then takes the implement back for his own use. The only difference between a spear that has been sacrificed and one that has not been is that the man may never sell or give away or lose the spear whose soul is in the possession of his anito.

**Anjea** Among the natives of the Pennefeather region in Queensland, Australia, a being who fashions babies from mud and places them in the mother's womb. Anjea is also the guardian of souls, which he takes from buried afterbirths and preserves in various places until they are ready to be used for new persons. While the navel cord is being cut by the grandmother, Anjea's various retreats are recited. The one mentioned as the cord breaks will be the child's hunting grounds by right, and the child is known as being a baby of a pool, rock, etc.

**ankh** In Egyptian art and mythology, a tau cross having a looped top; the crux ansata: a keylike emblem held in the hand of a god (or of a king) as a symbol of generation or the power of life, and sometimes called the "key of life." Its origin has been variously conjectured to be the winged globe, the phallus, the Egyptian loin-cloth, the sandals painted on the mummy case, etc. The symbol is often depicted as being applied by a god to the nostrils of the dead to restore the breath of life. It is found from Sardinia to Persia, and in somewhat similar form in India and in Central America.

**Ankou** In the folklore of Brittany, the last person who has died in each parish or district during a year, driver of the spectral cart whose coming to a certain house or place means death. The Ankou is either a tall, haggard figure with long white hair or a skeleton with revolving head who sees everybody everywhere. Two other figures

walk beside the cart, one on each side, to open the gates or doors and lift the dead into it. See CELTIC FOLKLORE.

**Anniebelle** A work song of American Negroes, used in wood-chopping, spiking steel, loading lumber, and in mining: sung in short phrases punctuated by a grunted sound as the blow of the work falls.

**anniversary, wedding** See WEDDING ANNIVERSARY.

**Annwfn or Annwn** The Otherworld of Brythonic mythology: literally construed either as "abyss," or as *an*, not, and *duwn*, the world. It was located either on the face of the earth, under the earth, or over or under the sea; it was a group of fortified islands out to sea, or a great revolving castle surrounded by the sea. It was called Land Over Sea, Land Under Wave, etc., or Caer Sidi (revolving castle). It was a land of delight and beauty without disease or death. Arawn was its lord or king. It shared with other Celtic Elysiums, along with its delights, a magic caldron (either inexhaustible or gifted with some mysterious power of discrimination such as would make it refuse to boil a coward's food), a well of sweet or miraculous water, and various marvelous animals greatly desired by men.

The old *Book of Taliesin* locates Annwfn beneath the earth and again identifies it as an island fortress which Arthur visited in his ship Prydwen. In the *Mabinogion* Annwfn is the next-door kingdom to the kingdom of Pwyll; and in *Kulhwch and Olwen* it could be reached via Scotland.

**Anshar or Ansar** In Babylonian mythology, the god of the upper world, son of Lachmu and Lachamu, consort of Kishar, and father of Anu, Ea, and Enlil: believed by some to be identical with the Assyrian Ashur. In the creation story, Anshar commands Anu and Ea to fight Tiamat, but both turn in fear; finally, when Marduk is sent as the avenger of the gods to fight the mother of chaos and slays her, Anshar regains some of his lost power. Anshar was the god of the night sky, particularly personified as the pole star, which was the peak of the mountain of stars, where he danced as a goat, surrounded by his six assistants of the Dipper.

**An Spailpin Fánach** Literally, *The Itinerant Laborer*, an Irish folk melody which has been sung to countless sets of words, including *The Girl I Left Behind Me*, a vaudeville parody about a golfer's adventures with "the dirty little pill," a ribald drinking song, and a Vermont song *Old England Forty Years Ago*.

**Antæus** In Greek mythology, a giant living in Libya, the son of Poseidon and Ge. As a wrestler he was invincible as long as he remained in contact with his mother, the Earth, and he compelled all strangers to do battle on condition that, if conquered, they should be put to death. Hercules discovered the source of his power and strangled him while holding him off the earth. The strength received from the earth motif is also found in a Swiss story in which the strength of witches depends upon their touching the earth.

**Ant and the Grasshopper (or Cricket)** The title of one of Æsop's fables (Jacobs #36) in which a grasshopper who had sung happily throughout the summer, went to the ants in the winter and asked for a little of the food which they had put by. "What did you do all summer?" they asked her. When she replied that she had

sung all day long, they told her now she could dance for the winter, and turned her away. This fable (Type 249) is included in a group of motifs embodying the idea: in time of plenty provide for want (J711-711.3). Stith Thompson reports at least three North American Indian borrowings of this Asiatic-European story.

**antelope** In the Congo, antelope horns and skins are used as charms; among the southern U.S. Negroes antelope horns are a favorite place in which to confine spirits.

In the emergence myth of the Lipan Apache Indians, the antelope was one of three monsters, enemies of other animals and of the ancient people, finally overcome by Alligator or (in some versions) by Killer-of-Enemies. Among the Hopi Indians, the antelope is a medicine animal.

In India the wind god, Vayu, is pictured riding on the back of an antelope; in China powdered antelope horn (Ling-yang-koh) is given as a medicine in puerperal cases.

**Antero Vipunen** A primeval giant; wisest of the heroes of the Finns. He lay asleep under the earth, but was awakened by Väinänöinen, who came seeking to be taught magic words and creative spells, to build his boat. Antero Vipunen immediately swallowed Väinänöinen, who proceeded to prod, and hack, and torture the giant from within. At last Vipunen sang to Väinänöinen all his ancient wisdom (see *Kalevala*, song 17). The Christian-Catholic influence is obvious in the naming of this hero, as the name Antero is derived from St. Andrews and Vipunen means the cross of the same saint (see Harva in *FUF* XXIV, 1937, p. 59-79). [JB]

**Anthesteria** A three days' festival in honor of Dionysus held annually at Athens from the 11th to the 13th of the month of Anthesterion (February-March). Its object was to celebrate the maturing of the wine stored at the previous vintage and the beginning of spring. The first two days, the Pithoigia (opening of the casks) and Choes (feast of beakers), were considered as ill-omened and required expiatory libations; on those days the souls of the dead walked abroad. On the third day, called Chutroi (feast of pots), a festival of the dead was held.

**ant-hill** A mound of earth and humus heaped up, grain by grain, by ants while constructing their underground habitat; associated with the idea of fertility and sometimes prominent in snake-worship. In the myths of the Korkus of central India, Mahadeo (Śiva) fashioned two images in the likeness of man and woman from the red earth of an ant-hill; the Dhangars of the same region believe the first sheep and goats came out of an ant-hill, and to stop their destruction of the crops, Śiva created the Dhangars. The Susus of West Africa consider ants' nests the residence of demons. The aboriginal object of worship at Tiruvethiyur and Melkote, Mysore, was an ant-hill, the abode of the cobra or naga-snake. The Alur tribe of the upper Nile buries men in ant-hills as regular treatment for insanity, and in South Africa the bodies of children are placed in ant-hills excavated by ant-eaters.

**anthropological school** Largely as a reaction against the mythological school, which sought to explain folktales as a detritus of Indo-European myth, the anthropological school saw in the folktale the fossil remains of

the cultures of the remote past. Folktales, they thought, are best explained in terms of the practices of primitive societies, since often the folktale preserves customs, rituals, beliefs that have long been discarded. The members of the anthropological school—Lang, McCulloch, Gomme, von der Leyen in folklore, and Tyler and Frazer in general culture—saw proof of this in the fact that the folktales of medieval Europe have close analogs in the folktales of the savages. Andrew Lang, perhaps the most persuasive member of this school, saw the general pattern of development as follows: (1) The original tale, made up of several motifs and originating among "savages" evolves into (2) The popular tale of peasants, which in turn can develop into either (or both) (3) The tale of the semi-realistic hero (e.g. Perseus), or (4) The literary version, such as that of Andersen or Perrault.

While recognizing the fact that tales are frequently diffused from people to people, this school was inclined to explain general resemblances among folktales and especially among folktale motifs by polygenesis. They felt that all men pass through the same stages of development and that consequently they embody the details of their development in essentially the same stories. This group was consequently primarily interested in tracing every element and detail of story and culture back to sources in primitive life. And in this lies the weakness of the school, in failing to recognize differences in cultures and people, cross-influences, inventiveness—in short, in failing to recognize that each tale should be studied as an individual product and studied by the same methods that are used to study a story of conscious art. See COMPARATIVE METHOD; DIFFUSION; HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHIC METHOD; POLYGENESIS. [MEL]

**anthropomancy** Divination using the entrails of human sacrifices: one of the most ancient and perhaps still widespread means of divining. Most often the victim is a child or a virgin because of the implied purity, but one of the common types in ancient times was the sacrifice of prisoners to foretell the outcome of an imminent battle. The practice has existed only where human sacrifice has been common.

**anthropomorphism** The ascription of human form or qualities to divine beings, particularly to the gods; the ascription of human characteristics to the powers of nature or to a natural object, animate or inanimate, but especially to animals. The development of the concept of a god often follows a set pattern. The god is thought first to be an animal (theriomorphic state) as Zeus was an eagle, Artemis a deer, etc. Then man begins to endow the god with his physical attributes, so Zeus assumes the physical nature of man (physical anthropomorphic stage). Man also creates lower animals in his image when he endows animals with his attributes and form. Stories abound of animals who marry human beings, live in houses, eat human food, talk, shoot arrows, and exhibit in general the mental and moral traits of man. Anthropomorphism is also applied to the plant world, as the spirit of a tree becomes, by the process of anthropomorphism, a god, or a supernatural being endowed with human characteristics. Osiris, for example, was originally an immanent tree spirit. Man viewed the world through himself and consequently not only endowed the tangible with his qualities but built up the intangible in his own form and endowed it with his inner nature.

Goethe says it succinctly: "Man never knows how anthropomorphic he is."

Thus everywhere since the beginning of religious concept, man has projected himself into his gods. Even the animal gods *per se* possessed human reason, and purpose, and eventually acquired the ability to transform themselves into men temporarily. The animal-headed gods of Egypt are projections of this dual concept. The Greek gods in human form who walked and talked on earth typify the inevitable anthropomorphic trend. Xenophanes wrote, in the 6th century B.C., "The gods of the Ethiopians are swarthy and flat-nosed; the gods of the Thracians are fair-haired and blue-eyed." Prayer thus becomes basically a request, as of man to man; sacrifice partakes of the nature of a bargain (*do ut des*, I give that you may give), or a gift. The names of the gods everywhere mirror the man-concept: Father, King of Kings, Lord of Hosts, Above Old Man, Sky Woman, Our Grandmother, etc. Even the concept of an immaterial god, bodiless, completely spiritual, is conceived in terms of the human soul. [MEL]

**Antichrist** An opponent or enemy of Christ, originally probably the incarnate devil: the archetypal opponent of Christ, expected by early Christians to appear before the end of the world and the second coming of Christ (I John ii, 18, 22; II John vii). In the Old Testament this concept is variously worded as the man of sin (II Thess. ii, 3), Belial (II Cor. vi, 15), and the beast (Dan. vii): the antimessiah of Jewish eschatology. It is believed that the idea of Antichrist had its origin in the Babylonian chaos myths in which Tiamat rebelled against and was defeated by Marduk. Thus the opponent of God often appeared in the form of a terrible dragon. The Antichrist of *Daniel* was a mighty ruler, the leader of huge armies, who would destroy three kings, persecute the saints, rule three and a half years, and devastate the temple of God. In Moslem literature the false messiah (masihu 'd-dajjal) was to overrun the earth mounted on an ass, and rule 40 days, leaving only Mecca and Medina safe.

The historical figure first attributed to Antichrist was the Syrian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the persecutor of the Jews. Gradually, the bitter feeling against Rome, that actuated the Jews from 30 to 130 A.D., permitted no other conception than that Rome's ruler would marshal the heathens for the final struggle. Nero filled the ideal of wickedness sufficiently to be considered a worthy Antichrist. This belief spread among the Christians as they suffered from the Roman power and gradually the figure of Antichrist became a type of God-opposing tyrant incarnate now in one and then another historical character.

By the 12th century people saw Antichrist in every national, political, social, or ecclesiastical opponent; the name sounded on all sides in the struggle between Emperor and Pope, between heretics and the church. Even the view that the Pope of Rome was the Antichrist, or his forerunner, was cultivated by the Franciscans, who held to the ideal of poverty, and by Martin Luther. As events in the history of the Middle Ages seemed to indicate the approach of Antichrist, myths concerning him became widespread. Some believed him a devil in a phantom body, others an incarnate demon, others a desperately wicked man acting upon diabolic inspiration. Myths, recorded by Rabanus Maurus, state that the

Man-fiend would heal the sick, raise the dead, restore sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb; he would raise storms and calm them, remove mountains and make trees flourish or wither at a word in an attempt to pervert and mislead men.

Rumors of the birth of Antichrist circulated so rapidly and caused so much agitation that Henry IV of France issued an edict in 1599 forbidding the mention of the subject. A witch under torture in 1600 acknowledged that she had rocked the infant Antichrist on her knees and that he had claws on his feet and spoke all languages. In an announcement of the birth of Antichrist in 1623 purporting to come from the brothers of the Order of St. John, he is described as a dusky child with ". . . pleasant mouth and eyes, teeth pointed like those of a cat, ears large . . . the said child, incontinent on his birth, walked and talked perfectly well."

Legends of Antichrist reached their height during the Middle Ages and then gradually died out. During World War II Hitler was sometimes referred to as the Antichrist. [SP11]

**ants** Small social insects found from the arctic to the tropics, in cities, deserts, fields, forests, beaches, and mountains. Because of their numbers and distribution, they play an important part in folklore and social ethnology. The Hebrews considered ants wise (*Prov.* xxx, 24-8); among Hindustan black ants are sacred; in Bulgaria and Switzerland they are a bad omen, in Estonia a good omen; in France bad luck follows the destruction of an ant's nest. The Pueblo Indians of North America believe ants are vindictive and cause diseases; disturbing or urinating on an ant-hill will especially anger them. And the diseases caused by ants can be cured only by an Ant Doctor or Ant Society. The Zuni believe that ants are helpful war insects because their activities obliterate tracks, and therefore the Ant Society has a ritual function in Zuni war dances. The Hopi Indians believe the first people were ants; the Apaches call the Navahos the ant people, and Taos women are told that they will turn into red ants if they consort with white men. In a myth of the Kariri Indians (Chaco) the red ants cut the tree by which the first people climbed to the sky.

Ants play a part in the religious beliefs of people scattered over the globe. In Dahomey and Porto Novo, West Africa, ants are considered messengers of the serpent god, New Guinea natives believe that a second death after the first is possible, in which case the soul becomes an ant. (See AFTERWORLD.) The Aruntas of Australia believe that the bite of a bulldog ant will kill the power of a medicine man. The Hindus and Jains give food to ants on days associated with the souls of the blessed dead. The Aztecs believed that the black and red ants showed Quetzalcoatl the place of maize. The Shans believe the earth was brought from the depths by a species of white ant.

In China the ant is a symbol of patriotism and virtue as well as of self-interest. In American folklore ants know when it will rain and if there are many ants in summer there will be a cold winter; to dream of ants means prosperity. In Morocco patients are fed ants to overcome lethargy. A tea made from white ants is administered by some American Negroes to prevent whooping cough. Guiana Indians use ants as counter-irritants.

The sting of ants is explained in a Tagalog story in which the ant, hearing that the snake had received a



gift of poison from God, obtained the same power and then scurried back to earth so quickly that his speed enraged God. So he was deprived of part of his power lest he use it unreasonably. Among the Apalai (South America) the painful bite of black ants is used to drive away the demons brought into the village by strangers. Girls of the Guiana Indians are stung by ants at puberty to make them strong to bear the burden of maternity or as purification. The Mauhes of Brazil force the boys to thrust their arms into sleeves stuffed with ferocious ants again and again until they are able to endure the pain without a sign of emotion. When he has reached that point of endurance, a Mauhe boy is considered a man and can marry.

In Jewish and Mohammedan legend, the ants taught Solomon modesty and humility. In a German story ants carried silk threads to a prisoner who made a rope from them and escaped. In a Chinese transformation story a monkey was changed into an ant.

**Anu or Ana** In Babylonian mythology, the sky god, chief god of the great triad of Anu, Enlil, and Ea; city god of Uruk (Erech), creator of star spirits and the demons of cold, rain, and darkness. Anu was enthroned in heaven on the northern pole. He is the fount of the authority of the gods, the ruler of destiny, and with Bel one of the two great Mesopotamian gods. Compare AN; SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**Anubis or Anpu** In Egyptian religion, the jackal-headed or jackal god, guardian of tombs and patron of embalming, who shared with Thōth the office of conductor of the dead. In the judgment hall of Amenti he weighed the hearts of the dead against the feather of truth and right. In the early Pyramid age Anubis was the god of the underworld, but was replaced in the fifth dynasty by Osiris, becoming, with his brother Aput, "sons" and attendants. Anubis was identified by the Greeks with Hermes. In Egyptian mythology, Anubis is the son of Nephthys or Isis and Osiris. He embalmed the body of Osiris (in one myth he swallowed his father) until Isis resuscitated it.

**Anunnaki or Ennuki** (1) In Sumerian mythology, the children and followers of An: the dreaded judges of the netherworld.

(2) In Babylonian mythology, deities of the earth (underworld); the star gods who had sunk below the horizon and who pronounced judgment on men as they entered the underworld, determining the conditions of their sojourn there. Compare IGIGI.

**ao** In Polynesian mythology, the period of light in which man has existed, as contrasted with *po*, the dark time of the spirit world. Ao is also the personification of the daylight and of the world, i.e. the world of the living. The long Kumulipo genealogy of Hawaii is divided into two sections, the second of which deals with ao, with the coming of light, the creation of man, and the generations of men. Compare ARUA.

**apacheta** A cairn: found generally in the high passes of the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes. Native travelers add a stone to the heap, or offer as a sacrifice an eyelash, the coca which they chew, or an old sandal. This observance is supposed to relieve the traveler of his fatigue and to insure the success of his journey. [AM]

**Apakura** The heroine of a legend of the Marquesas, Samoa, and New Zealand. Apakura (Apekua in the Marquesas version that follows) is one of two children in human form of a chief. Her son is slain when he goes for his bride, the daughter of Hatea-motua, although he gives signs of who he is and the chief's priest warns against killing him. Seeking for revenge, Apakura enlists the aid of one of her brothers, who tries to build a canoe but is balked by the tree Aniani-te-ani, which refuses to be felled. The assistance of a long-armed brother is obtained; he tells where to get the adze to fell the tree, and snatches people, to be sacrificed at the dedication of the boat, from the house of Hatea-motua. Then the champions of Apakura slay the defenders of Hatea-motua, a vine that drags canoes down, scawced that traps them, and an octopus that eats them. Hatea-motua is killed and Apakura has her revenge. The details of the story vary to some degree through the islands but in outline it is essentially the same story of revenge for lost child.

**Apalala** In Buddhist legend, a water dragon or serpent who lived at the source of the Swat River. His conversion by Buddha is often depicted in Buddhist art.

**Apauk-kyit Lōk** In Kachin (Burma) mythology, an old man who was the cause of death. He lived at the time all men were immortal. Nine times he grew old and lost his teeth, but each time he was mysteriously rejuvenated. One day he found a sēkhai (squirrel?) sleeping. He covered it with clothes and placed it in a basket, then went and hid. Rumor spread that the old man was dead. When the Lord of the Sun heard, he examined the man's sumri (life essence) and found it unchanged. So he sent messengers to investigate the situation. They, while dancing at the funeral feast, covered their feet with honey and touched the clothes, thus drawing them away so that the fraud was discovered. The Lord of the Sun was so angry that he cut off Apauk-kyit Lōk's life connection. Thus death entered the world.

**Apepi, Aapep, or Apophis** In Egyptian mythology and religion, the foe of the sun god: leader of the demons against the sun by whom they were overcome, and hence a symbol of storm and the struggle between light and darkness. He was represented as a crocodile with a hideous face, as a serpent with many coils, or a snake with a human head. The sun (Horus or Rā or Osiris) fought Apepi and his demons throughout the night in his journey from west to east, winning the battle every morning.

**Aphrodite** In Greek religion, the goddess of love, beauty, and marriage; an influence on the fertility of plants and animals; the epitome of feminine charm: sometimes the protectress of sailors: in Sparta a war goddess. Originally she may have been an oriental nature divinity similar to Ishtar. Under the title Aphrodite Urania, she was identified by the Greeks with the Semitic goddess of the heavens, Astarte, and with the Persian goddess Anahita. In later Greek literature, influenced by Plato, she became the embodiment of spiritual love, the antithesis of the Athenian Aphrodite Pandemos (personification of earthly or common love). Her cult, in one form or another, was universal in the Mediterranean lands and Aphrodisia (festivals in her honor) were frequent. In Greco-Roman Egypt she was identi-

fied with and partially supplanted Hathor. The Romans identified her with Venus.

In Greek mythology she was pictured variously as the lover of Adonis, the mother of Æneas, the wife of Hephaestus, and the lover or consort of Ares. According to Homer she was the daughter of Zeus and Dione. According to Hesiod she arose from the foam of the sea and landed either at Cythera or at Paphos in Cyprus, hence she was sometimes called Cypris, Cytherea, or Aphrodite Anadyomene.

**Apis or Hap** In Egyptian religion, a sacred bull worshipped from the IV Dynasty to the time of the Emperor Julian. See HAP.

**apo** A ceremony or rite of the Ashanti of the Gold Coast, West Africa. It is directed towards chiefs and rulers in the belief that those who wield power over others need protection against the resentment of those whom they may have injured. The performance consists of the voicing of all kinds of derision, reproach, and maledictions on the part of the subjects against their chiefs. This is believed to save the souls of the chiefs from the harm which would inevitably result from the ill-will or anger of their subjects. The Ashanti believe that the cumulative power of repressed resentment or anger will harm, even kill, the object of it, and that the ritual expression of it not only protects but saves all concerned. (Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, 59)

**apocalypse** In Jewish and Christian literature, a revelation of hidden things given by God to one of his chosen saints, or the written account of such a revelation. Characteristic features of apocalyptic literature include revelation of the mysteries and secrets of heaven, explanations of natural phenomena, predictions of impending events, and a picture of heaven and hell. These are often disclosed through a vision or dream, or brought by angels, and embellished with mythological material borrowed from both Jewish early eschatology (Old Testament mythical beings such as Leviathan, Behemoth, Gog and Magog) and the Hindu and Egyptian cosmogonies. Another characteristic of apocalyptic writings is the marked use of the elements of mystery and fantastic imagery—especially the beasts in which the properties of men, birds, reptiles, mammals, or purely imaginary beings are combined in startling and often grotesque manner (*Dan.* vii, 1-8; viii, 3-12).

**Apocatequil** The culture hero in the mythology of the region of Huamachuco: father of the twin heroes hatched from eggs. See TWINS. [AM]

**Apollo** One of the most important of the Greek Olympian gods, representing the most complex creation of polytheism; the god of youth and manly beauty, of poetry, music, and the wisdom of the oracles. In his earlier character (he is believed to have been introduced variously from the north, from Asia Minor, and from Egypt), he was the fosterer of flocks, guardian of colonies, villages, and streets. He was also the sovereign god of healing and ceremonial purification in association with Asklepios, who performed the actual healing functions. To Homer he was the sender as well as the stayer of plagues and the giver of sudden death. As Apollo Smintheus, or mouse god, he was either the protector or destroyer of mice (an image of a mouse stood beside the tripod in his temple in the Troad and white mice lived

under the altar). As Phœbus (Phœbus Apollo) he was god of radiance and light, later identified with Helios.

Numerous festivals to Apollo played a major role in Greek life. The most important were the Delphinia, held in May to celebrate the opening of navigation and the influence of the sun in restoring life and warmth to the creatures of the waves, especially the dolphins which were highly esteemed by seafarers; the Thargelia, held in May to propitiate the deity of the sun, to celebrate the ripening of vegetation, and to return thanks for the first-fruit; the Hyacinthia, celebrated in July in Sparta as a fast and feast corresponding to the Thargelia; the Carneia, held in August in Sparta to propitiate the god and as thanksgiving for the vintage; the Daphnephora, held in the spring to celebrate the day of Apollo's coming and believed to have symbolized the year; the Pythia, celebrated every fourth summer to commemorate his victory over the Python.

The oracles of Apollo, particularly that of Delphi, were widely consulted, especially during the Peloponnesian War when the craze for knowledge of the future exceeded even that evidenced during modern wars. The universal recognition of the Apollo cult and the oracle of Apollo increased the importance of the Delphian amphictyony politically.

In Greek mythology, Apollo was the son of Zeus and Leto; twin of Artemis; lover of Psamathe of Argos, Coronis of Thessaly, Clymene, Calliope, and Cyrene; spurned by Daphne and Marpessa; wooed unsuccessfully by the nymph Clytie; and father of Orpheus, Asklepios, and Aristæus. Shortly after his birth he spent a year in the land of the Hyperboreans, then went to Delphi where he slew the Python, sang his song of victory, the Pæan (still synonymous with jubilation and victory), and instituted the Pythian games. He slew Tityus and the children of Niobe and, with Artemis, overthrew the Aloadaæ. Phaethon drove Helios' sun chariot on a wild ride across the sky and was killed by Zeus. Then Asklepios, his physician-son, restored the dead to life, and paid with his own. Apollo, indignant, killed the Cyclops who wrought the thunderbolt used by Zeus to kill Asklepios, and was sentenced to serve a mortal (King Admetus of Thessaly) as a shepherd for a year. The birth, wanderings, and battle with the Python are sometimes explained as symbolic of the diurnal and annual journeys of the sun. See DELPHIC ORACLE.

**Apollodorus** An Athenian grammarian of the 2nd century B.C. The *Library*, generally attributed to him, is a principal source of knowledge of Greek mythology and is said to be an abridgment of a lost larger work of the gods. Frazer, following Robert, in his introduction to the *Library*, doubts that the work is by Apollodorus the Grammarian and, from internal evidence, states that the work was written in the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

**apotropaism** The science and art of preventing or overcoming evils, usually by incantation or a ritual act. Such rituals and incantations are world-wide. Typical are the central European custom of naked women drawing a plowshare around a village at night to drive away an epidemic, and the Japanese custom of offering a white horse, pig, and cock during the seed-time ritual to save the crops from a curse.

Apotropaic remedies include human spittle, blood, human excrements, strong smells such as that of garlic used in southern Europe to combat witches, various

whether she will restore life. Daniel recovers the fat and bones of his son and buries them, while Paghat, Aqhat's sister, gets Yatpan drunk and kills him. The portions relating to Aqhat's resurrection, whether by Daniel from the recovered fat and bones or by Anath, have not yet been found (if the reconstruction of the myth is correct and if they exist). H. L. Ginsberg (*BASOR* 97) draws a parallel between this story and the Biblical tale of Naboth and the vineyard coveted by Jezebel and Ahab (1 Kings xxi). See SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**Aquarius** The Water-Carrier: the 11th constellation or sign of the Zodiac, anciently the location of the winter solstice. Astrologers equate Aquarius with cold, rain-storms, floods, and dark.

The ancient Egyptians equated this constellation with Khnum, god of water and creator of men, beneficent bringer of water to their arid land. They believed the Nile overflowed its banks when the Water-Carrier dipped his bucket into it. The Arabs too rejoiced with the rising of Aquarius who brought the warm rains. The Arabs thought of it as the source of all the rivers of the earth; but their representations of it show only the bucket, or sometimes a mule carrying two water jugs.

The Babylonians called it Gu, or Overflowing-Water-Jar, and associated it with their mythical Deluge and their 11th month Shabatu, Curse of Rain. The Akkadians called it Ku-ur-ku, Seat of Flowing Waters. Persians, Hebrews, Syrians, Turks, each had a word for it meaning Water-Bucket.

In Greek mythology, Aquarius was originally identified with Jupiter, symbolizing creation and the life-giving power of water. Later, it was said to be Gany-mede, cup-bearer of the gods. Other Greek myths identify it with Deucalion, survivor of the Greek Deluge, and with Aristeus, rain-giver to the people of Ceos.

This constellation was the first sign of the old Chinese Zodiac, the Rat, bringer of water. Jesuit influence changed it to Paon Ping, Precious Vase; but it is still the Rat in Central Asia, Cochin China, and Japan. It is also the first sign of the Zodiac in India.

**Aquila** The Eagle: a constellation of the northern hemisphere, described as flying eastward across the Milky Way. It was interpreted as an eagle alike by the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. The Hebrew name for it was Neshr (Eagle, Falcon, or Vulture). The Arabs called it Al 'Okâb, Black Eagle. To the early Turks it was Taushaugjil, or Hunting Eagle. Hindu mythology interprets the three bright stars of Aquila as the three huge footsteps of Vishnu in his stride across the heavens. Altair is the brightest of these three, situated exactly opposite Vega across the Milky Way. To the Chinese the constellation Aquila is thought of as the Draught Oxen, belonging to the Herdsman. For the Chinese story of the celestial Weaving Maid (Vega) and her Herdsman lover (Altair) see CHIH NÜ.

**Ara (1) or Er** In Armenian mythology, the beloved of the Semitic Semiramis who proposed to marry him or hold him as a lover. Ara rejected her and was killed by the forces of the goddess which she led against him. When she could not revive him, she dressed up one of her lovers and pretended that the gods had restored Ara to life. According to Plato Ara was revived when he was about to be laid on the funeral pyre.

(2) A southern constellation; interpreted by Ptolemy

and others as an Altar, a Censer, a Brazier. By the Romans it was variously thought to be the altar of Dionysus, an Incense Burner, a little altar on which incense was burned for the dead, a Hearth, and also occasionally as Vesta, the hearth goddess. In Arabian astronomy it is called Al Mijmarah, the Censer, an adoption from the Greeks. Medieval Biblical scholars and astronomers thought of it as one of the altars of Moses, or as the altar built by Noah after the Flood.

**Arabian Nights' Entertainments** or the *Thousand and One Nights* A collection of stories written in Arabic and first introduced into Europe in a French translation by Antoine Galland in 1704: literally the *Thousand Nights and a Night*, but generally referred to as *Arabian Nights*. The framework of the story is Persian, but the stories told by Sheherazade are believed to be Arabian, Indian, Egyptian, and Jewish. They include merry tales, fairy tales, rogue stories, stories of buried treasure, etc.

**Arachne** In Greek mythology, the most skillful weaver of Lydia who challenged Athena to a weaving contest. Athena wove into her web the stories of those who had aroused the anger of the gods, while Arachne chose stories of the errors of the gods. Enraged at the excellence of the work, Athena tore Arachne's web to tatters. Arachne hanged herself in grief and was transformed by Athena into a spider.

**ârâk** In Cambodian belief, one of the good spirits or tutelary guardians of families. The ârâk lives in a tree or in the house, and is invoked especially in cases of illness. It seems to be a human ancestor or friend of the family, long dead, who has become its protector. When someone is ill, a kru (shaman) is called in who is able to make the ârâk incarnate in himself and with his aid discovers the evil spirit which is torturing the patient. The guilty spirit is then exorcised by the spraying of rice-wine over the patient and by gashing him. A festival is held each year between January and March in honor of the ârâks.

**Aralu or Arallu** In Babylonian religion and mythology, the desolate land of no return in the underworld to which the soul descended after death. This was surrounded by seven walls pierced by as many gates and ruled by Nergal and Allatu. The souls "like birds with wings" lived in darkness amidst dust surrounded by evil spirits and demons. There the souls ate dust and clay, and unless they were provided with food and drink by the living, wandered in search of garbage and discarded food.

**Aramazd** The chief deity of ancient Armenia, who, although supreme, was not exclusive: a corruption of the Persian Ahura Mazda. Aramazd was the creator of heaven and earth, father of gods, especially of Anâhit, Mihr, and Nanê (no consort is named), and the peace-loving giver of prosperity and abundance. He presided over the Navasard (New Year's festival) and made the fields fertile and the vineyards fruitful.

**Arawn** Lord and king of Annwfn, the Brÿthonic Otherworld. The *Mabinogion* tells the story of how Arawn one time out hunting in this world met up with Pwyll, king of Dyfed, with whom he struck up great friendship. They made a compact to exchange shapes and kingdoms for a year, in order that Pwyll might overcome Havgan, Arawn's rival for the kingship of

Annwn. At the end of that year Pwyll disposed of Havgan with a single blow. Then Pwyll and Arawn met again, exchanged shapes once more, and each returned to his own kingdom, no one but the two of them knowing that either had been absent from his own country. Pwyll discovered that his kingdom had never been ruled with greater wisdom, generosity, and justice than in the year just gone by. Arawn discovered that for a year Pwyll had shown affection to the beautiful queen of Annwn only in public and had withheld himself from her at night. Such faithfulness and honor the two discovered in each other that they were strong friends forever.

Arawn was owner of the magic caldron that Arthur coveted, and all the various marvelous animals ascribed to Celtic Otherworlds. Certain marvelous swine are mentioned, given by Arawn to Pryderi, son of Pwyll. The *Triads* tell of a wonderful bitch and a white roebuck (and in some versions, a lapwing) stolen by Amaethon, son of Dôn, the theft of which caused the Battle of the Treas.

**arbutus** Any member of a genus (*Arbutus*) of evergreen trees or shrubs whose bark, leaves, and fruit are used in drugs: a common name for the trailing arbutus (*Epigaea repens*), the state flower of Massachusetts. The arbutus was sacred to the Romans and was an attribute of the goddess Cardea, who used it to drive away witches and to protect little children. Ovid speaks of its fruit as the food of man during the Golden Age. Water distilled from the leaves and blossoms of arbutus was considered powerful against the plague and various poisons. The Greeks believed that snakes which fed upon the berries ceased to be venomous.

The arbutus of Algonquian Indian legend is *Epigaea repens*. Peboan, the winter manitou, sat in his lodge, weak and weary, for he had found no game. He called for help and Segun, the summer manitou, clothed in grass and young leaves, walked into the lodge with a message that Peboan's time on earth was ended. The old man gradually disappeared. His furs turned to leaves and his tepee became a tree. Segun took some of these leaves and put them into the ground, breathing upon them. They freshened and changed into the trailing arbutus, the sign to children that summer has come and winter has gone away.

**Arcadian hind** In Greek legend, the hind (also known as the hind of Cerynea) chased by Hercules for a year and captured as his third labor. The hind, with antlers of gold and hoofs of bronze, was sacred to Artemis and could not be killed. Hercules tired it out by chasing it all over the Peloponnesus (or all over the world). He brought it back to Eurystheus and then released it.

**arch** A structural member rounded vertically to span an opening. In folk practices arches are used to purify, cure, and to form a barrier against evil spirits, enemies, and diseases. The most familiar use of the arch was that made by the Romans who marched under a triumphal arch after battle. This has been explained as a purificatory measure to rid them of the stain of bloodshed and to impose a barrier between the men and the ghosts of their enemies.

A cure for whooping-cough, boils, or rheumatism (England, Wales, France) was to crawl under an arch formed by a bramble. The popular cure for scrofula

(Bulgaria) was to make a patient crawl naked three times through an arch made of vine branches. The Bagandas transfer disease to a plantain tree, carry the tree out to wasteland, and then raise an arch of branches over the path taken, to prevent the return of the disease. A similar custom is practiced in the Cameroons where the spirit of smallpox is drummed out of a village and then the village is enclosed with creeper ropes and the paths arched with bent poles to which are suspended plants, nests of termite ants, and a freshly killed dog.

**archangel** An angel of highest rank: in Christian legend, one of the seven, in the Koran one of the four chief angels: in Roman Catholic theology a member of the eighth of nine divisions of angels. The names of the archangels vary, although the first four are generally Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. In the apocalyptic *Enoch* (xxi), they are listed as Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Sariel, Gabriel, and Jerahmeel. In the Koran the list includes Gabriel, angel of revelations; Michael, the champion who fights the battles of faith; Azrael, the angel of death; and Israfil, who is to sound the trumpet of resurrection.

The dominant role of astrology during the medieval period led to the association of the archangels with the planets and constellations. Various archangels were assigned to the planets by Jewish astrologers, but the preponderance of references seem to assign Raphael to the Sun, Gabriel to the Moon, Aniel to Venus, Michael to Mercury, Kafziel to Saturn, Zadkiel to Jupiter, and Samael to Mars. In medieval Christian thought, derived from the Moslem philosopher Averroes, the Sun was associated with Michael, the Moon with Gabriel, Venus with Anael (Aniel), Mercury with Raphael, Saturn with Cassiel (Kafziel), Jupiter with Sachiel (Zadkiel), and Mars with Samael. The archangels were also bound up with the 12 signs of the Zodiac, new ones being borrowed or invented to make up the required number, and were used by conjurers who employed their names in effecting cures. There are close parallels between the archangels and the seven planetary spirits of Babylonia, the Amesha Spentas of Zoroastrianism, and the Hindu Adityas.

**arch dances** Dances which include as a dominant figure the procession of the coupled dancers through an arch formed by others. This arch is an ancient symbol of the green bough, and now survives in the Virginia Reel and London Bridge. Innumerable folk dances of Ireland, England, Scandinavia use this motif, forgetful of its meaning. As final figure of the Provençal farandole some of its import shimmers through. In Spain and its colonies the arch dance survives as ceremonial in a special elaborated form, namely: each dancer holds a bent half-hoop decorated with flowers. Sometimes these dancers are Basque sword dancers, sometimes they are girls dressed as *pastoras* or shepherdesses. Mexican carnival celebrations feature these flowered arches in the danza de los arcos, danced by men of Tlapalita, Tlaxcala, and by the *pastorcitas* of Taxco, Guerrero. As commonly in Mexican ceremonial dances, it is difficult to assign either native or foreign origin, and only possible to suggest a blend of pagan customs. [GRK]

**Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, Indiana University** The Archives of Folk and Primitive Music at Indiana University, Department of Anthropology, in charge of Dr. George Herzog, established recently, com-

prise approximately 10,000 phonograph records with at least 20,000 recordings. Almost all this material consists of private, non-commercial recordings. The bulk is concerned with primitive music. The music of the North American Indian is represented by over 7,000 records; thus the Archives are, in this field, the largest depository in existence. Smaller collections illustrate the native music of South America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific; the several branches of Oriental music, and the folk music of various nations. Over two thirds of the material was gathered during the era of the phonograph cylinder; much of it is of considerable historical and musico-logical value and is irreplaceable. The cylinder collections are being recorded on disks in order to improve their quality, to make their contents available for study, and to safeguard the fragile originals. This large collection includes deposits of many private individuals and of various scientific institutions, such as the American Museum of Natural History, the Chicago Museum of Natural History, Columbia University, Yale University, and the University of Chicago.

Especially efforts were made in connection with many of the collections to secure also an exact transcription and linguistic analysis of the song texts so that these can be studied together with the music. There is also extensive information on musical instruments, on the ethnological background, and very detailed bibliographic data.

The primary purpose of the Archives is to function as a study collection and as a depository for the safekeeping of materials pertaining to traditional music. The Archives cooperate with other institutions and with collectors. Publication of occasional albums of records is intended.

GEORGE HERZOG

**Arcturus** A golden yellow star, Alpha in the constellation Boötes, but described by Ptolemy as golden-red. It is brilliant and conspicuous in the summer evening sky, so brilliant as to be visible 15 or sometimes 20 minutes before sunset. Arcturus has been known and mentioned variously since earliest times; Hesiod (c. 800 B.C.) was the first to mention that it rises 50 days after the winter solstice. There are indications that it was identified as early as the 15th century B.C. in an Egyptian stellar calendar. It is known to have been the Chaldean Papsukal, Guardian Messenger, and deity of the 10th Chaldean month. The allusions to Arcturus in *Job* ix, 9 and xxxviii, 32 in the King James version are now regarded as mistranslations of references to the Bear. In India this star was called (among other names) Nishtya, or Outcast, perhaps because it lies so far north of the zodiac. To the Arabians it was the Keeper of Heaven, Al Hāris al Samā, probably because it dominated the early evening sky before the other stars were "let out." It has always been regarded as a stormy star, in its rising and setting, for both the sailor and the farmer; but astrologically it portends wealth and fame for anyone born under it. Hippocrates in 460 B.C. assigned to it various influences on the human body, and held that all diseases waxed more critical after the rising of Arcturus.

**Ardhanārī** In Hindu mythology, Śiva, represented as half-male and half-female, typifying the incarnation of the male and female principles of the world. See ŚAKTI.

**Ardvī Surā Anāhita** In Iranian mythology, the source of the celestial waters, deified as a goddess of prosperity

and fertility; literally, the wet, strong, and spotless one. Ardvi Surā Anāhita is personified as a handsome woman, stronger than horses, wearing shining gold footgear and golden raiment. See ANĀHITA.

**areca** One of the sacred plants of India. Its nuts are used to adorn the gods and with the betel leaf it enters into every important ceremony of the Brāhmins. Village deities of the Kurumo caste are represented by five areca nuts which are kept in a box. The Indian custom of presenting an areca nut to guests is traditional.

The areca is used by the Melanesians of the southeastern Solomon Islands in black magic, as propitiatory offerings to ghosts, in religious and betrothal ceremonies, and as a sign of mourning. Areca palms are cut down when a chief dies. A spray of areca is held in the hand of an orator at a feast as an emblem of peace. The nuts are given to women to enlist their affection.

The areca nut and betel-chewing are important in many Asiatic and South Pacific folktales. In the Solomon Islands there are many stories of a magic areca palm that lengthened out and carried the man climbing it into the sky.

**Areop-Enap** In the mythology of Nauru (Micronesia), the Ancient Spider, creator of the sun and the moon. At first only Areop-Enap and the sea existed, but one day Areop-Enap discovered a mussel shell. After much trouble he opened it and crept inside, but it was so dark he could see nothing. He crawled around, felt a small snail, then a larger one. He passed on to the small snail some of his power and made it the moon. By the faint light of the moon, he spied a worm which he set to work separating the upper and lower parts of the shell to make the sky and the earth. This the worm did, and died of exhaustion. The large snail became the sun. The worm-sweat, running into the lower shell, became the sea. From stones, Areop-Enap made men to support the sky, and then traveled about the newly created world. He discovered other beings and learned their names by creating a winged creature from the dirt under his nails. This flying "bird" annoyed the people and they called to each other to kill it. Thus Areop-Enap knew what they were called.

**Ares** In Greek religion, a god of war representing its brutal and barbaric aspects; the son of Zeus and Hera and the lover or consort of Aphrodite. In Greco-Egyptian religion he was identified with Onouris and, as Ares Mahrem, he was worshipped in Aksum (Ethiopia). The Romans identified him with Mars. He never became a god of great moral or theological importance and his name was used to represent the war power of the enemy which would be overcome by the Greeks with the aid of their gods of civilized warfare, Zeus, Apollo, and Athena. In Greek mythology, the Aloadæ bound and imprisoned him in a metal pot until Hermes was able to rescue him 13 months later. In a Homeric merry tale he was detected by Hephaestus in an amorous intrigue with Aphrodite, caught with her in a net, and exposed to the ridicule of the gods. Sophocles called him the "god unhonored among gods."

**Argo or Argo Navis** The ship Argo: a huge constellation of the southern hemisphere, east of Canis Major: interpreted as the ship in which Jason and his fifty companions sought the Golden Fleece in Colchis. It was placed in the sky by Athena, or Poseidon, to be a guide

forever across the southern seas. Another Greek myth identifies it with the first boat ever made, and the one in which Danaus and the Danaides traveled from Egypt to Rhodes. In relatively recent times it has been divided into three smaller constellations: Carina, the Keel; Puppis, the Stern; Vela, the Sail. To the Romans also it was Argo. The Arabian name was Al Sufinah, the Ship. Biblical astronomers called it Noah's Ark.

Canopus, the brilliant star in the rudder of Argo, is called Agastya for a famous Rishi of Hindu tradition. In Egyptian mythology this constellation is identified with the ark in which Osiris and Isis survived their Flood.

**Argonauts** In Greek mythology, the band of heroes who accompanied Jason on his quest for the Golden Fleece held by Æetes, king of Colchis. After many adventures, Jason and his men reached Colchis in the fifty-oared galley, the Argo. With the help of Medea, the king's daughter, he completed the tasks set by Æetes as the condition of surrendering the Fleece and then returned home to Iolcos taking the Fleece and Medea with him. The name is often applied to adventurous seekers after riches, as for example those taking part in the California gold rush of 1849.

**Argus** (1) called *Panoptes*. In Greek mythology, the giant with a hundred eyes set by Hera to guard Io during her disguise as a heifer. Hermes beguiled Argus into sleeping and slew him. Hera took his eyes and scattered them as ornaments on the tail of her peacock.

(2) In Greek legend, Odysseus's dog who recognized him on his return from his wanderings.

(3) The builder of the ship Argo, son of Phrixus or of Arestor.

**Arianrhod** Literally, silver wheel: a goddess of Brythonic mythology famed for her beauty, and assumed to be the daughter of Don. In the *Mabinogion*, she is the sister and mistress of Gwydion. She claimed to be a virgin in order to enter the service of Math, but her pretenses were given the lie by certain tests imposed on her by Math and by the birth of her twin boys, Llew Llaw Gyffes and Dylan. Dylan leapt into the sea, but Gwydion saved Llew and reared him carefully. Arianrhod so resented the boy's very existence that she endeavored to thwart his advancement in life at every turn. There is a reef off the Carnarvon coast still called Caer Arianrhod and believed to be the remains of Arianrhod's island castle where Gwydion tricked the relentless mother into bestowing on Llew the arms she intended to withhold.

In early religious belief possibly Arianrhod played the dual role of virgin plus fertility goddess. In late folklore the constellation Corona Borealis became known as Caer Arianrhod.

**Aries** The Ram: the first constellation or sign of the Zodiac. The very ancient eastern Mediterranean or Mesopotamian myth that the world was created when the sun entered the constellation of the Ram points to human knowledge of the Ram in those distant centuries during which the Ram held the stars of the winter solstice. By the time Hipparchus (2nd century B.C.) began to systematize astronomy and reckoned his year from the "first point of Aries," the Ram then contained the stars of the spring equinox. About 4000 years from now Aries will hold the stars of the summer solstice.

Early mythologies identify the Ram with Zeus, with

Ammon, the ram god of Egypt, and later with the ram of the Golden Fleece who bore the mistreated children of King Athamas away from Thessaly. In fact Aries is usually depicted as a reclining ram with head turned to observe his golden fleece. The Hebrews, Syrians, Persians, and Turks all had words for this constellation which mean Ram. One of the early Arabic names was Al Kabah al 'Alif, the Tame Ram, later just Al Hamal, the Sheep. In China this constellation was originally the Dog (Heang Low) of the Chinese zodiac, and was later renamed White Sheep (Pih Yang). It is also part of a greater Chinese constellation (involving Taurus and the Gemini) known as the White Tiger. Early church writers (12th-16th centuries) likened Aries to the ram of Abraham found in the bush, or to St. Peter, or to the Lamb of God sacrificed for the world.

In astrology Aries is held to endow with violent temper those born under his sign, and to presage some physical harm that will come to them, sometimes death by hanging.

**Arikute or Ariconte** In the mythology of the Tupi Indians of Brazil, the twin of Tamendonar or Tamenduaré. A quarrel between the brothers resulted in the great flood which covered the earth. The two climbed trees on the highest mountains and saved their wives and themselves while all other men perished. From these couples, after the flood, came the Tupinamba and the Tominu who perpetually feuded and warred with each other. See TWINS.

**Arioi or Arcoi Society** A Polynesian (specifically Tahiti and the Society Islands) religious association of initiates—comedians and actors—performing traditional plays and dances, joking and satirizing on certain occasions, and having mysteries connected with the god 'Oma. The Arioi were considered divine; Tangaroa or Rongono was father of the first Arioi. The Arioi of the Society Islands were ranged in seven or eight orders, the higher grades partaking of the deference accorded to divinity. The sign of their initiation into the society was tattooing, which as the initiate rose higher in the scale became more and more complex, until in the higher orders, it is said, the tattooing covered nearly the entire body. The lower groups were not permitted to have children, any born to them being killed; an attempt to preserve the child resulted in expulsion from the society. (This custom must be read into the context of a highly overpopulated area in which some form of population control was necessary.)

Members of the Arioi were of both sexes (men seem to have outnumbered women in the proportion of five to one), and the highest rank of the association consisted of a chief of men and a chief of women. The one requirement for entry into the society was inspiration; anyone could become a member, chiefs more easily than commoners and into higher ranks. To the Arioi belonged the most intelligent and the most handsome inhabitants of the island group. After a period of training and learning word for word the traditional chants, the candidate exhibited publicly his achievements. When he was accepted into the society, he took a new name, by which he was thenceforth called.

The society had houses on the various islands of the group. The members of a lodge from one island often made mass voyages, carrying the god of the Paradise of

Paradise with Adam when he fell. In it, cut from a ruby, were figures of all the prophets to come, especially of Mohammed and his first four califs. According to Ibn 'Abbas, a cousin of Mohammed, the ark and the rod of Moses are now lying in the Lake of Tiberias, to be brought forth at the last day. [SPH]

**Arkansas Traveler** A classic of native American humor and the best-known piece of folklore about the mythical state of "Arkansaw" (not to be confused with Arkansas). A lost and bewildered Traveler on horseback, in quest of lodgings, approaches the log cabin of a fiddling Squatter, who stubbornly evades or pretends to misunderstand his questions. The Traveler, tiring of the comic contest of wits, in which he is "straight man," resorts to the stratagem of offering to play the balance or "turn of the tune" that the Squatter is sawing on his fiddle, and so breaks down the other's resistance and is welcomed with open arms.

Whimsical, quizzical dialogs between a harassed traveler and a crotchety innkeeper are found elsewhere (e.g. "Whimsical Dialogue between an Irish Innkeeper and an Englishman," *Wit and Wisdom*, London, 1853, pp. 28-29). The theme of ingratiation by fiddling occurs also in "A Musical Tennessee Landlord," by "Dresbach" (*Spirit of the Times* XVI [February 13, 1847]: 603). In Yankee humor, as Walter Blair points out (*American Speech* XIV [February, 1939]: 11-22), the roles are usually reversed, the inquisitive native being the questioner. *The Arkansas Traveler* fits into the pattern of frontier hospitality where "strangers were under suspicion until their intentions and character became reasonably clear."

About the medley has grown up the legend of the "Original Arkansas Traveler." According to tradition, Colonel Sandford C. ("Sandy") Faulkner, of Little Rock, was touring the state with four prominent politicians during the campaign of 1840 and became lost in the Boston mountains. On his return the Colonel related the encounter with the Squatter as having taken place under the circumstances described and was thereafter much in demand for his rendition of the dialog and the tune, and was popularly credited with their authorship. This distinction has also been conferred upon the young Arkansas artist, Edward Payson Washbourne (Washburn), who in 1858 painted "The Arkansas Traveler," and in 1860 began the companion picture, "The Turn of the Tune," completed by an unknown artist after Washbourne's death at the age of 28. Both paintings have become almost as familiar as the dialog through the Currier & Ives lithographs (1870).

Two other rival claimants to authorship of the dialog and the tune are José ("Joe") Tosso, the eminent Western violinist, and Mose Case, a guitarist, whose version of the skit was printed in 1862 or 1863. Of the many published and manuscript versions, the one issued by B. S. Alford of Little Rock, in 1876, as "arranged and corrected by Colonel S. C. Faulkner," and based on a lost original printed between 1838 and 1860, is generally accepted as standard. The tune (a jig) was first published also known as "The Arkansas Traveler" in 1847 under the title of "The Arkansas Traveler and Racksack Waltz," arranged by William Cumming.

Whatever its origin, the dialog is obviously a "synthesis of questions and answers already current" (James R. Masterson, *Tales of Arkansaw*, Boston, 1942, pp.

240, 376). Parallels have been found for most of the jest included, such as the leaky roof which can't be repaired in wet weather and doesn't need repairing in dry weather (perhaps the most celebrated jest in the piece), the fair-and-square tapping of a barrel of wine through spigots at both ends by husband and wife to pass a single coin back and forth between them in the payment; the assignment of nicknames to children at the presence of a good road several feet below the road.

The many-sided entertainment value of "The Arkansas Traveler"—dramatic, musical, humorous—resulted in wide diffusion in print (jestbook, songs, broadside, sheet music) and oral tradition, often in paraphrase or garbled form. There is also evidence of its use as a folk play, such as Thomas Wilson recalls from his boyhood in Salem, Ohio, where it was acted on waggoners in a tavern barroom (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* VIII [January, 1900]: 295-300). The popularity of the medley in vaudeville (and later in phonograph records) suggested a five-act melodrama, *Kit, the Arkansas Traveler* (originally entitled *Down the Mississippi*), written by Edward Spencer and revised by Thomas B. de Walden, popular for thirty years between 1869 and 1899, whose only relation to the dialog, however, is in the title of the hero and the use of the tune. Other instances of the influence of the classic household word and as an artistic inspiration are the magazine, *The Arkansaw Traveler*, established in Little Rock, in 1883, by the Arkansas humorist, Opie Reed and P. D. Benham, and David Guion's symphonic composition based on the tune. [BAS]

**Arkansas Traveler pattern** A traditional American patchwork quilt pattern named for the *Arkansas Traveler*, song and story, probably dating from about the 1850's. Each large square of the design is made up of four smaller squares pieced from seven still smaller scraps. The units are simple, straight-edged, geometric shapes which allow the thriftest use of miscellaneous scraps of material and are characteristic of the design worked out in frontier homes.

**armadillo** Any burrowing nocturnal mammal of the family *Dasypodidae*, having an armorlike covering of bony plates. Armadillos are common in South and Central America and range as far north as Texas.

The armadillo appears in the folklore and folktales of South American Indian tribes of Bolivia, Brazil, and Guiana. The Moseten (eastern Bolivia) attached pieces of armadillo liver to a dog as a hunting charm. The Macoi (Brazil) believe a horned armadillo lives under the ground and the Chamococo (Brazil and Bolivia) say the this armadillo caused the Flood.

In the myths of the Toba and Pilagá Indians of the Gran Chaco, Armadillo gave the people fruit by planting tasi under an algarrobo tree. The tasi wound around the tree and bore fruit. Since then the plants have spread everywhere, supplying men with fruit. These Indians identify two bright stars under Orion as the celestial armadillo who unearthed the first women who fell from the sky and were buried in the ground. He is made of all living armadillos.

**arrieros** Literally muleteers: a men's group danced by Acopilco and Tenancingo Indians of Mexico. It is an enactment of a native legend about the arrieros. At the end of a day of wandering through the mountains the

muleteers relax, dance, eat, play, and go to sleep. They are attacked by bandits, but are rescued by the Lord's miraculous answer to their prayers. The attack and the miracle do not feature in the dance, but the dancers bring their props on adorned burros, play dice, and sit down to a small feast. In white shirts and *calzones*, sashes, and sombreros, they two-step through a variety of longways figures, to an insipid fiddle tune. Two men pretend to sleep on a *petate*. The end is casual and anticlimactic. In Tenancingo the *arrieros* are flagellants, with sacks on their backs, and *alabanzas* (songs of praise to the Virgin) on their lips. [CPR]

**arrimao or arrimado** Name for extra-legal, socially sanctioned mating found among Negroes of the lower socio-economic groups in Cuba. See *AMASIADO*. [MJH]

**arrow** A weapon shot from a bow; usually a slender shaft with a sharp point or head of stone or metal and feathers or vanes fastened at the butt. The use of the bow and arrow, first appearing in late Paleolithic times, has become world-wide. It is absent only among the Polynesians, Micronesians, and a few African tribes, while the arrow and blowgun are used by the Malays, Melanesians, and South American Indians. Arrows are put to many uses other than warfare and hunting. They are employed in religious rites, in ordeals, as love charms, protective charms, amulets, lucky objects, touchstones, for divination and games, against witchcraft, as a preventive or cure for illness and the evil eye, and as symbols of deities, of lightning, rain, fertility, disease, famine, war, and death.

Cheyenne Indian worship centers in a set of four medicine arrows which the tribe claims to have possessed from the creation of the world. These are exhibited annually and whenever a Cheyenne Indian has been slain by a member of his own tribe in order to cleanse the slayer from his tribesman's blood. These arrows probably are relics of a period when the tribe worshipped a thunder god.

Many North American Indian tribes begin certain religious rituals by shooting an arrow to each of the six directions. The Mexican Quetzalcoatl, in his wind god aspect, carries a thunderbolt in the form of a flint arrowhead. Mixcoatl, as thunder god, carried a bundle of arrows (thunderbolts) in his hand.

South African Bushmen sacrifice arrows to the river or to ancestral spirits residing in rivers. The Ostyaks (Finland) never passed a sacred tree without shooting an arrow at it as a mark of reverence. Offerings of arrows are made to the Bagobo (Filipino) god of the hunt, Abog.

Arrows are shot into the air during an eclipse by the Cayapo, Bororo, and Tapuyos (Brazil), and by the Caribs and Arawaks (Guiana) to frighten the sun into shining. The Ojibwas, believing that the sun was being extinguished, shot fire-tipped arrows to rekindle it. The Sencis (Peru) shot burning arrows to drive away the savage beast with which the sun was struggling, and the Indo-Chinese shot arrows at the dragon trying to swallow the sun.

As amulets, arrows or arrow-shaped pendants are hung around the neck in Italy to keep away illness and the evil eye, in Arabia to protect the blood, in France to facilitate childbirth, in Ireland as a protection against elf-shooting, among the Acoma Indians as a protection for children. They are carried by the Malays as lucky ob-

jects on which to sharpen their crises and cockspurs and as touchstones for gold, by Zuni women when venturing out at night, and by Zuni racers (in their hair) for luck. In Ireland water poured over neolithic celts and arrowheads is given to children to cure the croup. Pliny mentions that sleeping on arrows extracted from a body act as love charms. Kwakiutl women desiring a male child place arrows on a bailer under their beds. A bow and arrow are placed on a baby's chest or an arrow is shot into the afterbirth to make the child a good marksman in the same tribe. Miniature bows and arrows have been introduced by missionaries on Easter Island as toys.

The arrow is associated with the moon, sun, and atmospheric deities in various mythologies. The Libyan goddess Neith, the Greek gods and goddesses of love (Eros), hunting (Artemis), the sun (Apollo), and the Centaur Chiron, the Assyrian Ashur and Ishtar, the Etruscan sun god Usil, the Hindu gods of war (Kārtikeya) and love (Kāma) are all depicted with bow and arrow.

The Madras god of iron, Loha Penu, directs the arrows of his followers against the enemy, averting their countershafts; and Ten Geris, Siberian Buriat thunder god, fights evil spirits with a fiery arrow. Śiva destroyed Tripura with his mystic arrow. The Japanese god Susanoo possessed a life-bow and arrows and a humming arrow with a whistling attachment (known in China during the T'ang Dynasty and used to make birds rise or to frighten enemies).

Not only do arrows appear in the folktales and legends of all the peoples using them, but in many instances they play a major role. An island is created by shooting an arrow (Greek); an arrow speaks, revealing its hiding place (Hawaiian); a magic arrow indicates a lodging for the night (German), a place to build a city (German), a place to seek a bride (English, German, Hawaiian), a place to build a church (Danish), a burial place (English); a magic arrow shakes heaven (Chinese), summons a water spirit (Chinese), and affords transportation (Arabian); is visible to one person alone (numerous tribes of North American Indians, especially in the North Pacific, Mackenzie River, and Northeastern Woodland regions, Siberia, and Asia generally). Magic arrows play an important role in Arabian, Breton, Chinese, Greek, Hawaiian, Hindu, Icelandic, Jamaican, and North American Indian tales.

In a Koryak tale, when Ememqut's wife was abducted by a Kala, Ground Squirrel gave him an arrow which he threw into the fire. This opened a way to the lower world where he found his wife. They returned through the hearth; Ememqut removed the arrow, and the road closed. Ememqut's arrow was also responsible for the impregnation of Fox and Triton. The Koryak believe in arrows with eyes which fly anywhere they are sent without benefit of the bow. In a related Alaskan tale, Raven transforms a bird into an arrow which will fly wherever Raven points. In a Nez Percé Indian tale the trickster, Coyote, changed himself into an arrow.

A familiar feature in Hindu legend is the śabdabhēdī arrow which strikes what is heard. Prithirāj of Delhi, in the Ālhā folktales, uses an arrow to sew up a sword wound and thus enables the wounded man to continue fighting.

In folktales it is usually the culture hero who discovers and teaches the people how to make arrows. The



Cheyenne Mut-si-i-u-iv and the Cree Wisakedjak, typically, taught their people the art. [srh]

**arrow chain** A motif (F53) appearing in folktales of the Plateau and North Pacific Coast Indian tribes, the Tupi and Guarayú Indians of Brazil, the Jibaro of Ecuador, the Koryak of Siberia, and numerous tribes of Oceania. Typically the hero shoots a large number of arrows into the sky, one after another, so rapidly that they form a chain up which he travels, usually to rescue a friend. In some stories there are descriptions of battles with the sky-people and references to the stealing of fire from the sky.

In the Coos Indian version, the brother of a canoe-maker who was killed by a man of the sky-people, made an arrow chain by which he ascended in order to avenge his brother's death. This he did and then returned to earth bringing his brother's head with him. He put the head back on the body and it became the red-headed woodpecker, the red being the blood of the slain man.

In a Guarayú story, Tamoi (Grandfather) had two sons who shot arrows upward, one into the butt of another, until the chain was formed. Then they climbed the arrow chain until they reached the sky where they became the sun and moon.

In a Melanesian swan-maiden story, the wife of Qat, a sky-woman whom he had captured by taking her wings, was scolded by his mother. The sky-woman's tears uncovered her wings, which her husband had buried, and she quickly put them on and flew back to the sky. Qat shot arrows into the heavens forming a chain to which a banyan root attached itself. Then he climbed up and recovered his wife, but as he was descending, a man hoeing in the sky struck the banyan root. Qat fell dead and the woman flew back to heaven.

In a Koryak tale the arrow chain is reduced to one arrow sent up to heaven thus making a road leading upward. In an Athapaskan version two brothers are carried to the sky by a single arrow. In the Vai tribe of West Africa the arrow chain becomes an arrow bridge.

**Artavazd** The unfilial son of King Artaxias: an evil power of old Armenian mythology. He resented the numerous sacrifices and suicides at his father's funeral as a depletion of the kingdom he was to inherit. Artaxias cursed him from the grave; and soon after, Artavazd fell from his horse over a precipice of Mount Massis. There he remains in a cave chained by iron fetters. When these are broken, he will emerge and rule over or destroy the world. The noise from a blacksmith's hammer is believed to strengthen his bonds, so smiths still strike their anvils a few blows every day, even on holidays and Sundays to prevent Artavazd from breaking loose.

**Artemis** In Greek religion, a virgin goddess of nature and the moon; originally a mother deity and goddess (non-Hellenic in character) of lakes, rivers, woods, and wildlife, especially of animals of the chase as the fawn, stag, and boar. From fosterer of wildlife she developed into a goddess of fertility, marriage, and childbirth. In Attica and Arcadia she was identified with Callisto, and honored as mother of the tribe with the name Artemis Calliste or Brauronia. At Sparta she was worshipped as Artemis Orthia, protector of women and children; as Artemis Lochia she was a goddess of childbirth, as Artemis Curotrophus the nurse of youths. As Artemis Tauropolos and Treclaria she was an agricultural goddess. Homer

spoke of her as Agrotera, the huntress. Her early association with Hecate resulted in her rule of magic, night, and the moon. In Artemis Parthenos the conception of her virginity crystallized.

First-fruits of the hunter and fisherman were dedicated to her at her shrines or hung on trees; in the worship of Artemis Laphria bears were burnt. To Artemis Brauronia goats were sometimes sacrificed; on other occasions she was worshipped in ceremonies which were probably a survival of initiation customs. Maidens from five to ten years of age danced in saffron robes and were called bears. None could marry before undergoing this rite. Traces of human sacrifice to Artemis are preserved in the myth of Iphigenia.

Before the battle of Marathon the Athenians vowed to sacrifice to Artemis a number of she-goats equal to the number of enemy warriors killed. So many warriors were slain that the vow was necessarily compromised and only 500 were sacrificed every year.

Artemis is represented with a torch, possibly as a moon symbol or a symbol of vegetation. She dwelt on Mt. Taygetus where her herb, artemisia, grew, and her shrine at Lusi was famous as a healing center.

She was equated with Bast in Greco-Egyptian religion and identified with the local goddess, Diana, by the Romans. As Artemis Tauropolos she was confounded with Anāhita. She was the chief goddess of the amphictetry at Etolia, associated with Apollo at Delphi, and one of the more important of the Olympian deities.

In Greek mythology, Artemis was the daughter of Zeus by Leto, twin of Apollo, and was associated with the nymphs Britomartis and Callisto, and with Iphigenia, Opis, Hecate, Echo, and the Naiads. She was born on the island of Delos to which her mother had fled to escape the wrath of Hera. She was associated with her brother in nearly all his adventures. With him she subdued Tityus and the Python, assisted in the punishment of Niobe, and reputedly transformed Callisto into a bear because she had deserted the huntress-band for Zeus. Her severity is celebrated. She visited the Greek army with a pestilence before the Trojan War and produced a calm to prevent their sailing because Agamemnon had killed a stag sacred to her. When he was about to sacrifice his daughter, Iphigenia, to placate the goddess, Artemis snatched the maiden away, leaving a hind in her place, and made Iphigenia a priestess at her temple in Tauris.

Artemis changed Arethusa into a stream to enable her to escape Alpheus, and Actreon into a stag because he spied her nude while she was bathing. Unknowingly, she shot the hunter Orion. Bemoaning her error, she placed him among the stars with his dog Sirius, and with the Pleiades, whom he loved, always flying before him. Her non-Hellenic character is probably attested to by the grotesque part Homer gave her in the battle of the gods. In this contest she opposed Hera who whipped her with her own bow and sent her off the field weeping.

**Arthur** A British chieftain of the 5th-6th century: central figure of a great cycle of romance. Legend says that he was born at Tintagel Castle in Cornwall, lived at Caerleon, Wales, with his wife Guanhvara (Guinevere), was leader of the Round Table, hunted the fabulous boar Twrch Trwyth, and fought and slew the Demon Cat of Losanne, conquered many lands, was betrayed by his wife and dearest knight, was mortally

wounded at the battle of Camlan, and was taken to Avalon by three fairy queens, whence he will return in the hour of his country's need.

Historically, a victorious battle-leader of the Britons against the Saxons about 500 A.D., of whose life and death nothing more is known. The vast pseudo-historical and romantic literature which grew up about him from the 12th century on reflects folk traditions and mythological concepts.

Nennius, a Welsh cleric, writing about 826, furnishes, besides an untrustworthy account of Arthur's battles, a list of marvels. Two are localized in the neighborhood of the Wye: a stone in which Arthur's hound Cabal had left its footprint during the hunting of the boar *Troit*; and the grave of Arthur's son Anir, the length of which varied each time it was measured. The Welsh tale of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, composed about 1100, belongs to the general Jason and Medea type and contains much mythical and folktale material. Several personages (Mabon, Modron, Manawydan, Llwh) are taken over from the Continental Celtic and the Irish pantheon; others are helpful companions, who assist the hero in his impossible tasks, as did the Argonauts and similar figures in modern folktales. There are giants to be slain, vessels of plenty to be sought, and the supernatural boar, mentioned by Nennius, to be hunted from Ireland across South Wales and Cornwall into the sea. The details of the chase show the characteristic interest of Welsh and Irish in accounting for place names. Arthur has become a king and shares in several quests and adventures, but seems to have acquired no supernatural attributes. The same may be said of him as he appears in *The Spoils of Annwn*, a poem probably of the 10th century, raiding the island fortress of the gods in his ship *Prydwen*, and returning with a magic caldron from which none but the brave could obtain food.

The most famous mythical concept attached to Arthur is that of his immortality and Messianic return to re-establish the Britons in their kingdom, but it is not attested before 1113. In that year certain French canons, having been shown Arthur's seat and oven (probably megaliths) on Dartmoor, came to Bodmin, and a fracas arose between their servants and a Cornishman who insisted that Arthur was still alive. From the same source we learn that Bretons and French quarreled over this question, and from then on the testimony is continuous that, especially in Brittany, the belief in Arthur's survival and return was firmly fixed. Alanus de Insulis (1174-79), in commenting on Merlin's prophecy that Arthur's end would be doubtful, says that anyone who proclaimed in Brittany that Arthur had shared the fate of mortals could not escape stoning. Malory, years later, testifies that some men in many parts of England believed that the king was "had by the will of our Lord Jesu into another place," and would come again and win the holy cross.

The "British hope" represents an old pagan belief that the hero is a god who cannot die, a belief revitalized and prolonged through the centuries by the simple human urge to optimism which in modern times refused to accept the death of Bonaparte and Kitchener. Certainly there was a strong mythological element in the tradition, for every account of Arthur's survival in medieval literature or modern folklore either places him in the world of the immortals or implies his superhuman nature.

Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *History of the Kings of Britain* (c. 1136), drawing on Breton sources, tells us that Arthur was borne to the isle of Avallon to be healed of his wound, and in the *Vita Merlini* (1150) informs us that Arthur lies on a golden bed in an ever-fruitleful Isle of Apples, where the inhabitants live to be over a hundred, and where he is tended by the fay Morgen and her sisters. Thus Arthur's abode is the mythical Isle of Women of the Celts, and Morgan le Fay (in many accounts Arthur's sister) is specifically called a goddess by three medieval writers.

The wandering Breton *conteurs* transmitted the legend of Arthur's survival to Sicily, for there we find him dwelling with Morgan according to *Floriant and Florete* and *Torrella's Faula*. The latter poem (1350-81) adds a mythical trait: Arthur remains young since he is fed yearly by the Grail. This equates him with the Maimed King, who is likewise fed by the Grail and whose vital forces are in sympathetic relation to the fertility of his land. Gervase of Tilbury (c. 1211) describes Arthur as living on in a Sicilian palace, his wounds annually reopening—another reflection of Arthur in the role of a vegetation spirit.

Gervase combines the motif of the island abode of Arthur with the widespread concept of the king in the hollow mountain, for it is in the dark depths of Mount Etna that the British king is discovered. The same concept was known to Casarius of Heisterbach and the authors of the *Wartburgkrieg* and the *Dispute between a Christian and a Jew*. We find it again in the 19th century attached to many caves in Wales and England and to the Eildon Hills in Scotland. These folktales represent Arthur as lying asleep, surrounded by his knights, awaiting the day when he will issue forth to victory—a blend of the Messianic return motif and a belief in some chthonian deity.

The tradition of Arthur's subterranean dwelling had two strange developments. In Etienne de Rouen's *Draco Normannicus* (1167-68) Arthur is held up to ridicule as ruler over the lower hemisphere, threatening to return to his old domain with a host of antipodean subjects in order to overthrow Henry II. Moreover, since Walter Map (1181) reports a folktale in which the king of a subterranean realm was conceived as a dwarf riding on a goat, we can understand why a mosaic at Otranto (1165) depicts Arthur astride the same bizarre mount.

Long-lived was the belief in the British king as leader of the Wild Hunt, originally the personification of winter and its storms. Gervase and two other 13th century writers assign this role to Arthur, and tell how he and his company of riders may be seen by moonlight in the forests of Britain or Brittany or Savoy; we have a Scottish reference from the 16th century; and at Cadbury Castle, Somerset, and in several parts of France, the belief was still current in the 19th century.

Another folk tradition holds that Arthur lives on in the form of a bird. Cervantes tells us that the English believed that their ancient hero assumed the form of a crow, and an 18th century tourist in Cornwall was rebuked for shooting a raven, which might have been Arthur. The latest testimony from Cornwall takes the bird to be a chough or a puffin. One might surmise that this transformation is related to the fact that Bran, son of Llyr, the euhemerized sea god of the *Mabinogion* and the prototype of the Maimed King, bears a name

meaning "crow." Certainly in the *Mabinogion* and Irish sagas we have instances of divine figures taking the shape of birds.

Barring the modern folk traditions of Arthur's survival, the British battle-leader's name lives on almost entirely in association with places or natural objects. In Scotland there is the majestic hill called Arthur's Seat; in Wales there are a Craig Arthur near Llangollen and an Arthur's Stone near Swansea; Cornwall boasts Arthur's Hall, Hunting Lodge, and Grave, and Brittany Arthur's Camp. These are but a few of many such names. Well might Tennyson write of

that gray king whose name, a ghost,  
Streams like a cloud, man-shaped, from mountain peak,  
And cleaves to cairn and cromlech still.

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ROGER S. LOOMIS

artificial whale A folktale motif (K922) especially popular among the American Indians of the North Pacific Coast. A hunter returns home and finds his wife and child crying. They have been mistreated by her brothers in his absence. The man proceeds to make many killer whales out of wood—alder wood, red-cedar wood, spruce, hemlock, etc., but all are mere logs when put in the water, until finally he makes some out of yellow-cedar wood (or yew), paints them with white stripes and white bellies, shouts to them to live and swim, and these live and swim, catch red cod, salmon, halibut, etc. So at last he is satisfied.

The next day when the wife's brothers go hunting, the man sends his killer whales to upset their canoes, but with instructions to save the youngest brother, because he alone was kind to the wife and child. The whales do this: the canoes of the brothers are broken, the brothers are drowned, but the canoe of the youngest is conducted safely home. After this satisfactory revenge the man (in a Skidegate version) then names his whales and tells them to depart and go live in various places.

In other versions, a group of animals make an artificial whale in order to kill Thunderbird. A Rivers Inlet variant tells of two culture heroes who make an artificial whale in order to kill Thunderbird, who carries away people. When the whale is finished the people enter it. There are many variants, giving details of how the whale gets stuck in the mud, or does not swim properly until the inmates are taught how to handle it. When the whale appears in front of Thunderbird's house, Thunderbird sends out his children to catch it. All are killed, drowned, have their feet cut off by the inmates near the blowhole, and Thunderbird himself is finally killed.

There is a Korvak story in which the two daughters of Big-Raven make a wooden whale as a means of escaping from the wilderness and finding human habitation. Big-

Raven and his wife took the two girls into the wilderness and left them there. At home the parents ate reindeer meat and sent the lean strips to the daughters. At last the two daughters made a wooden whale from a log and put it in a pail of water; in the morning the whale had outgrown the pail. They put it in a small lake; in the morning the whale had outgrown the lake. They put it in a big lake, and in the morning it was bigger than the big lake. So the sisters put the whale in the river, entered into it, and said, "O Spotted Whale, take us to a settlement." The whale swam down the river and out to sea. The story does not tell about their coming to another settlement.

This story contains parallels of two very well-known and widespread motifs: image comes to life (D435.1) and, in the case of the animal's expedition to kill Thunderbird, the Trojan horse motif (K754.1). Of especial interest, however, in North American Indian folklore, is the matter of trial and error in the making of the whale and the final discovery of the appropriate wood to use to insure success. This is but one of numerous stories of the North Pacific region in which the people try various kinds of wood to make canoes, animals, birds, children, etc. that will behave as desired for specific purposes.

arts and crafts The distinction between arts and crafts is one that critics are slow to attempt, particularly in the folk and primitive field where the esthetic is so often a byproduct of the utilitarian. For this reason the two are generally bracketed together, and together they include all those activities and skills where objects are created, produced, or adorned by non- or semi-mechanical methods. If a broader term is desired, covering all the work activities of a people, *arts and industries* may be used; the arts include the creative crafts, and industries cover those which are strictly useful and repetitive together with such other activities as gathering, cultivating, hunting, fishing, and manufacturing.

In this volume, arts and crafts are considered to be a part of folklore. Not all critics adhere to this point of view. However, folk art and folklore are so intertwined that separation is academic. Religion is intricately involved in the graphic and plastic concepts of supernatural beings, the dance with costume and mask, ritual with place of worship and many ritualistic objects, music with the creation and decoration of instruments, custom with the nature of shelter, utensils, implements, weapons, clothing, vehicles, and other possessions. Events and calculations involve pictograph and picture story. In fact, little would be known of extinct cultures but for surviving examples of arts and crafts. Among many peoples of the world these abilities were the gift of the culture hero, and a basic part of their mythology and legend. See PRIMITIVE AND FOLK ART. [MH]

aru In the belief of the people living on Bartle Bay (New Guinea), the shadow of a living human being or the spirit or soul of a dead one. The aru goes to Marapu, the land of the dead in which there is plenty of food, no illness, but which otherwise resembles the world of the living.

Arunkulta Term for supernatural evil power or an object with such power of the Central Australian Aranda tribe. [KL]

**Aruru** In Babylonian religion and mythology, a mother goddess associated with Marduk as the creatrix of the seed of mankind; in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the creatrix of Eabani. See SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**arval, arvel, averil, arfal, arddel, or arthel** In England and Wales, a funeral repast usually including bread or cakes with ale and wine; the sweet cake served at a funeral repast; also, the funeral ceremonies. The name is sometimes connected, on rather slim evidence, with the Roman *Fratres Arvales* (the Arval Brethren), a college of 12 priests who annually, at the Arvalia, a May festival, sacrificed to the *Dea Dia*, thought to be Ceres, the goddess of the fields. While the connection between the spirits of the dead and fertility is not uncommon, no specific evidence is available to show the descent of the British custom from the Roman.

**Asa'ase** Ashanti-Fanti earth deity, whose worship has been retained among the Negroes of Dutch Guiana, and is also known to the Maroons of Jamaica. In the Gold Coast, the name of the deity is Asase Ya, the female day-name for Thursday being added to the designation. Thursday is the day sacred to this deity. In West Africa, and in the Guiana bush as well, no cultivation is done on that day. [MJU]

**asafetida** A gum resin, red-brown in color, prepared from certain plants of the fennel family, especially *Ferula assafoetida*, an umbelliferous plant of Afghanistan and Persia. It is acrid, bitter, and strong in odor, due to the presence of organic sulphur compounds. Medically it is administered to stimulate the intestinal and respiratory tracts and the nervous system. It is used as a condiment in India and Persia and as a vegetable. The resin is used for "conjure" and as an amulet among the Negroes of the southern United States and West Indies. A favorite concoction of West Indian witch doctors is made by mixing bones, ashes, grave dirt, and nail parings, with asafetida. Worn around the neck, it is supposed to ward off witches, keep away the spirits of disease, or cure rheumatism. In parts of Europe it is carried in the pocket as a preventative of smallpox.

**Asafoche** The Ashanti-Fanti term for bands of young fighting men that comprised the units in the tribal armies of preconquest times. There is evidence that certain aspects of the *Asafo* groupings had to do with co-operative work-groups, such as are found in West Africa under the term *dokpwe* (Dahomey) or, in the New World, *combite* (Haiti), though in the Gold Coast these functions were subordinated to military ones. The Asafoche groups still exist, but their ancient authority to punish violators of community property is not recognized by the British. [MJU]

**asagwe** A type of Haitian vodun dancing, known as the salute to the gods. The manman, the largest of the three vodun drums, signals for this figure to start and sets the distinctive rhythm to which it is performed. The dance figure itself is characterized by sweeping circular movements, dips, and semiprostrations.

**Āśāpūrnā, Āśāpūrā, or Āśāpūri** In Hinduism, an earth or mother goddess; literally, she who fulfills desire. Āśāpūrnā is worshipped by the Chārans and the Hinglāj and as a form of Gaurī by the Rājputs. Her image at Madh in Cutch is a red-painted rock to which an annual sacrifice of seven male buffalos is made.

**Asbjörnson, Peter Christen** (1812-1885) A Norwegian author and folklorist; contributor to the study of comparative mythology. Chief works: *Norske Folkeeventyr*, Christiania, 1842, produced in collaboration with Jørgen Moe; *Norske Huldreeventyr og Folksagn*, Christiania, in 2 vols., 1845-48; and a second volume of the *Norske Folkeeventyr*, Christiania, 1871. These books have been translated into English in *Popular Tales from the Norse*, 1859; *Tales from the Fjeld*, 1874, by Sir George W. Dasent, and in *Round the Yule Log*, 1881, by H. L. Brackstad.

**Ascension Day** The fortieth day after Easter Sunday, on which is commemorated Christ's ascension after his resurrection (*Acts* i, 9). The institution of this celebration is attributed to the Apostles, and some of the customs observed are closely related to the Christian significance of the day while others are pagan in origin.

During the Middle Ages the day was celebrated with a religious procession which symbolized Christ's entry into heaven. In some Roman Catholic churches an image of Christ was raised from the altar through a hole in the roof and a burning straw figure representing Satan was thrown down through the same hole. In Munich until a hundred years ago the expulsion of the devil from the city was enacted on Ascension Day (ceremony of the human scapegoat). The night before, a man, disguised as a devil, was chased through the streets by people dressed as witches and wizards. When he was caught he was ducked in puddles and rolled in dunghills. Finally, the disguise was removed, stuffed, and hung in the tower of the Frauenkirche until the next day when it was burned. Similar ceremonies are said to be observed in Upper Bavaria. In Rouen, France, a prisoner (scapegoat) was released and pardoned on Ascension Day. He confessed his sins and received absolution in the city square. The next day, in the presence of a great assembly, he was reproved for his sins and admonished to give thanks to God, St. Romain, and the canons for his pardon.

In Roman Catholic churches on this day the paschal candle is removed from the altar and extinguished after the Gospel at High Mass, symbolizing Christ's departure from the Apostles.

On this day the English custom of beating the bounds is still performed in some parishes. School children, accompanied by clergymen and parish officers, walk through the parish and the boys are switched with willow wands along the boundary lines to teach them the bounds of their parish. In Exeter, the Lamb is hailed on Ascension morning, as a result of the belief that the figure of a lamb actually appears in the east. In the north of England a smock race is run by girls for the prize of a Holland chemise. Men in the slate quarries of northern Wales believe that if they work on Ascension Day a fatal accident will occur.

In Nottinghamshire, England, it is believed that an egg laid on this day, placed on the roof of a house, will ward off fire, lightning, and other calamities. In Swabia, Germany, wreaths of red and white flowers, hung over the stable doors, served the same purpose. In Denmark, a rowan tree cut on Ascension Day and placed over a door will prevent the entrance of witches.

In northern Germany it is still believed that melons planted on Ascension Day will thrive. In Hildesheim young girls ring the church bells while swinging on the ropes. The girl who is carried highest by the swing of

the bell will get the longest flax at harvest time. In Hesse, herbs collected on Ascension Day are considered especially powerful medicinally. The people of Sicily believe in miraculous cures effected on the stroke of midnight preceding Ascension Thursday.

ascent to sky on feather A folktale incident or motif (F61.2) in which the hero travels on a large feather to the sky; found especially in tales among North American Indians of the North Pacific Coast, the Plateau, and Plains areas. The hero either adheres magically to the feather, which draws him to the sky, or he is simply carried on it. In a certain Bella Coola Indian story a little boy watches the hero depart on a large feather which soars and swoops in large circles through the sky. [Jew]

ascent to upper world A world-wide folklore motif (F10-17, F50-68) in which the ascents are made by various means and for many reasons. Sometimes the hero goes to the sky to retrieve a wife or friend, to obtain fire, for revenge on the sky people, to obtain gifts which produce food and riches, because of curiosity, or to catch the sun.

The Indonesians and South American Indians use a vine as a sky rope. Ascents or descents are made in a basket in tales of the North American Indians and in Siberian stories. A ladder appears in the vision of Jacob in which he saw angels ascending and descending a ladder leading from earth to heaven. A Mazovian legend tells about a pilgrim to the Holy Sepulchre who saw a ladder made of bird's feathers. He climbed it for three months and reached the Garden of Paradise. Other instances of the use of a ladder are found in tales of the Cape Verde Islands, Egypt, Gold Coast, and Mongolia.

Ascents are made by a stretching tree in Indonesian, Ekoi, Congo, Cape Verde Islands, Charente (Brazil), and North American Indian tales. In the sun-snaring myth of the Wyandots a strong child climbed a tree which was too short, so he blew upon it and lengthened it until it carried him to the land above the sky. While there he set snares for game, but caught the sun instead. Until the sun was released by a mouse, there was no day on the earth. In the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen made a fir tree grow till it touched the sky, then Ilmarinen climbed it to get the moon and Great Bear, but was blown off by a magic wind.

In some cases the plant grows to the sky overnight as in the typical Jack and the Beanstalk story. This is found in British, Tuscan, Breton, Flemish, Slavonic (via a giant cabbage), Jamaican, Philippine, and Fijian tales. In the latter a boy, son of the sky king, Tui Langa, stuck his walking stick into the ground and lay down to sleep. In the morning it had become a tree up which he climbed and introduced himself to his father. The arrow chain is another means of heavenly ascent, restricted in its recorded range to northwestern North America, Siberia, part of South America, and Oceania. Mountains reach or stretch to the sky in Australian, Egyptian, German, Ekoi, and Maidu and Ts'ets'at folktales.

In Chinese, Melanesian, Indonesian, Greenland Eskimo, Koryak, Mongol Turk, and North American Indian tales, a sky window gives admission to the upper world.

Ascent to heaven can also be made by a road (African), a narrow road (Burma, Indochina), a tower, by pursuit of game (Iroquois), stretching (Dionysus in a Greek

myth). Transportation to or from the upper world sometimes is supplied by a cloud (Greek, Chinese), by a feather or by adhering to a feather (North Pacific Plateau, Plains Indians), by a bird (Arabian, Ekoi, Seneca), by a god (Rhodesia), on horseback (Siberia, Arabia), on a sheep (India), by thought (Thompson River Indians), on a rainbow, by a ladder of sunbeams (Egypt), by magic (African), by shooting with a magic bow (North American Indian).

Asgard, Asgardhr, or Asgarth In Scandinavian mythology, the sacred space reserved for the abode of the gods and goddesses, the æsir and ásynjur, reached each by the bridge Bifrost. In saga, Asgard usually included 12 realms: Valhalla, home of heroes slain in battle; Gladsheim, home of Odin and the chief gods; Valaskjalf, the hall of Odin; Vingolf, home of Frigga and the ásynjur; Thrudheim, realm of Thor; Breidablik, home of Balder; Folkvang, the realm of Freya; Ydalir, Uller's damp region; Sokkvabekk, the home of Saga; Landvidi, home of Vidar; Himinbiorg, home of Heimdall; and Forseti's bright palace, Glitner.

asgardsreid Literally, Asgard's ride or chase; in Teutonic mythology, the wild ride of Odin or Frigga. It is still spoken of as being especially active during the dark, stormy Yule nights.

ash In Scandinavian myth, the world tree was the ash, Yggdrasil; and an ash torn out of the earth by the gods was transformed into Ask, the first man. The ash was regarded with awe in Ireland. "Cruel the ash-tree" is in the *Battle of Trees*; and today the shadow of an ash is said to blast grass and crops.

In England, where the ash was considered especially potent, children were sometimes passed through a cleft in an ash tree as a cure for rupture or rickets; Scottish Highland children were given the astringent sap of the tree as a medicine and as a protection against witchcraft. In many parts of England warts were transferred to the ash, sometimes by rubbing them with a piece of bacon and then slipping the bacon under the bark of an ash tree, sometimes by saying a charm such as, "Ashen-tree, Ashen-tree, Pray buy these warts of me," while a pin was stuck first into the tree, then into the wart, finally into the tree where it remained.

Ash rods were used in some parts of England for the cure of diseased sheep, cows, and horses. The Shrew Ash, still standing in Richmond Park, is a reminder of the cure for cramp or lameness in cattle. By boring a hole in the ash, inserting a live shrew mouse in the hole and then plugging it up, the disease was transferred to the tree.

Belief in the efficacy of the ash tree against snakes was first mentioned by Pliny, who stated that a snake would not creep over ash leaves and that if a circle were drawn with an ash rod around a snake it would die of starvation. This belief persists in England and the United States and the snake's fear of ash leaves has been extended to a fear of the shadow of the tree.

asherah (plural *asherim*) A sacred pole which stood in close proximity to the massebah and the altar in early Semitic sanctuaries. Originally it was a sacred tree, later it was artificially constructed of wood (*I Kings* xiv, 14, 23; *II Kings* xvii, 10, 16), sometimes in imagelike form (*I Kings* xvi, 13). Such posts were a part of the cultus

equipment of the temple of Jahweh in Jerusalem down to the Deuteronomic reformation of Josiah (II *Kings* xxiii, 6).

The Phœnician asherim are represented variously as slender posts surmounted by a crescent moon, curved lines forming a kind of sun disk, or by two sun disks. They are often represented as conventionalized date palms in drawings. In the Hebrew cult the posts were sometimes carved into the semblance of a human form or of its reproductive organs and were often draped. From the asherah was developed the wooden idol.

The asherah was sometimes regarded as a symbol of a deity and gave its name to the god or goddess it symbolized. The Canaanites called their goddess of fertility and prosperity Asherah and the consort of the Syrian god Amurru was an Asherah. Among the Israelites there is some indication of the same transference (*Judges* iii, 7; II *Kings* xxiii, 4). The name also attached itself to the mother goddess in some areas. Krappe believes her to be the great goddess of the Syrians, and the posts either a survival of a dendromorphic stage or, on the analogy of the Roman Terminus, the boundary-markers of the sanctuary area. In Palestine, Asherah's consort was Adad; in Arabia, he was the Minean Wadd.

**ashes** The residue left after the combustion of a substance such as coal or wood or after the cremation of human or animal bodies or plants. Ashes are used in folk practices to control the weather, in religious rituals, in mourning customs, to fertilize fields, flocks, people, as a badge of humiliation, in divination and exorcism, to prevent sorrow, plague, vermin, lightning, fire, sore eyes, contagious diseases, skin eruptions, swollen glands, also to cure headache, nosebleed, colic, rheumatism, consumption, and in ablutions and amulets.

Because of the qualities attributed to ashes, probably stemming from a belief that they share in the mysterious nature of the fire which produces them, they are used for religious or semireligious purposes in many parts of the world. A purificatory bath of ashes is used by the Lingāyats (India). The Brāhmans rub the body with ashes in preparation for religious ceremonies. Lamas of Tibet model images of Buddha from a mixture of clay and the ashes of a holy man, put them in shrines and perform devotions before them. Hindus use the ashes taken from the fires in honor of Dharma Rajah and Draupadī to drive away demons and devils. The Kachins (Burma) propitiate Trikurat, the forest spirit, after a hunt by treading on ashes taken from the house hearth. Aztec priests blackened their faces with ashes before celebrating religious ceremonies. In the Hebrew Red Heifer ritual for purification from defilement by contact with a corpse, ashes from an offering were put into water, and the contaminated person was sprinkled with the mixture. According to the Mishnah, during fast days proclaimed because of drought, the Ark of the Covenant, as well as the people participating in the procession, were sprinkled with ashes. Covering oneself with ashes either served as an expression of self-humiliation or in memory of Abraham who said, "I am but dust and ashes" (*Gen.* xviii, 27). Ashes are used as a symbol of penitence on the first day of Lent in the Catholic Church.

Ashes are scattered in the air to condense clouds and bring rain during droughts (Muyscas, New Granada), to disperse mist (Peru), and to clear the clouded evening

sky (Guarayú, Brazil); they are thrown on the water to bring fair weather (Alacaluf, Tierra del Fuego), thrown into a whirlwind to calm it (Abipón, Chaco, South America), scattered in the fields to prevent hailstorms (Bavaria, Bohemia), used as a talisman against thunder and lightning (France, Bohemia).

In fertility rites the ashes of a sacrificed human being were scattered over the fields (Osiris rites, Egypt; Marimos, Bechuanaland; Khonds, Bengal); the ashes of animals were used to insure the fecundity of flocks and a plentiful milk supply (Romans); those of the Easter fires, frequently mixed with palm ashes in Catholic countries and those of the Midsummer fires (Germany, Switzerland, Ireland) were fed to animals or spread on the fields.

Ashes are used to prevent or cure all types of disease or illness in men and animals. They cure sore eyes (Salee, Morocco; Moslems, North Africa; Mikirs, Assam; Hopi, North America), are considered a remedy for consumption when taken daily by the spoonful moistened with water (Belgium); they prevent skin eruptions and itch (Bosnia, Herzegovina, India, Hopi), heal swollen glands (France), cure headache (Bombay), prevent hair from falling (Berbers, Morocco), stop fever (early England), cure stomach trouble (Miwok), stop nosebleed (Dakotas, Winnebagos), counteract inflammation (Hopi). The ashes of a male infant can be used as a cure (Quechua, South America) for soccahuayra, an illness caused by malignant winds. Ashes are given to cattle to insure them against plague and other ills (Germany, Armenia) and to fatten them (China).

More familiar uses of ashes are those of mourning customs in which they are symbolic of affliction. Many peoples strew themselves with ashes during funerals. The widow of a deceased member of the Arunta tribe smears her torso with white clay and then coats the clay with ashes. The Nahua carry the ashes of honored chiefs as talismans. The Digger Indians mix the ashes of a dead man with pine-tree gum and smear the mixture on the heads of the mourners. To absorb the qualities of the dead a number of South American Indian tribes mixed their ground bones or ashes with food or drink. The Tarianas and Tucanos disinter and cremate a corpse a month after burial, mix the ashes in caxiri and drink the concoction. In Bengal ashes are used to determine into which animal the ghost of a dead man has migrated.

Ashes are used in divination, especially on Hallowe'en (Ireland, Isle of Man, Lancashire), to determine the guardian deity of children (Yucatan), to prevent the sight of ghosts or return of the spirit of a dead person (Mexico, Philippines, northern India), to make a bridegroom subservient to the bride (India). They are blown toward the new moon so that men's strength will not decrease as the moon increases (Gold Coast). The Kwakiutl Indians rub the ashes of lupine on a child to make it sleep, ashes of cedar to make it strong, ashes of a snail for strong eyes, and the ashes of sallal berries and feathers to keep it quiet.

In the cosmology of the Mocoví the Milky Way is believed to be the ashes of the celestial tree which was burned in early days. The Incas believed that at one time the moon was brighter than the sun and that the sun, in a jealous rage, threw ashes into the moon's face to obscure her brilliance.

In mythology and folktale man was created from ashes (Gilbert Islands, Aztecs), the Milky Way is made of ashes (Bushman), ashes speak (Jamaica), a trespasser (ghost, lover, fairy, etc.) is detected by strewn ashes (Denmark, Germany, Seneca Indians), resuscitation of a cremated man is effected by blowing on the ashes (Bakairi, South America) and by throwing ashes on the funeral pyre (India). People or objects are magically reduced to ashes in Indian, Arabic, and Danish folktale; ashes are used to mark a road or path (Germany, Jamaica, Benga, Ekoi, Gold Coast, American Negro).

Ashes appear in riddles and proverbs: If a stick of tobacco cost six cents and a half, how much would a pipe-load come to? Answer, ashes (Barbados); Every man must eat a peck of ashes (or of dirt) before he dies. [SPH]

**Ashmedai or Ashmadai** In Hebrew mythology and legend, the king of the demons who visited heaven every day to learn the fate of human beings. According to the *Haggadah*, Solomon sent Benaiah ben Jehoiadah to capture Ashmedai who knew the whereabouts of the shamiir, a worm whose mere touch would cleave rocks. Ashmedai was forced to reveal the worm's whereabouts and then to remain with Solomon until the Temple was completed. One day the king asked the demon wherein the greatness of the demons lay if their king could be kept within bonds by a mortal. Ashmedai replied that if Solomon would remove the chains and lend him the magic ring, he would prove his greatness. As soon as he was released, Ashmedai seized Solomon, flung him out of Jerusalem, and palmed himself off as king. After long wanderings and provided with another magic ring, Solomon regained his throne and the demon fled.

**Ashtoreth or Ashtareth** The name used in the Old Testament for the Semitic mother goddess, Astarte-Ishtar (*Judges* ii, 13; x, 6; *I Sam.* vii, 3; xii, 10).

**Ashur (1) or Ashshur, Ashir, Asshur, or Assur** In Assyrian religion and mythology, the chief god: a god of battle. Originally Ashur was the baal of the city of Ashshur and probably was a solar deity. As Assyria grew more and more warlike, Ashur's attributes as a war god became more all-absorbing and his cult became the dominant worship of the entire country. His divine city depended upon the location of the royal residence and the king was the sole high priest.

Stories, feats, etc., attributed to Anu, Enlil, and Marduk were gradually transferred to Ashur as the Assyrians subdued the country, so that he came closest in the Assyro-Babylonian religion and mythology to crystallizing the principle of a central single god. He was pictured as an eagle-headed, winged deity, usually with a disk symbol surmounted by the figure of a warrior. He was chief of the Igigi, who fought for Ashur and the king. His consort was Ashuritu, Beltu, or Bêlit. Ishtar sometimes appears as his wife and sometimes as an independent queen united with Ashur in the leadership of the Assyrian people. The theory that he was identical with the Aryo-Indian Asura and the Persian Ahura has not been accepted, but he was almost identical in character with the Jahweh of the early Israelites.

(2) or **Ashura** In the Mohammedan lunar calendar, the 10th day of Moharrar, the first month of the Mohammedan year; the Mohammedan New Year. Among the Berbers of North Africa, this is the day on which bonfires are built and the people, by leaping over the

flames or driving their cattle through them, can purify themselves from evil or prevent their cattle from becoming diseased. Girls who wish to marry wash in water boiled over the bonfire which is sometimes built on the evening before Ashur. Compare BELTANE.

**Ash Wednesday** The first day of Lent: so called from the ceremonial use of ashes as a symbol of penitence in the Roman Catholic Church. Of the Protestant churches only the Episcopal or Anglican marks the day by a special service and the use of ashes has been discontinued as a "vain show" since shortly after the Reformation. The ashes, used on the heads of the faithful in the Roman Church and made by burning the palms used on the Palm Sunday of the previous year, are placed there with the words, *Memento, homo, quia cinis es; et in cinerem reverteris*. At first ashes were administered only to public penitents who appeared barefoot and in penitential garb before the church door. As the number of penitents grew larger, ashes were administered to the entire congregation.

Ash Wednesday and the three days following originally were not a part of the Lenten period, but were added about 700 A.D. to make the fast days 40 in number (since the Sundays in Lent are not included as fast days) to correspond to the number of days Christ fasted.

Ash Wednesday is the beginning of a period of abstinence, quiet, and penance, in strong contrast to the preceding period of carnival. In Germany the Jack-of-Lent made its appearance on this day: a ragged, scarecrowlike effigy used to personify Lent. In rural France a personification of good cheer was carried around and money was collected for its funeral as a symbol of the burial of good living during Lent. In Italy, Spain, Germany, Austria, France, and Greece a personification of the carnival was sentenced to death and stoned, burned, or drowned by the peasants on Ash Wednesday or, occasionally, on Shrove Tuesday.

In Germany it is considered bad luck to tie up cattle or sell them on Ash Wednesday. In Hesse, Meiningen, and other districts, people eat pea soup with dried pig ribs on this day. The ribs are then collected and hung in a room until sowing time, when they are inserted in the fields or in the seedbag among the flaxseed as an infallible specific against earthfleas and moles, and to cause the flax to grow tall and well.

**Asin** In the folklore of the Toba Indians of Brazil, a character sometimes regarded as a culture hero and the creator of palm trees, Barbary figs, and bees, sometimes believed to be a great shaman who plays the role of a miserable and very homely man only displaying his true power after great abuse, and sometimes regarded as the symbol of the humble man who proves his mettle.

**asisi or atiti** In the belief of the Orokaiva of Papua (Melanesia) the shadow or reflection; also the immaterial entity not necessarily visible but identified (especially in dreams) with or substituting for some person. The asisi is not a soul but an immaterial substitute. Animals and inanimate objects also have asisi. The asisi is not synonymous with the sovai, which survives death.

**Ask or Askr** In Teutonic mythology, the first man, created from an ash tree or a block of ash. Odin gave him a soul, Hœnir (Vili) gave him motion and the senses, and Lodur or Loki (Ve) contributed blood and a rosy complexion. See EMBLA.

**Assing Festival or Ai-yá-g'úk** An Alaskan Eskimo festival in which an attempt is made to fulfill the wishes and desires of each member of the community. On a certain day a man chosen by the group carries from house to house a wand, named Ai-yá-g'úk, from which hang three hollow globe-shaped objects. In each house, when the Ai-yá-g'úk enters, the head of the house states his own wish, and on learning the wishes of others, gives something that another has asked for. It is wrong to refuse any request made with the Ai-yá-g'úk. In parts of the Lower Yukon, instead of verbal statement of the wishes being made, images of the things desired are hung on the wand and carried from one member of the community to another, for the fulfilment of individual desires.

**Asmodeus or Asmodæus** In Hebrew mythology and legend, an evil spirit or demon; son of Naamah, sister of Tubal-cain, and Shamdon; he appears first in the apocryphal *Book of Tobit*. Asmodeus fell in love with Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, and tried to prevent her from having a husband by killing each of her seven husbands successively on the nights of their marriage to her. He was rendered harmless when Tobias married her and, at the instance of the angel Raphael, burned the heart and liver of a fish. Asmodeus fled to Egypt where Raphael caught and bound him. In the *Testament of Solomon* he is pictured as the destroyer of matrimonial happiness. Solomon compelled Asmodeus to help in the building of the Temple. Asmodeus was the spirit of lust and anger; he was king, Lilith queen, of the demons.

Asmodeus is Persian in origin and may be identical with the demon Aeshma, one of the seven archangels of Persian mythology, and the Zend Aeshmo daëva. He is identified with Ashmedai, but the relationship of the two is in dispute. Asmodeus seems to be an evil, destructive spirit while Ashmedai, like the devil in medieval Christian folklore, is no longer the dreaded archfiend, but the degraded object of irony and humor.

**asogwe** The rattle of the chief priest of any Dahomean cult: used to summon the gods. It could be obtained only from the king, and is an absolute essential for the establishment of a cult-house, whatever the cult. In the days of the monarchy, at the time for the annual taxation of cult-houses, the rattle had to be presented at the ceremony, whether or not the priest himself was able to attend. Its main function, however, is religious; without the asogwe no god can be called. [MJH]

**aspen** Any of several poplars of Europe and North America with tremulous leaves, especially *Populus tremula* and *P. tremuloides*. The leaf is said in Brittany to tremble because Christ's cross was made of aspen wood, or because at the hour of the Passion the plants and trees of the world trembled and bowed their heads—all except the aspen which asked, "Why should we weep and tremble? We have not sinned!" Before the aspen had ceased speaking it began to tremble and will continue to do so until Judgment Day. In German tradition, during the flight into Egypt, the aspen was cursed by Jesus when it alone, of all the trees in the forest refused to acknowledge Him. At the sound of His voice the aspen began to tremble. Another belief is that the leaves of the aspen were made from women's tongues. According to the doctrine of signatures the aspen is a specific for the ague.

**ass** A long-eared equine quadruped, smaller than the horse and with shorter mane and tail-hair. The ass appears in folk beliefs and tales wherever it is domesticated, especially in the countries around the Mediterranean Sea. Asses are found in Egyptian pictures dating back to the fourth millennium B.C. The Egyptian gods Ra and Typhon were identified with it. Both the wild and domestic ass are mentioned in the Bible (*Job* xxiv, 5). The domestic ass was used for riding (*Num.* xxii, 21; *II Kings* iv, 24; *Judges* x, 4; xii, 14), for carrying burdens (*Gen.* xxii, 3; xlii, 26) and for plowing (*Isa.* xxx, 24; *Deut.* xxii, 10).

According to rabbinical literature the ass was created to carry burdens, its blood was a remedy for jaundice, and its bite more dangerous than that of a dog because it might break a bone. A strap made from ass or calf hide was used in judicial scourging. The ass of Abraham when he traveled to the sacrifice of Isaac was declared to be the same animal which later bore Moses' wife and her sons into Egypt (*Ex.* iv, 20) and which is to serve the Messiah (*Zech.* ix, 9). The mother of this ass is the one upon which Balaam rode and which was created at the close of the sixth day of creation.

Greek and Latin writers accused the Jews of ass-worship and later made the same accusation against the Christians. These accusations probably originated in the misconception that the Jews worshipped Dionysus to whom the ass was sacred. The ass was the religious symbol of the Gnostic sect of the Sethinai, and is a traditionally sacred animal because of Christ's entry into Jerusalem upon an ass. The dark stripe running down its back crossed by another at the shoulder was given to it because it carried Christ.

In Greek legend, Midas was asked to judge the better flute player in a contest between Pan and Apollo. He imprudently judged Pan the winner. Apollo, angered, changed the king's ears into those of an ass to indicate his stupidity. Midas and Marsyas were originally probably satyrs or sileni (ass-demons or horse-demons) among the Thracio-Phrygians where the ass was sanctified and sacrificed. The slaying of Marsyas in the story of the contest with Apollo, which paralleled the Pan-Apollo story, may be an etiological explanation of ass sacrifice. In Greco-Roman art Midas and Marsyas became human in form. In Macedonian legend Midas caught one of the sileni in his rose gardens and Apulcius adopted the story saying that eating roses would restore to human form a man changed into an ass.

In Vedic mythology an ass drew the chariot of the Asvins. Armenians who have unsatisfied claim against someone sacrifice an ass at the grave of an ancestor of the debtor believing that the soul of the ancestor will be transferred to an ass if the claim is not satisfied.

The ass was associated during the Middle Ages with Palm Sunday and Saint Nicholas. An ass was also an essential feature of the Feast of Fools.

The ass was believed to have great curative powers. Early writers advised a man stung by a scorpion to sit on an ass facing the animal's tail or to whisper in its ear, "A scorpion has stung me," and the pain would be transferred to the animal. In England hairs taken from the cross on the animal's back were believed to cure whooping-cough if hung in a bag around the neck of the sufferer. In the Hebrews a child was passed three times over the back and under the belly of an ass in the name



of the Blessed Trinity to prevent the same disease. In the Middle Ages fresh asses' dung was squeezed and smeared over the eyes to cure various ailments, and asses' hoofs were bound to a patient's extremities, right on right, left on left, to cure gout. The congealed blood of the animal was used in suffumigations from which the future was foretold. A lotion made from an ass was sprinkled on insane people to cure them.

The ass appears as a leading character in numerous folktales, fairy tales, and fables in Arabia, Belgium, Britany, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, French Canada, Germany, Greece, Holland, India, Ireland, Italy, Lapland, Norway, Persia, Philippine Islands, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and among the Hebrews and American Indians. Aesop has 27 fables about the ass, and ass fables appear also in the Talmud, Phaedrus, and Bidpai. Many stories are designed to illustrate the stupidity of the animal. The Indian tale in *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* is a good example. A thin ass was covered with a panther's skin by its owner and let loose in a neighbor's corn. People were afraid to drive it away. One day a cultivator saw the animal and, bending down, started to creep away. The ass, thinking him another ass, brayed, giving himself away.

Few animals are referred to in proverbs as frequently as the ass. Among the most popular sayings and proverbs are: To make an ass of oneself (do something foolish); The ass waggeth his ears (applied to those who talk wisely but have little learning); Well, Well! honey is not for the ass's mouth (persuasion will not convince fools); Every ass loves to hear himself bray; *Asinus in unguento* (Latin, ass among perfumes—bull in a china shop); *Asinus ad lyram* (Latin, an ass at the lyre—an awkward fellow); *Asno con oro, alcanzalo todo* (Spanish, an ass laden with gold overtakes everything—a rich fool is thought wise); *Ane chargé de reliques* (French, an ass laden with relics, applied to a person who gives himself airs when he acquires a little authority). [SPH]

**Ass, Feast of the** A festival popular in northern France during the Middle Ages, held on Jan. 14 to commemorate the flight of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus into Egypt. Originally a girl carrying a baby and seated on an ass was led through the streets to a church where mass was said. The festival degenerated into a farce which in Beauvais fell so low that an ass was led to a table in the church and given food and drink while a burlesqued vesper service was conducted. The people and clergy then danced around the animal imitating its braying. A presentation of farces followed outside the church and the mad affair ended with a midnight mass at the conclusion of which the priest brayed three times. The feast was suppressed by the Church in the 15th century but did not entirely disappear until much later.

**Assassin** A member of an Oriental sect of fanatics whose religion was a mixture of Mohammedanism and Magianism. The order was founded in Persia at the end of the 11th century by Hasan-ben-Sabbah, and is still represented in India by the Khōjās. Assassins were skeptical of the existence of God and believed that the world of the mind came into existence first, then the soul, finally the rest of creation. At death, man's soul rejoins the universal soul. It is imprisoned in the body only to execute the orders of the imām and if it quits the body while obeying, it is carried to the upper world. If it disobeys, it falls into darkness.

This belief made the faithful disciples willing to perform any deed without question and without fear. The assassinations for which the sect was famous were committed at first to wipe out its persecutors. Later they were committed for anyone willing to pay for the service. Assassins were trained for assassination. They were taught foreign languages, the ceremonies of foreign religions, and how to adopt and maintain disguises in order to win the confidence of their intended victims. They were widely feared, especially because they struck when and where least expected. The name of the sect is derived from the Arabic *Hashshashin*, hashish-eaters, given to them because it was suspected that they intoxicated themselves with hashish before attacking an enemy. See OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.

**Astarte, Ashtar, or Ashtoreth** The mother goddess of Phœnicia; deity of sexual activity, fertility, maternity, and war, erroneously identified as a moon goddess. She is shown with horns in Phœnician art, but these horns were the horns of a cow (fertility) and not those of the moon. In Sumeria the mother goddess was called Inanna, in Armenia Anāhita, in Phrygia Cybele, in Babylonia Ishtar, in the Bible Ashtoreth, and in North Africa Tanith or Dido. In southern Arabia Athtar, a masculine deity, was the result of the bifurcation of Astarte, the feminine half being called Shams. The worship of the masculine Athtar spread to Abyssinia where he was known as Astar. The Biblical Ashtaroth is a plural, like Baalim, and refers to "goddesses" in general, as Baalim does to the heathen gods.

In primitive worship fruits of the earth, newborn animals, and first-born children were sacrificed in order to increase fertility. Astarte was worshipped by the Israelites after the conquest of Canaan (*Judg.* ii, 13; x, 6; I *Sam.* vii, 3; xii, 10). The Philistines also adopted the cult of Astarte. The cult spread from the Phœnicians to the Greeks and Romans, reached Malta and Sicily and the British Isles. This cult seems not to have spread into Syria because of the strength there of Atargatis, the Syrian aspect of the mother goddess. Astarte has been identified with the Egyptian Hathor, Greek Aphrodite, Norse Freya, Irish Danu, and Hindu Indrani—all fertility deities.

The gazelle (at Mecca) and dove (at Eryx) were sacred to her as was the myrtle. At Arbela she was represented as robed in flames, armed with sword and bow. In Assyrian-Babylonian art she is pictured caressing or blessing a child held in her left hand. See ISHTAR.

**aster** (from Greek *aster*, star) The flower has always been associated with the stars and with astrologers who class it as an herb of Venus.

In Greece the aster, when burnt, would drive away serpents. The Romans used wreaths of the flowers to deck the altars of the gods. In much of Europe and the United States, the aster, like the daisy, is used in love divination. In China a wine made from the fermented stems and leaves of the aster is a delicacy, drunk especially on the ninth day of the ninth moon. Once Fei Ch'ang-fang of the Han dynasty advised a follower to go to the hills to drink aster-scented wine and to fly kites on this day. Upon returning home he found his domestic animals dead and realized that he might have met a similar fate. According to the *Feng Su Chi* the people living in the Li district live to be 120 or 130 years old

because they drink water flavored by the asters growing on the surrounding hills.

The Chippewa Indians smoke the dried, powdered root of a variety of aster (*Aster puniceus* L.) to attract game. The smell of the smoke is believed to resemble that of a deer's hoof and deer come toward a hunter when the plant is smoked. See *BLAZ MUDICINE*.

**astragalomancy** Divination by means of small bones, such as vertebrae: an ancient and almost universal custom. The bones are lettered and drawn from a mixed group haphazardly. The letters give the spelling, anagram, or general clue to the desired message. The use of more generalized forms, such as bone or wood cubes or bone cylinders, is believed by some to have given rise to games of chance.

**astrology** The science of the stars, anciently equivalent to astronomy, which was known as natural astrology, and used to predict such natural events as eclipses, the date of Easter, and meteorological phenomena. By the 17th century the term became limited to another branch of the study, judicial or mundane astrology, which purports to trace the influence of the heavenly bodies (stars, planets, sun, moon, etc.) on the course and events of human life. This star-divination, or astrology, attempts to determine, usually by the configuration of the heavens at the time of a crucial event, like birth, the future destiny and general temperament of men. Astrology is one of the most ancient forms of divination, and prevailed among the nations of the East (Egypt, Chaldea, India, China) at the very dawn of history. The Jews became much addicted to it after the Captivity. It spread into the West and to Rome about the beginning of the Christian Era. Astrologers played an important part at Rome, where they were called Chaldeans and "mathematicians"; and though often banished by the Senate and emperors under pain of death and otherwise persecuted, they continued to hold their ground. In Europe, during the Middle Ages, especially in the 14th and 15th centuries, astrology became the master study to which practically all other fields of investigation were correlated and subordinated. With the rise and acceptance of modern astronomy after Galileo and Kepler, astrology fell more and more into discredit in the Western world. Belief in its findings still has many adherents in the West and almost every part of the world.

In its most primitive form, astrology may have arisen from the observable connection between the positions of the stars in the heavens and the seasonal changes on earth. From this to a belief in the causal influence of the stars, not only upon natural phenomena, but also upon man himself, is not a far step. One versed in the lore of stars then becomes helpful to the economic life of the community, and to the personal planning and well-being of the individual. Rulers, down to Hitler, have had their personal astrologers. The astrologer as a diviner eventually uses supplementary means of determination, and we find close connection between astrology on the one hand, and Chinese geomancy, Near Eastern hepatoscopy, Chinese and Japanese tortoise shell divination, and Gypsy palmistry on the other. For example, the names of the mounts of the hand in chiromancy retain their planetary significance, and their prominence is used by the palm-reader to ascertain the supposed temperament of the subject. Aside from the

Jewish and Arabic belief that every man has his own personal star in the heavens, astrology holds that the ascendancy of a specific planet at a critical moment determines the personality of the person, as for example the influence of Mercury giving a mercurial temperament; Jupiter, a jovial, etc. By the casting of an exact horoscope in genethliac astrology, the astrologer makes his determination. The methods of horoscope-casting are traditional and the interactions of the various planetary signs have become more or less fixed in meaning.

Belief in astrology is based on the geocentric idea of the universe, since the influence of the heavens is inward upon the earth. When the Copernican theory and modern astronomy took over what had been natural astrology, the basis and hence the validity of judicial astrology was destroyed. Nevertheless, popular magazines on astrology continue to thrive in the fifth decade of the twentieth century, one periodical alone in the United States having a monthly circulation of perhaps a quarter of a million copies.

**asura** In early Vedic mythology, the supreme spirit: an epithet meaning god, applied especially to Varuna. In the *Brāhmanas* and *Upanishads* it was used to mean the opposite of demons or enemies of the gods (but not of mankind). The asuras are the descendants of Prajāpati and for a time divided the world with their younger brothers, the gods or suras. But they waged war with the gods frequently until they were slain by Indra with the aid of Vishnu (or by another god). The asuras dwell in the caverns of Mount Meru, below the level of the sea, in the four towns of Shining, Startassel, Deep, and Golden, and they leave their abysses only to battle the inhabitants of Meru.

In the epics, the asuras (the name is here used interchangeably with Dānava and Daitya) are still regarded as foes of the gods, but some of them are spoken of as friends and protégés of the gods. Śukra, descendant of Bhrigu, is their teacher and guide; their abode, Pātāla, is a magnificent dwelling surpassing heaven in its splendor. In popular story, the asuras are sometimes heroes. When they are pictured as contending with the gods, however, they revert to their Vedic character of demons able to become invisible and to commit deeds of violence. Compare *ĀMITYA*; *NĀGA*.

**Āśvamedha** or *Āśva-medha* The horse sacrifice, one of the most important and impressive Indian ceremonies of Vedic times. Two hymns for this ceremonial appear in the *Rig-Veda*. Horse sacrifices are principal events in both the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. Originally the sacrifice was perhaps a fertility ritual, in which the king's wives passed the night with the sacrificed horse, the chief wife performing certain specific and formal rites. Later, the ceremony was extended and became a ritual statement of the sovereignty and aspirations of great kings. In the spring, usually, a horse was chosen, symbolically tethered to the post of sacrifice, and then released to roam at will for a year. The horse was followed by a representation of nobles to guard it from harm or defilement. If the horse traveled into the territory of another king, the latter could submit to the invasion and thus tacitly acknowledge the owner of the horse as his superior, or he could fight, as many did.

During the period of the wandering of the horse, the population at home took part in ceremonies of celebration and preparation. At the end of the year, the horse

returned and was sacrificed in a three-day ceremony, along with a he-goat and, in later forms of the ceremony, with many other animals. The horse was first ornamentally dressed, anointed and adorned, by the three queens of highest rank. Then he was smothered with robes, before and after which act riddles were asked the priests by other priests and the women by the priests. The chief queen performed the ritual act under the robes, thus taking to herself the horse's power of fertility. The horse was then cut up, roasted, and offered to Prajāpati, after which came the ceremony to purify the sacrificer, accompanied by the giving of gifts to the priests.

While vestiges of the earlier fertility ceremony are found in the later ritual, especially in the deliberate obscenity of some of its verbiage, essentially the strength and quickness of the horse was transmitted to the king by this later form of the ceremonial. So virtuous did the king become through the rite that it was believed the completion of a hundred such sacrifices would enable him to overthrow Indra and become the ruler of the gods. There is the additional idea of expiation or atonement in the sacrifice: the Āsvamedha performed by Yudhishtira on the advice of Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata* was meant to atone for the wars he had caused. Brahmā is said to have made ten such sacrifices at the Daśāmedh Ghāt in Benares, one of the principal places of pilgrimage in that city.

**Āsvins or Āswins** In Vedic mythology, twin cosmic gods variously deities of the dawn, of heaven and earth, of day and night, of the sun and moon, the morning and evening stars, twilight (one half light, the other half dark), or personifications of the two luminous rays supposed to precede the break of day. They are also divine physicians, the sons of Dyaus or of Sūrya (the sun) or Savitri (the activity of the sun), by the nymph Saṁjñā. They are the horsemen whose golden chariot, drawn by horses, a bird, an ass, or a buffalo, precedes Ushās (the dawn) who is sometimes considered their sister, sometimes their wife. In other parts of the *Rig-Veda* their joint wife is Sūrya or they help Soma, the moon, to win Sūrya, and lose one chariot-wheel in the process.

In Brāhman mythology, they are no longer cosmic deities, but physician gods of great kindness and personal beauty, often given the epithets of Nāsatyā and Dasra. In the *Mahābhārata* they rejuvenated Chyavana for which they were given a share of soma. They restored the eyesight of Upamanyu and furnished Viśpalā with an iron leg. They were the fathers of the youngest Pāṇḍu princes, Sahadeva and Nakula. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* they fathered the monkeys Dvīda and Mainda. See DIOSCURI; TWINS.

**asylum** Any place of shelter and refuge where the refugee is inviolate by virtue of the place itself. Among almost all peoples, ancient and contemporary, places sacred to them, and certain personages or objects regarded as sacred afford asylum to the hunted. The right of asylum is the right of a specific place, person, or object to afford such protection because of its inherent holiness. All over the world altars, temples, churches, tombs, the king's house, the king's person, the individual family hearth and home itself were (or are) sacred places where no blood can be spilled. The holy groves of many people protect plants, animals, and criminals alike.

Among some peoples just taking refuge with, or even touching, a woman affords asylum, because of the mysterious power believed to be inherent in the female sex.

Among the ancient Hebrews all altars afforded asylum to all fugitives except murderers. Later the right of asylum was transferred from the local altars to six certain cities, three on either side of Jordan. Even the wild birds were not driven from the altars. "The sparrow hath found her a house and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts" (Ps. 84). The Greeks and ancient Syrians also regarded birds nesting in holy places as untouchable. The sparrows of Æsculapius in Athens, for instance, and the pigeons of an early Syrian goddess in Hierapolis are often mentioned.

In ancient Greece all temples and altars were asylums; no person who put himself under the protection of a deity could be taken; no act of violence to remove him from the deity's presence could be enacted, in the belief that the deity would punish violators of the sacred place. Fugitives were usually runaway slaves or criminals fleeing either arrest or trial. Abuses of the privilege of sanctuary became so numerous and extreme that eventually the right of sanctuary was limited only to certain temples. The Romans (under Tiberius) reduced even this number; but statues of Roman emperors and eagles of the legions were asylums. With the Christian era right of asylum was transferred to the churches.

In medieval England a criminal could take refuge in a church, but after 40 days he was starved out. Usually he was given his choice between trial and exile. Henry VIII designated certain cities as places of permanent refuge, each harboring no more than 20 refugees, each of whom wore an identifying badge. Murderers, rapers, highway robbers, and committers of arson were denied sanctuary. In the reign of James I the right of asylum to fugitives from justice was legally abolished but the practice continued well into the reign of George I. In Spain it continued into the 19th century. Even today Portugal grants asylum to alien fugitives who would be killed if delivered up.

Typical of the observance of asylum and its ubiquity are the following: In New Guinea it is believed that the arms and legs will shrivel of anyone who lays hands on a fugitive within a temple. The big tree inhabited by the Samoan god Vave gives refuge even to murderers, although they have eventually to stand trial. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the criminal who takes refuge with the god Keave walks home safely in three days' time with the aura of divinity insuring his immunity from arrest. In Usambara a murderer is safe if he can touch the person of the king; in Madagascar, if he can but see the king. Hence in West Africa criminals are gagged lest they call on the king's name, or knives are pushed through their cheeks to hold down the tongue. The Ashanti slave goes free who flees to the temple and falls upon the fetish. Among the Marutse a criminal escapes punishment if he can evade his pursuers long enough to reach and throw himself upon the king's sacred drums.

Among many primitive peoples the house of a king or chief, priest or magician affords asylum. The coupling of the sanctity of the home with the idea of asylum is widespread in Europe.

The rights of asylum have dwindled in proportion to the spread of civic justice. International law controls the

rights of neutral powers to harbor belligerent armies. The time limit for the stay of belligerent ships in neutral harbors is usually 24 hours. In South America embassies, legations and consulates are still regarded as asylums.

**ásynjur** The goddesses collectively of the ancient Teutonic pantheon. They belong to the ásir and Frigga is the chief among them.

**Ataensic** Sky Woman, the First Mother of Huron mythology: called Eagentci by the Seneca. She fell to earth from heaven, but was caught on the wings of waterbirds and borne safely to the earth. While this was going on Muskrat dove through the waters to find ooh-da (earth); and this he placed on Turtle's back. Ataensic bore twins, the Doyadano, Good and Evil, and then died. Hahgwehdiyu (Good) shaped the sky with the palm of his hand, and created the sun from his mother's face. Hahgwehdaetgah (Evil) set darkness in the west. Then Hahgwehdiyu made the moon and stars from the breast of Ataensic, to lighten the dark, and gave her body back to the earth. From it sprang all the living ones. In some variants of this myth Ataensic gave birth to a daughter, who became impregnated by the wind and died giving birth to the twins, who were left to the care of their grandmother, Ataensic, or Sky Woman.

**Ataguju** The creator in the mythology of the Huamachuco Indians of Peru. [AM]

**Atahen** Literally, man: the first man, and culture hero of the coastal Juaneño Indians of California. See CHINGICHNICH.

**Atalanta** In Greek (Arcadian) legend, the daughter of Iasus and Clymene, exposed by her father and suckled by a she-bear. She became a famous huntress. She slew the Centaurs who pursued her, participated in the Calydonian hunt, took part in the games in honor of Pelias, and may have gone along with the Argonautic expedition. Her father recognized her and urged her to marry. She agreed on condition that each suitor must contend with her in a foot race, death being the penalty for defeat, her hand the prize. Meilanion won by throwing out three golden apples given to him by Aphrodite. Atalanta stopped to pick them up, permitting her suitor to win. She was the mother of Parthenopæus. She and Meilanion were metamorphosed into lions after displeasing Zeus. In Bœotian legend, she was the daughter of Schœnus, her successful suitor was Hippomenes, and they were metamorphosed into lions by Cybele.

**Ātar** or **Ātarsh** (Persian *Ādar*) In Zoroastrianism, the fire god, son of Ahura Mazda and conqueror of the evil dragon Azi Dahāka; the chief of the yazatas or Zoroastrian angels. Ātar, who is sometimes classed as an archangel or Amesha Spenta, is a personification (imperfect) of fire. In the Avesta, five kinds of fire are recognized, the Bahrām, the spark of life in the human body, the fire contained in wood, the fire of lightning, and the fire in heaven.

**Atargatis** or **Atar** A goddess of fertility worshipped by the Syrians. Fishes and doves were sacred to her, and her temple at Hierapolis, the largest and richest in Syria, included a pond of sacred fish. Lucian, in his treatise, *de Dea Syria*, describes her cult and calls her Hera. In the inner temple at Hierapolis were three

golden images, the first that of Atargatis, the others probably Hadad and Attis. The idol of Atargatis had attributes of Hera, Athene, Aphrodite, Rhea, Artemis, Selene, Nemesis, and the Moiræ.

Atargatis has been frequently identified as a local form of the Semitic goddess Ishtar-Astarte. Like Astarte, she was a goddess of fertility and water. Wherever the worship of Astarte went, that of Atargatis seemed to have followed. She is referred to in the Apocrypha (I *Macc.* v, 24; II *Macc.* xii, 26). Her chief temple in Palestine was at Ascalon. In her temple at Carnaim, Judah Maccabeus slew the inhabitants who had fled there for refuge and then burned the temple. Ctesias called her Derecto and the Romans knew her as Dea Syria.

**Ate** In early Greek mythology, the goddess of mischief, who incited men to crime. She was the daughter of Zeus and Eris, but was driven out of heaven for creating discord among the gods. In later mythology, she became an avenging spirit, somewhat akin to the Erinyes.

**Atea** Literally, Vast-Expanse, sometimes translated Light: the atmosphere, sky god, and male parent of Polynesian mythology. In the great creation chants of Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Marquesan, and other Polynesian mythology, Atea is described as having been "extended" by means of the pillars which Ta'aroa placed under the vast expanse. At this time Ta'aroa also invoked a great spirit to pervade Atea. Then when Ta'aroa called out "Who is above?" Atea answered "I, Atea, the moving space, the sky-space." In Tuamotuan mythology, Atea was specifically a shapeless being molded into beauty by Vahine Nautahu (Enchantress Woman). His wife was named Fakahotu (in some islands, the Marquesas, for instance, Atanua or Dawn). From their union were born sons and daughters, the gods (handsome offspring), then birds, butterflies, and creeping things (common offspring).

The creation chants describe Atea's long struggle with Tane, in which he is finally killed; but Atea's power (mana) could not die. It still prevails in the islands. The creation chants also tell the circumstances of Atea's and Fakahotu's exchange of sex. All that was masculine in Fakahotu was transferred to Atea; all that was feminine in Atea was transferred to Fakahotu. By this strengthening of the male and female in each, more and mightier gods were born. In the story of the attempt to raise the sky, two gods equipped with wonderful adzes journeyed to Atea, thinking to chip him off and prop him up with rocks. But when they beheld the grandeur of Atea they were afraid; they put the adzes back in the basket and fled. So there are still no artisans who can raise Atea, separate sky from earth.

It is a common practice in the Society Islands to invoke Atea (along with Tane and Ta'aroa) during the first bathing of a newborn royal infant "to render sensitive the skin of the child."

New Zealanders call this deity Rangi, or Sky Father; among the Tuamotuans he is Rangi-Atea. In the Society Islands he is Te Tumu, the Source, and the alternate name of Fakahotu is Papa. In Hawaii Atea is known as Wakea, and his wife is Papa.

**Atharva-Veda** One of the four collections of hymns, prayers, and liturgical formulæ which constitute the Vedas, the most sacred literature of the Hindus. This is the latest of the Vedas and probably of popular rather

than priestly origin. It deals with the hostile powers which the sorcerer seeks to win over by flattery or to drive away by imprecations and has nothing to do with the sacrificial ceremony of the three other Vedas.

The *Atharva-Veda* consists of twenty books containing about 730 hymns. Of these the first six books probably formed the nucleus to which additions were gradually made. Many of its hostile spells are intended as remedies for a number of diseases and are to be used with various herbs. Others are charms invoking the dispellers of demons such as water, fire, and healing plants; charms for the prosperity of the fields and flocks, for harmony, for happiness in love and marriage. Among the hostile spells are imprecations against rivals and spells for the expiation of sins or moral transgressions. Some spells are for use in securing power, victory, or fame for the king.

The *Atharva-Veda*, in conjunction with the *Rig-Veda*, is the oldest source of information on early Aryan culture, mythology, and religion. See VEDA.

Athena, Athene, Athenaia, Athana, or Athenaie In Greek religion, the goddess of wisdom, of the arts and sciences, and of war; the virgin goddess. As a goddess of wisdom she was the protectress and preserver of the state, of social institutions and of everything which contributes to the strength and prosperity of the state such as agriculture, industry, and inventions. In this role she was the inventor of the plow and rake and the creator of the olive tree. She also taught men to yoke oxen to the plow and how to tame horses with the bridle. She is credited with the invention of numbers, the flute, the chariot, navigation, and nearly every kind of work in which women are employed as well as the arts of ship-building, goldsmithing, and shoemaking. She was celebrated with Hephaestus as the patron of the useful and elegant arts. As a war goddess Athena represented prudence and intelligence in contrast to Ares, the personification of brute force and rashness. As the patron goddess of the state she was the protectress of the phratries or clans and played an important part in the development of legal ideas. She was believed to have instituted the court of Areopagus.

Athena may have been a Minoan-Mycenaean goddess adopted by the Aryan invaders of Greece. Attempts have been made to identify her with the lightning and thunder but there is no proof that she was ever a cosmological goddess. In early Hellenic history she was the patron deity of cities, especially of Athens where she was one of the three most highly honored gods, the others being Zeus and Apollo. There as Athene Parthenos she represented the artistic and literary genius of the people. Her temple was the Parthenon on the Acropolis.

With the establishment of the Macedonian Empire, Athena lost her position as goddess of a civic empire but remained the Madonna to whose care Athenian boy-athletes and marriageable girls were dedicated. She was worshipped in all parts of Greece and in Rhodes.

In Greco-Egyptian religion she was worshipped at Sais and at Oxyrhynchus she was identified with the local goddess Theris (Taurt). At Delphi as Athena Pronaia or Pronoia she was associated with the amphyctyonic deities Apollo, Leto, and Artemis.

Her epithets are numerous and attest to the variety of her powers and interests. As Optiletis, Oxyderces, and Ophthalmitis she was gifted with keenness of sight and

a powerful intellect. As Athenaia she was the special patron of Athens; as Itonia she was the goddess of Coronea; while at Sparta she was Agoraea, presiding over the popular assemblies. She was also worshipped there as Athena Chalciceus of the Brazen House. As Areia she was a goddess of war; as Agraalos, an agricultural deity. As Alea she was the light or warmth in Arcadia; while as Apaturia and Phratia she was the goddess of the Athenian clans. The epithets Chalanitis (the bridler), Damasippus (horse-taming), and Hippiia refer to her as the goddess of war horses. As Ergane she was the goddess of industry; as Curotrophus, the nurturer of children; as Polias, the goddess of the city; and as Bulla, the goddess of the council. Athena Boarmia, the ox-yoker, was worshipped in Boeotia while Athena Hygieia, the health goddess, was associated with Asklepios at Athens. As Nikē or Nikēphoros Athena was the goddess of victory and was represented in statues as holding an image of Nikē in her outstretched hand. As Athena Mechanitis she was the discoverer of devices and as Athena Promachus, the goddess who fights in front. Her poetic epithet of Pallas or Pallas Athene may have resulted from the myth of her slaying the giant Pallas in the battle between the gods and giants.

A trace of totemism is seen in the name Glaukopis, or owl, which may have been worshipped earlier as a god and which, as so often happened, became the companion of the goddess who succeeded it. The epithets Coryphasia (head or summit), Acria (topmost) and Tritogenis (for the nymph of Lake Tritonis) may have been applied to her because of the myths explaining her birth.

Her most celebrated festival was the Panathenaea which featured a torch race and a regatta. Other festivals held in her honor included the Scirophoria with a procession from the Acropolis to the village of Sciron at the height of the summer to entreat the goddess to prevent great heat; the Chalceia or feast of smiths; the Plynteria and Calluntēria, the feasts of washing and adorning during which her wooden image in the Erechtheum was cleaned and adorned; and the Arrēphoria or Errēphoria during which two maidens began weaving the new peplos made each year for her statue.

Cows, bulls, and rams were usually sacrificed to Athena. She was represented as a woman of severe beauty carrying a lance, helmet, and shield on which was depicted the Gorgon's head. Her attributes were the owl, serpent, cock, crow, and aegis. The images of her which guarded the heights of Athens, called Palladia, represented her with shield uplifted, brandishing her spear to keep off the foe.

Athena was identified with the Egyptian Isis, the Vedic Ushās, with the Roman Minerva, and sometimes with the Persian Anāhita.

In Greek mythology, she was the daughter of Zeus, born from his forehead. According to Hesiod, Metis was her mother but Zeus, on the advice of Gaia and Uranus, fearing the birth of a son who would be greater than he, tricked Metis into changing herself into a fly and then swallowed her, afterwards giving birth to Athena himself. According to Pindar, Hephaestus split the head of Zeus with his ax and Athena sprang forth. Athena has also been regarded as the daughter of the winged giant Pallas whom she afterwards killed because he attempted to violate her chastity. Another tradition calls her the daughter of Poseidon and the nymph Triton or Tritonis

Atnatu's celestial bull-roarer (thunder). Atnatu performs sacred services and punishes mortals who do not sound the bull-roarer at initiation ceremonies.

**Aton or Aten** An Egyptian god of the solar disk: symbolized by the disk with rays ending in human hands. During the reign of Amenhetep IV, this god became officially the one god of Egypt; Amenhetep took the name Ikhnaton, meaning "splendor of Aton"; great temples of the god existed at Thebes and Memphis. This attempt at reducing the power of the priests of Amen failed however, and after they recaptured their original hold on the state religion from Ikhnaton, the worship of Aton died out completely in the land and was never revived. One interesting conjecture holds that Moses was a priest of Aton who was forced to leave Egypt and carried the monotheistic belief into the Arabian desert where it became attached to Jahweh, the principal god of the desert region. Aton was a universal god, the source and embodiment of all, the friend of the oppressed, the comforter of the ailing, the fountain of good.

**Atrous** In Greek legend, the son of Pelops and Hippodamia; father of Agamemnon and Menelaus; king of Mycenae. His wife Arope was seduced by Thyestes, his younger brother, who was consequently banished. Thyestes sent Pleisthenes, Atrous' son, to kill his father by a ruse, but Atrous unwittingly slew his own son. For revenge he killed three sons of Thyestes and served them to their father at a banquet. Thyestes cursed his brother and departed. Later, Atrous was slain by Aegisthus, son of Thyestes.

**Attis or Atys** In Greek and Roman religion, a Phrygian god of vegetation, always worshipped in connection with the Great Mother. Attis was either of Semitic origin or was influenced by Semitic religion. His cult, centralized in Phrygia and Lydia, spread to Greece and finally throughout the Roman Empire.

His worship, characterized by frenzied orgies, was carried to Rome after the worship of Cybele had been adopted by the Romans in 204 B.C. Each year on March 22 a pine tree was cut and brought into the sanctuary of Cybele where it was swathed in woolen bands, decked with violets; an effigy of a young man (Attis) was tied to it. March 24 was known as the Day of Blood, for on this day the ceremonies reached their peak. They were characterized by blood-letting, the barbaric music of flutes and cymbals, and the whirling contortions of the lesser priesthood, who in a frenzy of excitement slashed themselves to bespatter the altar and the sacred tree with their blood. Probably it was on this day that they performed the act of self-emasculation which was an essential part of the cult. On the next day the resurrection of Attis was celebrated in the form of a licentious carnival.

March 26 was a day of repose and the festival closed on March 27 with a procession bearing the image of the goddess Cybele to the Almo River where the wagon and image were bathed.

According to one legend Attis was the son of Cybele; in another he was the son of Nana, daughter of a river god, who was impregnated by an almond (pomegranate). Attis was loved by the hermaphroditic monster Agdistis, but planned to marry Ia, daughter of Midas. Agdistis struck the wedding party with madness, and

Attis castrated himself under a pine tree. Ia committed suicide. From the blood of Attis sprang the violet, and Zeus allowed the body to remain undecayed, the fingernails to grow, and the little finger to move.

In another legend Attis was put to death because of his love for Cybele, daughter of Meion, king of Phrygia and Lydia. The plague and famine which followed drove the Phrygians to institute the worship of Attis and Cybele. In a Lydian version of the story Attis was killed by a boar.

**atua or otua** In Polynesian belief, a spirit; any supernatural being, whether animistic, ancestral, or human. Some persons were recognized as atua while yet alive, for example priestesses of Pele in Hawaii who embodied the goddess and lived in seclusion on the volcanoes where she manifested herself. Atuas were of great sacredness; among the Maori, mention even of the name of some atuas required many precautions. As in all animistic belief, atuas resided in and displayed themselves in the various natural phenomena: animals, fish, wind, rain, mountains, forests, plants, even in war and songs and dances. The power of a chief derived from the atua of an ancestor of the tribe.

**Audhumla or Audhumbla** In Scandinavian mythology, the monstrous cow, formed in Ginnungagap by the cold from Niflheim and the heat from Muspellsheim. She sustained the first giant, Ymir, with her four streams of milk and herself fed from the salty hoarfrost, licking it into the being, Buri, whose son Bor was the father of the gods Odin, Vili, and Ve.

**Augean stables** In Greek legend, the stables of Augeas, containing 3000 oxen, which had not been cleaned for 30 years. Hercules' fifth task, set by Eurystheus, was to clean these stables. This was accomplished in the required single day by turning two rivers through them. Augeas then reneged on the pledge of a tenth of his herds to Hercules, exiling his own son Phyleus who had witnessed the feat and sided against him. Later Hercules slew Augeas.

In a New Zealand legend, Rupe, one of the younger Maui, performed a similar task, cleaning the debris-filled courtyard of Rehua's house.

**augurs** Members of a priestly class whose duty it is to read and interpret omens, particularly with ceremonial observances. There have been several such groups; the best known were in Mexico, Peru, and Rome. The Roman augurs belonged to one of the four great priestly colleges. They are first recorded in Numa's time, but were much more ancient. Their number varied from three or four in early times to 16 under Julius Caesar. The augurs had great political power, as they were able to suspend certain public affairs by the unchallengeable declaration of an unfavorable omen. The *lituus* (a bent staff without knots) and the *trabea* (toga with scarlet stripes and purple border) were the insignia of office. The augur, accompanied by a magistrate, marked with his staff a *templum* both on the ground and in the sky at midnight. He then sat in a tent within the templum and watched for signs. Signs in the east, usually on the left, were considered favorable; those on the other hand unfavorable.

**augury** Divination from the flight or song of birds (ornithomancy), or generally from omens such as light-

ning, thunder, or the movements of animals, usually under formal, ceremonial conditions (compare AUGURS): a practice both ancient and widespread, from Homeric Greece and ancient India to modern Melanesia and Africa. Strictly speaking, augury should be limited to the observation of auspices (Latin *avis*, bird, and *specia*, view) but commonly it is applied to divination in general, since the Roman augurs themselves used other omens than those from birds. The most usual omen birds are the crow or raven, and the hawk or eagle. Augury may have arisen from the belief that birds, inhabitants of the heavens, partake therefore of the divine; or it may spring from a totemistic linking between the bird or animal and the person affected. The eagle and serpent emblem in Mexico's coat of arms mirrors the legend of the founding of Mexico City in 1325, when a group of Nahuas saw the two on the shores of the lake and accepted this as a good omen for the establishing of the city there.

**auki** In the religion of the Quechua of Peru, a mountain spirit. It is believed in the Peruvian Andes that mountain peaks are inhabited by these spirits and contain concealed haciendas equipped with herds of livestock guarded by the servants of the aukis. These servants include the vicuñas which are the spirit's llamas, the condors (his chickens) and Ccoa (his cat, the most feared of his servants).

The aukis are called upon by sorcerers to help in curing, and the superior sorcerers (the alto misayoc) converse with the aukis while divining. In Kauri curing is performed by a brujo or curer who enters the sickroom which contains coca, sugar, a bottle of aguardiente, a whip, and 20 centavos. The brujo darkens the room and places a piece of white paper on the floor. He whistles three times and the auki enters through the roof and settles on the paper. Then follows a conversation conducted, with the aid of ventriloquism, between the auki and the brujo in which the cause and treatment of the malady are revealed. The auki then flies out by way of the roof, the brujo consumes the coca, etc., takes the 20 centavos, and leaves.

**Auld Lang Syne** A song with words set by Robert Burns to an old Scottish folk melody, also known as *The Miller's Wedding* and *The Miller's Daughter*. The Burns setting, widely popular in English-speaking countries, has been adopted as a toast of friendship to be sung as a closing song for social gatherings, and at midnight on New Year's Eve.

**aunga** In Melanesian belief, the good part or soul-substance of a man, which passes away after death, in contrast with the adaro which is the bad part and remains after death as a ghost.

**Aunt Nancy** The Spider: corruption of Anansi in Gullah (South Carolina) folktale. See AFRICAN AND NEW WORLD NEGRO FOLKLORE.

**Auriga** The Charioteer: a large constellation of the northern hemisphere, represented as a young man holding a whip in his right hand and carrying Capella, the Goat, with her Kids in his left arm. It is believed that this concept of the constellation is as old as the ancient peoples of the Euphrates. But the early Arabs thought of it as a Mule, as did also the Turks. Latin writers, Germanicus for instance, identified it with the lame

Erichonius who needed a chariot to get around. Others identified it with the charioteer of Genomaus, named Myrtilus, others with Hippolytus; others called it the Charioteer and Rein-holder. Biblical astronomers have likened it to St. Jerome, to the Good Shepherd, and to Jacob deceiving Isaac with "the savoury meat of two good kids."

**Aurora Borealis** The northern lights: a brilliant radiance visible only at night in the sky of high northern latitudes, usually appearing in streamers varying in color from pale yellow to blood red, sometimes as an arch of light across the heavens. The phenomenon is thought to be electrical but many explanations are given by the peoples of northern countries. The Eskimos and Tlingit Indians believe that it is the spirits of the dead at play and occurs after the death of many people; the Saulteaux Indians say that it is the spirits of the dead dancing. The Mandans explain the Aurora Borealis as an assembly of medicine men and warriors of northern nations boiling their prisoners and enemies in huge pots. The Makah Indians believe the phenomenon is caused by a race of small Indians cooking seal and walrus meat. The Kwakiutl Indians say it is the souls of deceased members of a family dancing for those living or about to die.

The Greeks and Romans were familiar with it: Pliny thought it due to natural causes but would not deny that it might have some connection with untoward events. The Norse explained it in terms of the light reflected from the shields of the Valkyries while gathering the heroes slain in battle. In an Estonian folktale the Aurora Borealis is explained as a wedding in the sky attended by guests whose sledges and horses emit the radiance. In Scotland the phenomenon is used in predicting weather. If it appears low on the horizon there will be no change; if it is high in the sky stormy weather will follow. The Finns believe it to be the souls of the dead and the Ostyak say it is the fires kept burning by the god of fish, Yeman'gnyem, to show travelers the way in winter.

**austerities** In the social, moral, and religious life of primitive people austerities or acts of discipline, self-inflicted or willingly borne, replace the asceticism of more advanced peoples. Austerities may be undergone for magical purposes, to make life more tolerable, to placate the gods, as initiatory ceremonies, or during a period of mourning.

Austerities vary considerably in their extent and nature, ranging from sacrifice involving property or possessions to seclusion for a long or short period of time, exposure to the elements, flagellation, fasting, or abstinence from specific foods, gashing or cutting the body, mutilation of some member of the body, bloodletting, making of scars or cicatrices, amputation, circumcision, subincision, excision, knocking out or filing of teeth, tattooing, and the supreme sacrifice (widows of India) of death. These ordeals must be undergone, usually, without any show of pain, although many of them are so rigorous that death often results.

During adolescence initiation ceremonies, for example, an Indian boy of the Californina tribes of North America was stung with nettles until he could not move, then subjected to the stinging of ants. After this he fasted.

Initiation into the priesthood in early societies is characterized by a severe training involving many austerities. Since the medicine man usually performs his functions while in a state of trance, or ecstasy, it is necessary for him to learn how to induce such conditions. This is frequently done by undergoing austerities. The Greenland angakok trainee induces trances by excessive fasting. The Guiana novitiate fasts, wanders alone in the forest, and drinks tobacco-juice water, to attain a state of delirium. After training the abnormal state is more easily produced, sometimes spontaneously, sometimes by artificial means such as flagellation, fasting, or the use of narcotics.

**Australian aboriginal mythology** Since the 18th century when the English and Dutch first described Australia, it has seemed to the civilized world a natural history museum of "living fossils," primitive types of animals, plants, and human beings, preserved through isolation and lack of contact with more advanced types either to stimulate development or cause extinction. Smallest of the continents, Australia has less than three million square miles of desert, bush, and grass fringed on the northeast and east by forests of acacia and giant eucalyptus. Archaic types of animals include egg-laying mammals like the duckbill and spiny anteater; marsupials like the kangaroo, bandicoot, wallaby, and wombat; and flightless birds like the emu and cassowary. These and other creatures have leading roles in Australian mythology which describes the origin and nature of peculiarities of animals, plants, and physiographic features, together with their cultural and assumed biological affiliations with human beings. These explanatory tales, R. B. Dixon states (1914), are "as typical, on the whole, for Australia as are the Maui myths for Polynesia, the wise and foolish brothers for Melanesia, or the trickster stories for Indonesia."

Though lacking agriculture, pottery, metallurgy, writing, and domesticated animals (except for the half-domesticated dingo, a disputed member of the genus *Canis*), the aborigines had achieved an adjustment to the inhospitable environment by a seminomadic, food-gathering economy which in 1788, when the British annexed eastern Australia and Tasmania, supported an estimated 300,000 individuals divided into over 300 separate tribes, each with its own dialect, territory, and subdivisions into hordes (Elkin, 1938). The complex social organization and world view counteract the effect of cultural poverty given by the meager material culture. The close spiritual, temporal, and spatial continuity and cohesion of members of a local group with their ancestors and home territory are expressed intellectually in myths told at ceremonies, now popularly called corroborees, where discussion among the men leads to a form fixed as to sequence of events and important details.

Much of Australia, except the extreme south and parts of the east (Knowles, 1937), has a characteristic mythological pattern that concerns the careers of totemic ancestors. Sometimes the ancestors, while possessed of supernormal powers, are human; sometimes they combine human with botanical and zoological qualities. During the mythical past, the "dream time" (called *Alchera* by the Aranda of central Australia, whose terminology has become anthropological *lingua franca*),

they emerged from the ground or a remote direction, often northerly, to wander over the horde's land. At "story places," now sacred spots and totemic centers, near water holes or elsewhere along their "dream path," they created plant and animal species, modified the landscape, and established ceremonies and customs for their descendants to follow. They named places, species, and natural phenomena, and created songs and sacred objects like that called *Churinga* by the Aranda (Spencer and Gillen, 1927), which are used in *Intichiuma*, food-increase rites, or in boys' initiation ceremonies. Before disappearing into the earth or sky or transforming themselves into rocks or creatures, after having tried out different places to settle, they left either their own spirits or spirit children in various incarnations to enter women magically to be reborn.

Illustrating the pattern is the narrative of Great Western Desert tribes (Tindale, 1936; Berndt, 1941) who tell of the Wati Kutjara, "Two Men," of the eternal dream time, who came from the northwest. One was lazy, the other energetic. As each had a species of iguana as a totem they are sometimes called "Men Iguana"; occasionally they assumed iguana disguise and used iguana designs on objects they made. On their "walkabout," the route of which men today follow ceremonially to reenact ancestral deeds ("We must do the same as did Wati Kutjara"), they made water holes, physiographic features, and the ceremonial board comparable to the *Churinga*, which they hid. They went on, made a bull-roarer, and subincised each other. With a magic boomerang they killed a wanderer who tried to steal their women and turned him into stone (the first death). Later they made ritual headresses before going out of the territory or into the sky. A sample of the narrative follows . . . "after making a waterhole at Kanba, they proceeded northeastwards to Windaldal where they made rock shelters. From Windaldal they travelled west to Pinnal where they built an enclosure of cliffs suitable for corralling and spearing kangaroos when they come to water. Then they went north along the low scarp-face to Tjawan where they made trees, the fruit of which they stacked in heaps and made into fruit cakes by pounding them on stone mills. They went back again to Kulardu and here they accidentally left their spears, from which trees, yielding wood fine for spears, sprang up."

Each individual authority knew only portions referring to his horde's land; the total history was assembled from different hordes and tribes in the region. Spiritual and economic factors bind an aborigine to well-defined and respected boundaries. When he goes anywhere that his totemic ancestors have not traveled, he feels himself a transient in dire danger. Mythology makes the land home and tells him how to live in it. To be reborn, he must die in familiar territory so that his spirit will know its path and not wander homeless in totemic form. Mythological history is ritually reenacted to the accompaniment of myths, songs, paintings, and dramatic representations that revitalize the religious and emotional bond between people, land, and ancestors.

Though excluded from many ceremonies women, at least in northwestern tribes (Kaberry, 1939), are specialists on myths sanctioning rites involving the increase of certain plants, and the laws of female totemic ancestors responsible for the origin of birth and related



matters. Besides serious myths associated with ritual, tales are told in everyday life for the fun of telling and listening to stories.

References to the mythical past constitute the final word on any debated matter. Adding authority is the name of the principal totemic ancestor, like Baiame of New South Wales, who by earlier writers was regarded as an All-Father, and the rainbow serpent associated with rain and fertility and known over much of the continent, being especially important in the northwest where he is called Kalseru. A moral tone dominates many myths. For example, the Wikmunkan tribe of Cape York Peninsula (McConnel, 1935) tells of the punishment of two male initiates who killed flying fox, tabu to them. The Murngin tribe of Arnhem Land (Warner, 1937) narrates how Bamapama, a trickster hero, committed many asocial acts including incest. His character and adventures recall Coyote of North American Indian mythology. Laughter and ridicule of his behavior express both vicarious enjoyment of tabooed acts and disapproval of "crazy men" like him.

One of the most valuable analyses of style, structure, and function of myth cycles is given by Warner (1937) for the Murngin tribe for the Wawilak and Djunkgao myths and rituals.

Existing regional differences in mythology have scarcely been analyzed; emphasis has been on description of function. The problems of analyzing mythic elements, tracing their distribution, noting their variations, and classifying them are rendered more difficult because mythological characters having the same name or dialectal variants of the same name are rare in Australia, unlike Polynesia. The prominence of certain names in discussions of Australian mythology is rarely due to their wide provenience but to their value as representative characters. For example, though the concept of a rainbow serpent is widely diffused, his name differs from one region to another.

Dixon's distinction, made in 1914, between two major mythological areas paralleling linguistic areas, is valuable now mainly as a springboard for further research which should include the numerous recent collections. Dixon distinguished between a southern and eastern area, on the one hand, and a northern and central, on the other; little had been recorded then in the west. Few tales or incidents are common to both areas, Dixon found, a view which further research would perhaps modify. Many hero myths in the central area are, he stated, known only to limited groups and not even to an entire tribe.

Australians, he pointed out, assume world pre-existence, but have much about the origin of, for example, mankind, fire, death, and natural phenomena. Explanatory myths, common throughout the continent, are obscured in the northern and central area by accounts, absent in the other area, about the careers of totemic ancestors. The south and east, unlike the north and central region, has more or less definite tales of a creator-being and creation together with myths about creation of man. The north either assumes man's pre-existence or narrates an explanation, widely known in Australia and present in Tasmania, about amorphous beings who were fashioned into human shape.

Tindale (1946) distinguished four different strata of myths: (1) simple tales of hunting and food-gathering

told in the extreme south and in Tasmania about characters who act like human beings; (2) "man hero" tales, including those about Baiame and Wati Kutjara, of southern Australia from east to west, transitional to (3) myths about totemic ancestors with plant or animal qualities, told in central, northern, and northwestern Australia, and finally, (4) Papuan myths lately diffused into Cape York Peninsula.

The view of Australian aborigines as "living fossils" stems, in part, from their physical type, which, while having some characteristics of each, is neither Caucasian, Mongolian, nor Negro. Though regarded by certain scholars as Neanderthaloid, or otherwise related to precursors of *Homo sapiens*, the aborigines are customarily grouped into a separate racial division, the Australoid, representative of protomodern man.

Comparative mythology has not, at least as yet, shed much light on Australian origins. In the assumed migration from Asia via Indonesia into Australia, Negroid Tasmanians probably preceded Australians, who replaced them on the continent, but not in Tasmania where European settlers have since exterminated them. One theory has Tasmanians by-passing Australia to reach their island. Neither Australians nor Tasmanians (except occasional tribes in Cape York Peninsula) have myths about ancestors and heroes traveling from other parts of Oceania into their present country. Mythology, reflecting the basically similar culture of Australia and Tasmania, includes common elements relating to the origin of fire, the dual heroes or twin myth, the revival of dead people by stinging ants, the belief that characters become stars or constellations, and the myth that two sky-beings, perhaps twins, shaped rudimentary creatures into human beings. Tasmanian fragments of myths recount that two strange men, dwellers in Castor and Pollux, threw fire to human beings. Later the two rescued the bodies of two women slain at a pool by a monster and revived them with stinging ants. Then the four disappeared to become stars.

Melanesian resemblances, to Dixon, are most marked in southern and eastern Australia where occur themes like swan-maiden, spear chain to the sky (continental counterpart of arrow chain), liberation of concealed water, and theft of fire kept in a creature's body. The latter theme, also known to Aranda who tell of a male euro keeping fire in his sexual parts, is familiar to Polynesians and Micronesians. An embryonic being shaped into human form appears in Indonesian and Polynesian myths, where, in Hawaii, Maui himself is the artist. Dixon finds only hints of typically Melanesian tales about wise and foolish brothers in southern Australia. Papuan resemblances to central and northern mythology, Dixon notes, are of a negative sort in the virtual absence of cosmogonic myths and the restriction of many tales to small groups.

To Thomson, certain Cape York hero myths associated with a cult are Papuan in origin but reinterpreted by Australians to fit their totemic-ancestor complex; McConnel's theory (1936) about them is almost exactly opposite. Warner (1932) finds no distinct Malay mythological themes among Murngin visited by Malay voyagers, though beliefs about Malays are incorporated into myths.

The mentality and mythology of the aborigines have been the subject of innumerable theories, including

those of Freud, Durkheim, and Lévy-Bruhl, based on the assumption, denied by many scholars, that the aborigines, having the most primitive culture known today, illustrate how early ancestors of all mankind lived and the nature of their intellectual and spiritual concepts.

Many of the following items cited below in order of first reference in the text have bibliographies. R. B. Dixon, "Oceanic" in *Mythology of All Races*, vol. 9 (Boston) 1916; A. P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines* (Sydney) 1938; N. Knowles, "Australian Cult Totemism," in *Twenty-fifth Anniversary Studies* (ed. D. S. Davidson), Publ. Phila. Anthropol. Soc., 1937; B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, 2 vols. (London) 1927; N. B. Tindale, "Legend of the Wati Kutjara . . ." *Oceania*, vol. 7, pp. 169-185, 1936; R. M. Berndt, "Tribal migrations and myths . . ." *Oceania*, vol. 12, pp. 1-20, 1941; P. M. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman* (London) 1939; U. H. McConnell, "Myths of the Wikmunkan," *Oceania*, vol. 6, pp. 66-93, 1935; vol. 6, pp. 452-477, 1936; W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York) 1937; N. B. Tindale, "Australian (aboriginal)" in *Encyclopedia of Literature* (ed. J. Shipley) New York, 1946; Davidson, D. S., "The Relation of Tasmanian and Australian Cultures" in *Twenty-fifth Anniversary Studies*, Publ. Phila. Anthropol. Soc., 1937; D. F. Thomson, "Notes on a Hero Cult from the Gulf of Carpentaria, North Queensland," *Royal Anthropol. Inst. Grt. Brit. and Ireland, Jour.*, vol. 63, pp. 453-537, 1935, and vol. 64, pp. 217-235, 1934; U. H. McConnell, "Totemic Hero Cults in Cape York Peninsula . . ." *Oceania*, vol. 6, pp. 452-477; vol. 7, pp. 69-105, 1936; W. L. Warner, "Malay Influences on the Aboriginal Cultures of Northeastern Arnhem Land," *Oceania*, vol. 2, pp. 476-495, 1932; S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (New York) 1924; E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (trans. J. W. Swain), London, 1926; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *La Mythologie Primitive* (Paris) 1935; Also see other articles in *Oceania* and *Journals of Royal Anthropol. Inst. of Grt. Brit. and Ireland*; K. L. Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales* (London) 1897; *More Australian Legendary Tales* (London) 1898; W. R. Smith, *Myths and Legends of the Australian Aborigines* (London) 1930; and A. van Gennep, *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie* (Paris) 1905.

KATHARINE LUOMALA

**autograph album rimes** Verses, preferably original, were written in personal blankbooks called albums by relatives, acquaintances, and schoolmates of the owners of the albums, asserting undying friendship, conveying good wishes, prophesying a bright future, or merely asking to be remembered forever. The rimes were signed, dated, often decorated elaborately with floral designs and calligraphic flourishes and paraphs, and the residence of the writer usually given.

There was great variety in the size, shape, decoration and binding of the albums, and the type of verse changed greatly with the decades. Every album was different, reflecting the taste and circumstances of the owners.

Autograph albums first appeared in any great numbers in America in the 1820's and 1830's, then increased in popularity slowly until the sentimental seventies and elegant eighties when they were quite the rage. Sporadic revivals of the craze have taken place since, and some stationers report it current now, but of late years it has been increasingly confined to teen-agers and rural

romantics. Modern writers of album verse are apt to apologize by tending toward burlesque. The echoes sound mocking.

But students of folklore know that album verse with its ancient and honorable history needs no defense or exculpation. The custom stems directly from the album amicorum and the German Stammbuch, and for four hundred years has been followed by both the mighty and the meek.

It was about the mid-16th century that there suddenly appeared and spread rapidly among university students throughout Europe, first in Germany but soon thereafter in Scotland and England, the custom of carrying about a little leatherbound book called an *album amicorum*. It was not merely a "book of friends" as a superficial translation would indicate. In the lingua franca or conversational Latin of that day, used by scholars of all countries, amicus meant not only a friend in our modern sense of the word, but also was practically synonymous with patronus and socius. That is, in the album amicorum the student would seek to have inscribed the names and approving sentiments of patrons and protectors, companions and comrades, as well as those of his intimate friends. Students traveled widely then, and a book full of recommendations was of great practical value as well as of sentimental and even literary importance. Some of the artistic alba amicorum containing names of note which have survived wear and worm are almost priceless today.

James F. K. Johnstone, F.S.A., Scot., in *The Alba Amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, and Thomas Cumming* (printed for the Univ. of Aberdeen, 1924), throws some light on an otherwise neglected subject. At a time when Scotch students were traveling all over Europe these three lads' alba cover most of the years between 1599 and 1619. One gets the rare flavor of the times when Johnstone quotes some of the rimes. In 1602 Robert Stuart wrote in Strachan's album the quaint and rather touching couplet:

Ev'n so thocht fortoun force us to dissiver  
I sall induer your faethfull frind for ever.

And in 1605 J. Hopkyns wrote in Craig's vade mecum:

Be as thou art my worthie friend,  
A Rock that firm remains.  
That in the end the Rock of rocks  
May guerdon all thy paines.

Thus early we have a good example of a frequently occurring whimsy common to album writers unto this day who needs must bring in cunningly and usually punningly the name of the owner of the album. (Craig is Scotch for rock; cf. our craig.)

In Germany the album amicorum was more likely to be called a Stammbuch, for, as the name implies, it was more of a family affair. Even today in New York among families of German descent the folk custom persists that all accessible members of the family must be among the first to write in a new autograph album.

Thus we find a century and a half ago the great Goethe himself writing in his young son's Stammbuch the opening inscription which might be roughly translated into English:

Hand to the patron the book, and hand it to friend  
and companion;  
Hand to the traveler too, passing swift on his way;

He who with friendly gift, be it word or name,  
 thee enriches,  
 Stores up for thee a treasure of noble remembrance  
 for aye.

In this book Schiller wrote, but when the boy asked Madame de Staël to autograph it, she flung it from her petulantly and said: "I do not like these mortuary tables!" Ladies with less foresight are doubtless responsible for the fact that hardly an album is to be found today without several pages missing.

The extent to which the circulation of these little books was carried may be inferred from the fact that Goethe owned one that had belonged to the Baron de Burkana who in his travels had collected 3,532 entries, expressions of esteem and friendship adorned with "compliments, maxims, epigrams, witticisms, and anecdotes" including contributions from Montesquieu and Voltaire.

The names of Charles Lamb and Leigh Hunt are definitely and often connected with the writing of romantic album verses in England in the first half of the 19th century. Both loudly deplored the vogue of young ladies chasing celebrities to secure not merely their signatures but an original sentimental poem as well, and gratis. Hunt might write for a damsel's album the protesting lines:

Albums are records kept by gentle dames  
 To show us that their friends can write their names,

and Lamb might growl about:

Those books kept by modern young ladies for show,  
 Of which their plain Grandmothers nothing did know,  
 but both poets knew as well as a Hollywood actor the publicity value of a crowd of autograph hunters. In fact, Lamb admitted as much in the preface of a volume of such verses, published in 1830: "I had on my hands sundry copies of verses written for albums . . . I feel little interest in their publication. They are simply advertisement verses."

Among these publicity poems were those written "In the Album of a Clergyman's Lady" in which he compares albums in turn to Gardens of wholesome herbs, Cabinets of curious porcelain, Chapels full of living friends, and Holy Rooms full of spirits of lost loved ones; "In the Album of a French Teacher"; "In the Album of a Very Young Lady"; and "In the Album of Lucy Barker."

Lucy was a young Quakeress, and Lamb took the opportunity to compare her innocence and purity with the spotlessness of her new album. Hundreds of writers since have rung the changes on the etymological derivation of the word album from the Latin adjective meaning "white," but none have matched the first and last stanzas of Lamb's ideal album poem:

Little book, surnamed of white,  
 Clean as yet, and fair to sight,  
 Keep thy attribution right . . .  
 Whitest thoughts in whitest dress,  
 Candid meanings, best express  
 Mind of quiet Quakeress.

By the time Lamb was writing in Lucy's album, the custom had spread to America and taken vigorous root. An old man, writing in *Chambers Journal* for Sat., Aug. 30, 1873, reminisced: "Those who can look back for half a century will remember the rage there was in their

youthful days for albums. . . . legion was not a name multitudinous enough for them; literary men crouched under their tyranny; young maidens wielded them as rods of iron . . . Splendid books they were in their day, bound in rich morocco and gold, and often contained contributions from Scott, Moore, Montgomery and Praed; whilst Prout's beautiful sketches adorned their pages side by side with other artists."

The album-writing fad suffered a sea-change in crossing the Atlantic, for while the Montgomery-Hunt-Lamb style florid did obtain for a period in young ladies' seminaries and similar circles, and we do have a Blendenia writing in the album of Elizabeth her classmate in Homer Academy in 1834:

Enough has Heaven indulged of joy below  
 To tempt our tarrance in this loved retreat,  
 Enough has Heaven indulged of secret woe  
 To make us languish for a happier scene,

we also note a lighter touch appearing as early as 1836, when Mary wrote in the album of Augusta of Coxsackie, N. Y., the chaste but purposely ambiguous:

I wish you health and happiness  
 And heavenly grace beside  
 And if you have another wish  
 That it may be supplied.

Once well started, the album verse burgeoned into many varieties which would have shocked Goethe. Everybody began writing poetry, or verse, or doggerel, using sheer nerve or Yankee ingenuity when talent gave out. One can but admire the originality of the Tillie who in 1856 wrote in the album of Mary Tice of Newburgh, N. Y.,

Ma chere amie Marie  
 Until life's last sand has run  
 May thy days flow lightly on  
 Is wished by Tillie Stevenson.

The emphasis on originality drew protests, of which the following was the most often used:

You ask me for something original:  
 I scarcely know how to begin,  
 For there's nothing original in me  
 Unless it's original sin.

Brief verses became popular, especially among the young men who settled for one like:

If on this page you chance to look,  
 Just think of the writer and shut the book.

There were several tricky arrangements, such as turning the book upside down and writing merely:

I'm the girl who ruined your book  
 By writing upside down.

or revolving the book and writing spirally or in concentric circles:

Round is the ring that hath no end;  
 So is my love to you, my friend.

The last page of the album was much sought, with a mock humility, and was often crowded with several:

Way back here just out of spite  
 These two lines do I indite.

Way over here at this back end  
 I inscribe myself your sincere friend.

Faded leaves, usually rose geranium, scent old albums,  
accompanied by the couplet:

On this leaf, in memory pressed,  
May my name forever rest.

Pine needles were attached to album leaves and subscribed with the ever popular:

I pine fir yew:  
I also balsam.

In one century-old album I found a curl of human hair  
glued gruesomely above this verse:

This lock of hair I once did ware  
I now commit it to your care:  
And when you view this lock I've braided  
Then think of her whose brow it shaded  
H.P.B.D. June 24, 1840

In other less literal ways the young ladies let down  
their hair in these albums:

This is the girl that got a kiss  
And ran to tell her mother:  
That she may live to be an old maid  
And never get another.

Pray do not be so fickle  
As to love each man you see  
Or you'll get into a pickle  
Before you're twenty-three.

If you wish to be blessed with Heavenly Joys,  
Think more of God and less of the boys.

Remember me when at the tub,  
Remember me before you rub,  
If the suds should be too hot,  
Lather away, forget me not!

Boys did not like to write in these albums, but sometimes took the chance to retaliate thus:

When this you see, remember me,  
And take a little catnip tea

(This is somewhat subtle, for the brew was consolation  
for old maids.)

When you get married and have twins,  
Don't come to my house for safety-pins.  
Fall out of the cradle, fall into the river,  
But never never never fall in love.

The masculine revolt revealed itself in another way—  
writing answers opposite or below trite sayings. Where  
a feminine hand had written:

Great oaks from little acorns grow,  
there was likely to appear nearby a scrawled reply:

Great aches from little toe corns grow.

The second line of:

Remember well and bear in mind  
That a true friend is hard to find

would be crossed out and this line substituted:

That a jaybird's tail sticks out behind.

I remember that one of my boy cousins hated the rime:

Early to bed and early to rise  
Makes a man healthy wealthy and wise

and rephrased it in a girl cousin's album:

Makes a man mad and pulls out his eyes.

And a fellow who had been reproved for his mulish  
obstinacy in refusing to write in a girl's album finally  
seized the book and wrote:

On a mule you find two feet behind;  
Two feet you find before:  
You stand behind before you find  
What the two behind be for.

Just as the valentine, the rimed expression of love,  
when it became saccharine and stickily sentimental,  
found its rebuke in the shocking comic valentine, so its  
sister, the rimed expression of friendship in an album  
verse, when it became too vulnerable, was sure to be  
correctively treated by an observant realist.

When I arrange chronologically my collection of  
several thousand American autograph album rimes, I  
find I have a rather valuable means of insight into the  
changing folk life and folk thought from 1820 up to  
today. Recently I asked the proprietor of a large and  
long-established New York stationery store if he thought  
autograph albums were coming in again, and he replied  
laconically: "They never went out, mister."

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Autolycus** In Greek mythology, the son of Hermes,  
celebrated for his skill as a thief. He built up his flocks  
by stealing his neighbors' sheep and mingling them with  
his own, until Sisyphus outwitted him by secretly mark-  
ing his sheep on the soles of their hooves.

**automaton** An automatic contrivance in human or  
animal form which imitates the actions of living things.  
The use of automata in folktales is almost world-wide.  
One of the earliest automaton legends tells how the  
mythical Dædalus invented the bronze man, slain by  
the Argonauts.

In the Middle Ages the imagination was constantly  
stirred by attempts to invent automata and perpetual  
motion machines. In the 11th century Ibn Gabirol  
created a mechanical servant who would do his bidding  
when he placed the Divine name in its mouth or on its  
forehead. The legendary Polish Rabbi, Elijah, created  
an automaton that grew so big he was forced to destroy  
it. In the 16th century, Rabbi Löw of Prague created  
the Golem, who worked on all days of the week as long  
as a plate inscribed with the Divine Name was kept  
under its tongue. On Friday evening the plate was re-  
moved so that the Sabbath would not be desecrated. One  
Friday, however, this was forgotten and the automaton  
fell to bits.

While automata most frequently have human form  
in folktales, they are sometimes dolls (Hindu, Italian)  
or animals (Italian, Jewish, Norse, American Indian,  
Koryak). Human-shaped automata frequently are statues  
or images able to render judgments (Arabian), indicate  
a favor to a suppliant (German, English, Spanish, medie-  
val), reveal a crime (Indian), weep (Swiss), or sew  
(Spanish). They are frequently men wrought of iron in  
Danish and Asiatic tales. See BRAZEN HEAD.

**ava** Literally, mother, in the language of the Mord-  
vins: often used for the names of female protecting spir-  
its. For example, *mastor-ava* is the mistress of the Earth;  
*kou-ava*, the deity of the Moon, *varm-ava*, the mother  
of wind, *vir-ava*, mistress of the forest, *ved-ava*, the  
mother of water, *tol-ava*, the guardian of fire, and *kud-  
ava* is the spirit of the house. The word *ava* is of Turkish-  
Tartarian origin. Compare AWA. [JB]

**Avalokita or Avalokitesvara** In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the god of mercy or compassion, the Bodhisattva whose face is turned in every direction in order to save everyone; the son of the Buddha Amitābha. In his early development Avalokita was usually depicted with four or seven other bodhisattvas surrounding or below a Buddha. His dwelling place is in the paradise of Amitābha, Sukhāvati, and at the end of the present age he will appear as the thousandth and last Buddha.

In his later development Avalokita became the national god of Tibet, eclipsing Amitābha. As patron of the Tibetan Church, he is incarnated in the person of the Dalai Lāma. He is represented in icons as human in form with two arms and one head. In one hand he holds a lotus, with the other he makes the gesture of a blessing. When he is identified with Śiva his eyes, faces, and arms are multiplied. In one figure he is represented with 11 heads and 1000 arms.

In China, Avalokita was identified with the personification of the cosmic female energy and evolved into the feminine Kuan-yin.

**Avalon** In Arthurian legend, the island (first mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, c. 1136) where Arthur's sword Caliburnus (Excalibur) was made and to which Arthur was conveyed for the curing of his wounds after his battle with Mordred. Geoffrey later described it in the *Vita Merlini* as the Isle of Apples, where vegetation flourished, men lived to be over a hundred, and the beautiful Morgan le Fay and her eight sisters dwelt, skilled in the healing arts and in flying through the air. The fullest account of Avalon as an elysian isle is given in the *Gesta Regum Britanniae* (c. 1235). The tradition goes back ultimately to the pagan Celtic concept of an island of fairy women, of which Old Irish voyage-sagas preserve a record. In Welsh we find mention of Ynis Avallach, which meant, somewhat confusingly, either Isle of an Apple-orchard or Isle of Avallach, father of the goddess Modron. The Breton *conteurs* took over the tradition from the Welsh and adopted the form Avalon, perhaps influenced by the name of the famous Burgundian town. Celebrated under this name by the wandering Bretons, the fairy isle became known to Geoffrey, Marie de France, and the French romancers. When the tradition of this mysterious land, whither Arthur had been conveyed, thus returned to Britain, there was speculation as to where Avalon was located. Now the Welsh seem to have equated their mythical Isle of Apples with an equally mythical elysian Isle of Glass, for this explains how Avalon came to be identified with Glastonbury. Before 1136 the Welsh monk Caradoc of Lancarvan asserted (mistakenly) that the name Glastonbury was a translation of Isle of Glass. Later some ingenious person must have argued that since the Isle of Apples was the Isle of Glass and since the Isle of Glass was Glastonbury, ergo Avalon was Glastonbury. This inference was supported by the fact that Glastonbury was almost surrounded by marshes and lay in apple-growing Somerset. But where was Arthur? Since he certainly was not to be found at Glastonbury in the flesh, he must have died, contrary to the belief of the Bretons and Welsh. This the realistic Anglo-Normans were willing enough to believe. So in 1190 or 1191 the monks of Glastonbury professed to have discovered in their cemetery the bones of Arthur and Guinevere, with an identifying inscription, and down to

the dissolution of the monasteries the tomb was to be seen. Thus the Celtic isle of women became firmly fixed among the green marshlands of Somerset, no longer the abode of immortals, but the burial place of a British hero. And so we find that Malory combines both versions of Arthur's end. In one chapter he is borne away in a barge by the weeping queens, presumably to their fairy isle; in the next we find him buried by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a chapel near Glastonbury. [RSL]

**avalou or yanvalou** Literally, supplication: one of the vodun dances of Haiti, characterized by violent arm- and shoulder-muscle movements. [CRK]

**avatar or avatara** In Hindu religion and mythology, the incarnation of a deity as a man or animal, especially that of Vishnu who, according to the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, is reincarnated to defend his rule whenever there is a decline in the law and an increase in iniquity. Vishnu went through ten incarnations: 1) Matsya or Fish, 2) Kūrma or Tortoise, 3) Varāha or Boar, 4) Narasinha or Man-lion, 5) Vāmana or Dwarf, 6) Paraśurāma or Rāma with an ax, 7) Rāma, the gentle Rāma, hero of the *Rāmāyana*, 8) Kṛishṇa the black, 9) Buddha, and 10) Kalkī, the white horse. The first five avatars were mythological, the next three heroic, the ninth religious, the tenth is yet to come. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the number of specified incarnations is extended to 22 with the statement that the incarnations of Vishnu are innumerable.

**Avenger's Sword** A Danish ballad (DGF25) celebrating the grim weapon of Scandinavian tradition which "leaps to kill" of itself and sometimes even turns upon its holder. In this ballad it says, "Now lust I for thine own heart's blood. Hadst thou not named me by my name, right now should I have been thy bane." Compare TYRFING. See BALLAD; NAME; SWORDS.

**Avesta** The sacred book containing the teachings of Zoroaster, now the holy scripture of the Gabars of Iran and the Parsis of India: also the dialect in which it is written. Originally the *Avesta*, according to the *Dinkart*, contained 21 books. These were divided into three groups, the *gāsān* or *Gāthās*, containing spiritual and moral teachings, the *dātik* containing the laws, and the *hātak-mānsarik* containing both spiritual and legal matter.

This material was carefully preserved until the invasion of Alexander when the two archetypic copies, one kept at Persepolis and the other at Samarkand, were destroyed. The invasion of Alexander almost destroyed the Zoroastrian faith as well as entailing the loss of many portions of the scriptures. The later invasion by the Moslems and the ensuing religious persecution forced Zoroastrians either to abandon their faith or go into exile, and the texts then extant were burned. A small part of the original text was remembered by the priests, however, and in written form, and this remnant forms the present *Avesta*.

This consists of the *Yasna*, the chief liturgical work which includes the *Gāthās*, the *Vīsparad* containing additions to the *Yasna*, the *Yashts* or hymns to angels and the heroes of ancient Iran, miscellaneous fragments and minor texts, and the *Vendidad* which contains the account of the creation, a priestly code for purification, directions for treatment of the dog (reverenced by

Zoroastrians), a discussion of the character of the true and the false priest, and a revelation of the destiny of the soul after death.

The Avesta was first introduced to Europe when it was deciphered by Anquetil du Perron and published in 1771 under the title *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre*.

**Ava** The sun and the moon in the cosmological mythology of the Cubeo Indians of southeastern Colombia. Ava is a man who walks across the sky. He makes daylight so that women may work, but gives less light at night (in his moon aspect) so that people may sleep. It is Ava who causes women to menstruate; copulating with Ava at night causes this. During an eclipse of the moon the people say, "Ava is dying." They believe that some evil shaman has caused this illness of Ava, and if ever they discover which shaman did it, the hapless fellow is put to death at once.

**awa** The word for mother of the Cheremis. It is often used in the names of specific deities; for example, *telesawa* is mother of the Moon, *melande-awa*, mother of the Earth, *ketse-awa*, mother of the Sun, *marde-awa*, mother of the Wind, *wit-awa* is mother of Water, and *tul-awa* is mother of Fire. Compare AVA. [JH]

**awassa** A social dance of the Surinam Bush Negroes, often performed as a preliminary to religious rites where spirit-possession occurs. It is danced by men and women, facing each other. In the Gold Coast, this dance is called *awisa*, and is said to have had greater vogue in earlier times. Its derivation is given by the present Ashanti as of Hausa origin. [MJH]

**Awl Boy** Title and hero of a Tewa Indian folktale in which, at the time of migration of a whole village to another place, a young mother gives birth to a baby boy, then rises and hurries away after her people. The abandoned baby grows miraculously in a number of days, runs around looking for food, and comes by chance into the house where his father lived. A voice calls to him from the rafters. It is Awl, who bids the child take him down and wrap him in cowhide, and promises to help him in the hunt. When the boy hunts, he carries Awl with him, henceforth has marvelous luck, kills many rabbits and deer, and has plenty of meat. From now on the boy is named Awl Boy. Eventually Awl Boy, guided by Awl, goes to seek his people. He finds them in bad circumstances, but easily provides them with an abundance of meat and parrot feathers. And they elect him their chief.

A variant of the story begins with the abandoned baby and his miraculous growth; but it is Corn Mother who speaks to him from the rafter of the house and tells him what to do. She bids him place her in the middle of a basket which is full of corn meal. Then she bids him bring the awl and place him too in a basket and to put a deerskin cover over that basket. In the night, she says, Awl will make him clothes. So the boy places the awl in the basket, covers the basket with deerskin, and then goes to sleep. In the morning he finds shirt and trousers and moccasins of deerskin beside him. He puts them on, and taking with him the Corn Mother and Awl Man, he goes forth into the world. Corn Mother and Awl Man direct him to a place where there are many people. After a series of adventures he eventually comes to his own people, who had nothing but greens to eat. They were thin and miserable and having hard times. The

boy orders that the people clean the town and sweep the houses, and when it is done, he walks through the town throwing seeds of corn into every open door. When the people see their houses full of corn, they make the boy their chief.

**awl-elbow witches** In the folktales of the Ojibwa, Micmac, Cree, and Menominee Indians (Algonquian) old women with sharp awls (sometimes knives) for elbows. The hero of tales in which these villainous characters appear usually avoids them by a ruse, causing them to kill each other by mistake.

**Awl Man** A spirit of Pueblo Indian religion: personification of the awl (the sharpened stick, bone, or stone used by North American Indians as a perforator in sewing). Awl Man is one of the many tutelary spirits of Pueblo culture who "gives of himself." Just as Corn Mother gives of her flesh for the people, as Clay Mother gives of herself to the potters, or Salt Woman, or the Flint Boys, or the game animals give of themselves, so Awl Man gives of himself to help those who need him. Hodge points to the human faces incised on certain old bone awls as illustrative of this personification. And the common role of Awl Man as benefactor in folktales bears witness to the fundamental animism of pueblo daily thought and act.

**Awonawilona** In the Zuni Indian origin myth, the All-Container, who existed before the beginning of being. He made himself into the form of the Sun, "who is our father" and who thus came to be. By his thinking he created the mists that promote growth. His light and warmth resolved the mists into the primeval sea, and the green scums grew and widened. From balls of his cuticle which he threw upon the waters came forth the Earth Mother (Awitelin Ts'ta, Fourfold-Containing Mother Earth) and Sky Father (Apoyan Tachi, All-Covering Father Sky). From these two came all life on the face of the earth. Mother Earth caused the clouds and rains to come; Father Sky showed the stars shining in the palm of his hand as he moved it across the bowl of the sky.

The myth continues in great detail with stories of the emergence of tribes from lower regions, and the distribution of tribes, the origin of death, the lizard hand, brother and sister incest, twin heroes who visit their father the Sun, and other incidents common to many other North American Indians. The parallel development of the details of the Zuni origin myth with Zuni ceremonialism is the outstanding point of interest.

**ax or axe** An edged tool for hewing. The history of the ax begins with the Stone Age; it was one of the first if not the first tool produced by man. Originally the head was of stone, then of bronze, and finally of iron and iron alloys. It has varied from a roughly chipped piece of stone to a beautifully ground blade, often half-moon in shape as the battle-axes of the Middle Ages, or double-edged as those found in the excavations of Knossos. It has also had a varied history as a weapon of war, as the symbol of a number of gods, among them the Mexican thunderer Tlaloc, the Semitic Ramman, the Cretan Dionysus, and the Greek Artemis, Apollo, and Athena, as the instrument used in sacrificial killings by early peoples such as the Hittites, as a unit of exchange, and possibly as the object of a religious cult. The ax, as a symbol of Tlaloc, is a sky support in Mexican mythol-

to destroy the faithful. In the *Bündahishn* his lineage is traced to Angra Mainyu and he is said to have committed incest with the demon Aūtak, his mother. In legend Azhi Dahāka slew Yima and tried to seize his glory. He was conquered after a reign of a thousand years by Thrētaona (or Ātār) who bound him on Mount Demāvand. He will break his fetters before the coming of Keresišpa at the end of the world, will destroy a third of mankind as well as water, fire, and vegetation, but will be slain by Keresišpa. Azhi Dahāka seems to personify the thousand years of Iranian oppression by the Babylonian Empire.

**aziza** The Dahomean "little people" of the forest, conceived as spirits who gave magic and knowledge of the worship of the gods to man. As dwellers in the forest, they are believed to have transmitted the power of magic through the medium of hunters, whose magic the Dahomeans hold to be especially potent. [MJH]

**Azrael** or **Azrail** In Jewish and Mohammedan mythology, one of the archangels: the terrible angel of

death who receives from God the leaves upon which are written the names of those about to die. He is depicted sometimes as a formidable being whose feet rest on the edges of the world while his head reaches into heaven. He is also described as having as many eyes as there are men in the world and one of these closes whenever a being dies. At the end of the world only eight eyes will remain open, one for each of the four throne bearers and the four archangels. Azrael takes the soul from the dying body.

Azrael is said to gather the souls of believers into a white silk cloth and the souls of unbelievers into a rag. These are then sent to heaven or hell. In the folktales of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* he is a man of forbidding aspect and horrible presence clad in tattered clothes with an asker's wallet at his neck.

**Azuma-uta** Literally, songs of the East: popular love songs of the northeast coast of Japan, sung in the 8th century and collected in the *Manyōshū*, an anthology of the period.

## B

**ba** In ancient Egyptian religion, the soul, an actual but invisible entity inhabiting the human body during life, leaving it at death, but not irrevocably: in later representations a bird with a human face and head and preceded by a lamp. It left the tomb and flitted about the cemetery at night, fed with cakes and cared for by the sycamore tree goddess of the cemetery, as contrasted with the *ka*, which subsisted on foods buried in the tomb, or the *kas* of buried food. The body had to remain intact so that the *ba* might return to it. The concept of the *ba* (still a living belief in Egypt) is thought to be very early, antedating all Osiris and Rā theologies, and is probably rooted in observation of the huge white owls so numerous among the tomb-pits. An ancient belief was that the stars were *bas* lit by their lamps. See *KA*.

**baal** or **ba'al** (feminine *baalat*; plural *baalim*) The generic name for numerous ancient Semitic gods, especially of Syria and Palestine, each usually the local agricultural deity bestowing fertility upon land and flocks. With later theological development we may speak of a god Baal (compare Babylonian Bel), but originally there were as many *baalim* as sacred places in which they dwelt. There is no direct evidence of *baalim* separate from physical surroundings, e.g. gods of abstract qualities, the theory being that the *baalim* developed about the sacred nature of places like springs and oases in the life of an agricultural desert people. The cult of Melkart, the *baal* of Tyre, reached prominence in Palestine under Ahab and Jezebel and brought forth denunciation from the prophets because of its license, human sacrifice, etc. The word *baal* has the basic meaning of "master, owner" and still survives, for example in several Yiddish words as "baalboos," "master of the house, home-owner." See *ASTARTE*; *BEL*; *SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY*.

**babalawo** Yoruban term for a diviner who utilizes the techniques of the Ifa cult. The methods employed by these specialists consist in manipulating palm kernels,

the resulting combinations being interpreted in terms of an extended series of verses, which give point and meaning to an appropriate tale or myth which is called upon for a given interpretation. These verses and associated stories, relevant to the system of throwing the kernels at hazard, number thousands, and their mastery calls for intensive training of seven years or more. The cult of Ifa divining spread to Dahomey, where its practitioners are known as *bokonon*. The word *babalawo* has persisted in the New World, simplified forms of Ifa divination being known especially well in Brazil and Cuba. [MJH]

**Baba Yaga** or **Baba Jaga** A female supernatural of Russian folklore. The Baba Yaga seems to be analogous to the South German Bertha. She is a cannibalistic ogress, who steals and cooks her victims; she prefers young children, though she often travels about with Death, who gives her souls to eat. Her abode is a little hut constantly spinning around on fowls' legs in a clearing in the distant forest; this is surrounded by a picket fence topped with skulls. The Baba Yaga rides through the air in an iron kettle stirring up tempests, or in a mortar which she moves by a pestle as she sweeps her traces from the air with a broom. She is a guardian of the fountains of the water of life. Her teeth and breasts of stone are used to tear her victims' flesh. She is often reduplicated in folktale, there being two or three sisters, all called Baba Yaga, all customarily lying in their huts, head to the door, a foot in either corner, and nose touching the ceiling.

**Babe, the Blue Ox** Paul Bunyan's wonderful ox, his companion and chief assistant in his logging operations. Babe was born white, but turned blue in the Winter of the Blue Snow. The spread between his eyes was 42 ax handles and a plug of chewing tobacco, and he was 93 hands (whether Paul's or not is not known) in height. When Babe ate hay, a crew of men was kept busy pick-

ing baling wire from his teeth. Babe loved hotcakes and met his end by swallowing a fresh batch, stove and all. The Blue Ox was so heavy that he sank knee-deep in solid rock when he took a step, thus causing among other things, the formation of the lakes of Michigan and Oregon. Babe hauled in one load entire 640-acre sections of timber. Among Babe's many exploits may be mentioned his pulling of the scoop, or glacier, with which Paul dug Puget Sound; his mighty tug that straightened the twisted river (some say it was a logging road); and his hauling from the ground the dry oil-well that was sawed into post-holes. Some people believe that the Black Hills of South Dakota were heaped by Paul to mark Babe's grave, but this is to be doubted.

**babies from cabbages** A well-known euphemism popularly used to answer children's premature questions about childbirth: perhaps rooted in the ancient acceptance of trees as immortal spirits capable of giving birth to human beings, as among the ancient Greeks and Irish and in South Africa and Indonesia.

**babies from the earth, lakes, or wells** In ancient Teutonic belief babies were born first of all from their mother, the earth, before coming to human parents. In token of this they were laid, the moment after birth, upon the ground. Many old German and Scandinavian stories tell of babies being found in hollow trees, which were perhaps regarded as exits from the earth. In southern Germany Frau Holle kept the souls of unborn children safe in the bottom of lakes and wells, which were called in consequence, *Kinderseen*, children's lakes, and *Kinderbrunnen*, children's wells. See ADEBORSTEINE.

**Babylon** Title of an English ballad (Child #14: "Babylon; or, The Bonnie Banks o' Fordie") in which a robber kills two of three sisters for resisting him. The third threatens him with the vengeance of her brother Baby Lon and they thus discover that the robber has killed his own sisters. The theme is found in all branches of Scandinavian balladry.

**baby taken from murdered (or dead) mother's womb** A folktale motif (T584.2; T612) associated especially with the widespread North American Indian *Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away* cycle. Five well-known Shoshonean stories contain it, among them *The Wolf and the Geese*, in which Wolf asks the geese to find him a dead woman with a baby. They find two. Wolf takes a baby boy from one and a baby girl from the other. The girl can walk immediately and travels about with Wolf. In the story *Wolf's Son*, Wolf acquires his son by beheading his wife, killing several babies he finds within her begotten by others, and saving his own. Similar is the story of the woman who went to visit Snake and did not return. Her sons went to look for her and found their mother dead and swollen. They opened her abdomen from which came forth two lizards and a snake and finally an Indian baby girl, whom they reared. Typical of the *Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away* and *Bead-Spitter and Thrown-Away* stories is the pregnant mother murdered in her husband's absence by man or monster who takes living twins (or child and afterbirth) from her body, leaves one behind the curtain, and throws the other away. In the Micmac story of *Ketpusey'genau* the unborn child is taken from the murdered mother's womb and thrown in the brook.

Although this motif turns up in North American

Indian tales everywhere from the northern and southern Atlantic tribes to the northwest Pacific, it is especially associated with the Plains area. It is not limited to North America, however. The Greek Æsculapius was removed from his mother's womb on her funeral pyre; the Yurukare Indians of Bolivia have similar stories; and there is a Melanesian story from the New Hebrides in which a woman is murdered and thrown in a thicket, where her twin boys come forth of themselves.

**Bacabs** In the ancient mythology of Yucatan, the four brothers who were deities of the four directions; upholders of the earth or of the sky; guardians of the waters and bringers of rain: they were personified by animal- and human-headed water-jars. Las Casas describes a Yucatec story of the Trinity in which Bacab is equated with the Son, is scourged and crucified, and arises from the dead. The condensation of the four gods of direction into one person and the connection with the cross which points four ways is, as Alexander shows, an obvious and natural change. Compare TLALOC.

**Bacchus** Dionysus as the noisy and riotous god of wine: so called by both Greeks and Romans. The Bacchanalia, or orgies connected with the mysteries of Dionysus in Rome, where they were introduced in the 2nd century B.C., seem to have become within a very short period so extremely licentious that they were banned by the Senate in 186 B.C. At first the communicants were only women, but, claiming inspiration of the god himself, one matron transformed the festival into a public scandal: in place of the three days a year of observance, she proclaimed five days every month; men were admitted; the observance was to take place at night rather than in the daytime, etc. After the edict against the Bacchanalia, a milder form of Bacchus worship took place at the Liberalia, Liber being another form of the god. See DIONYSUS; SATYR.

**bachelor's-button** Any of certain plants (genus *Gentiana*) with button-shaped flowers or heads, such as the cornflower. In England it was customary for a young man to carry one of these flowers in his pocket for a time. If it lived, he would marry his current sweetheart; if it died, it was a sign that he would soon be seeking a new sweetheart.

**Bachúe** A fertility goddess of the ancient Chibcha Indians of Colombia. She emerged from a lake with a small boy who became her husband when he grew up. She populated the land with her children. After exhorting the people to live in peace, she and her husband were changed into snakes and disappeared into the lake. She is also called Fura-chogue (beneficent female). [AM]

**backward speech or behavior** Saying or doing something in reverse of its normal order: a custom or practice found throughout the world but adapted for different purposes by different peoples. Wherever it is found, imitative magic is probably at its base.

Talking backwards, or saying the opposite of what is meant, is used as a common form of humor among North American Indians, as by the Arapaho Crazy Dancers and several of the Pueblo societies, especially as a typical ceremonial custom. Despite the surface levity, Pueblo clowns are considered as powerful curers in that they recite certain medicinal formulas in reverse order. Among the medieval Jews, the reciting of the




opening of *Leviticus*, forwards, then each word backwards, then the whole passage reversed, was thought to be a counter to magic. Among the practices attributed to followers of the Devil in western Europe is the reciting of the Lord's Prayer backwards. The Mass of St. Secaire, in Gascony, features a backward recitation that brings death to the one against whom revenge is desired. Similar beliefs are found among the Arabs and Buddhists. In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, the recitation of a given formula forwards makes a man invisible, while a backward reading permits him to assume whatever shape he desires.

Doing things backwards likewise has a certain power. Ringing the chime backwards as an alarm is such a custom, as is the flying of a flag in reverse as a sign of distress. These probably are based as much on the idea of reversal of fortune as on the noticeable incongruity of the action. In the United States some maintain that a garment accidentally put on in reverse must not be taken off and put on correctly or ill luck will follow. Medieval Jews deliberately reversed their clothing or walked backwards to reverse a suspected charm against them. Throwing things behind one likewise has a certain efficacy in preventing evil, or as in some folktales in slowing up pursuit.

**Badb** (böb) Literally, scald-crow: in Old Irish mythology, an evil spirit delighting in carnage. She incited armies against each other, filled warriors with fury, and is usually interpreted as a war goddess. She was one of three such beings (with Macha and Neman). Badb was the daughter of Ernmas, one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and either the wife or granddaughter of Nét, as was also Morrigan (later Irish, Morrigan) who plays a parallel or identical role. The Gauls had an analogous figure called Bodua. Badb, the scald-crow, appeared on the battlefield in this form, presaging the death of heroes or appeared in still more hideous guise to warriors about to be defeated. Badb, along with the Morrigan, helped drive the Fomorians out of Ireland. A. H. Krappe interprets the valkyries of the *Njals Saga* as "a transposition in an Icelandic milieu of these Celtic furies."

In later Irish folklore, the word means, in addition to scald-crow, a scolding old hag or witch. Today Badb is sometimes identified with the banshee in function, presaging death to certain families, except that she appears always in the form of a scald-crow.

**Badger** The first animal sent up to earth through a hole in the sky by the ancestors of the Hopi Indians before their emergence from the underworld. Badger is often connected with doctoring by the Pueblo Indians. In a Tewa tale he is the doctor; at Isleta he is a powerful animal; at Zuñi, a south directional spirit. Among the Micmac Indians of the northeastern United States, Badger is a trickster. [JWV]

 In Japanese, badger is *tanuki*, one of several animals of Japanese folklore who possess extraordinary magical powers. He is usually depicted with an enormous bell. [JLM]

**Badger medicine** The curing power of the Badger: a concept of Hopi and other Pueblo Indian religion. Badger knows about certain plants and roots which he is always digging up out of the ground. Badger as curer originated as a *kachina* at Oraibi where he appeared

carrying his medicines and his buzzard feathers for exorcising. Ever since then the medicine chief of the curing society has always been a Badger clansman. Badger medicine is valued especially as a delivery medicine at Zuñi and Isleta. A badger paw (called Badger Old Woman) is either worn by the woman in childbirth, or it is placed on the bed, or on the ground nearby. This is because the badger digs himself out quickly. Badger fat and the sexual organs of the badger are good medicine for impotent men. See ANIMAL CURERS.

**bad man** Western "killer" or "gunman": so called because in his law-breaking or law-enforcing capacity he was a "bad man to fool with," or dangerous to oppose. The beginnings of the bad man era are traced to the wave of banditry and depredations after the Mexican War and the bloody Missouri-Kansas border conflict before the Civil War. Homicidal lawlessness reached its height during the feudal cattle wars and sheep and cattle wars of the Great Plains and the gold and silver mining boom of the Southwest and the Black Hills, as well as in the no-man's land of Indian Territory. Notorious haunts of the bad man included the wide-open cowboy capitals and trail-end terminus towns of Denison, Fort Worth, and El Paso, Texas; Albuquerque and Las Vegas, New Mexico; Abilene, Dodge City, and Ellsworth, Kansas; and the "Helldorado" mining towns of Denver, Leadville, and Central City, Colorado; Tombstone, Arizona; and Deadwood, South Dakota.

With popular sympathy on the side of the outlaw as the enemy of the rich, the folk imagination tended to blur and break down the distinction among the three main types of killer or gunman—the homicidal maniac or professional killer who killed in cold blood (Billy the Kid, John Wesley Hardin, the Apache Kid); the more civilized or chivalrous "good bad man" (Jesse James, Sam Bass, Pretty Boy Floyd); and the peace officer who was not above shooting on inadequate provocation and to settle a private feud (Wild Bill Hickok, Wyatt Earp, Luke Short, Bat Masterson). An attempt was made however to distinguish between the gun fighter, who fought fair, and the gunman, who didn't. More or less outside the "killer" class was a peaceable marshal like Bill Tilghman of Oklahoma, who never took a life unless he had to in order to save his own, only (in the end) to be the victim of his own generosity.

In his supreme daring and uncanny skill with weapons as well as in the fact that he killed to avenge a personal wrong, if not always in self-defense, the bad man satisfied the heroic requirements of challenge and ordeal by combat, an even break or a fighting chance. Moreover, he was generally the victim of society or circumstances or a dual personality, split (as in Billy the Kid's case) between a "good-humored, jovial imp" and a "cruel and blood-thirsty fiend." Death through treachery or by walking into a trap conferred martyrdom upon him. Jesse James was shot by "that dirty little coward," Robert Ford, brother of a former accomplice of his, in order to claim the reward. Billy the Kid was trailed to his sweetheart's home and shot in the dark by his erstwhile friend, Sheriff Pat Garrett. Sam Bass was double-crossed by one of his own gang and slain in ambush. Wild Bill was shot in the back, while playing poker in a Deadwood saloon, by Jack McCall—presumably to avenge the slaying of his brother by Wild Bill. (When Bill was picked up, two black aces and black eights fell

out of his hand—a combination known thereafter to superstitious gamblers as “The Dead Man’s Hand.”)

In the popular imagination the bad man was frequently identified with Robin Hood. Of William C. Quantrell (Quantrell), the guerrilla leader, the ballad sings:

Oh, Quantrell’s a fighter, a bold-hearted boy,  
A brave man or woman he’d never annoy.  
He’d take from the wealthy and give to the poor,  
For brave men there’s never a bolt to his door.

And of Jesse James:

He stole from the rich and he gave to the poor,  
He’d a hand and a heart and a brain.

Of Jesse James, Sam Bass, and Rube Burrow is told the story of how the outlaw paid off the poor widow’s mortgage and then stole the money back from the mortgage-owner. Pretty Boy Floyd has been described as a “nice, soft-spoken boy, good to his mother.”

As a deadshot the bad man added a touch of showmanship by his trick or fancy gunplay or “folklore shooting.” According to Frost Woodhull (*Southwestern Lore*, Austin, 1931, pp. 1–14, Henry Starr of Oklahoma liked to ride up and down country lanes cutting barbed wire with his .45, while Wild Bill was fond of shooting knotholes and the O’s in saloon signs. Perhaps the most sensational feat ever performed by the latter was his simultaneous killing of two assailants who had entered by opposite doors of a restaurant. Drawing both pistols, “with one he killed the man in front of him, and at the same time with the other gun resting on the opposite shoulder he killed the man behind him, looking through the mirror” over the front door (George D. Hendricks, *The Bad Man of the West*, 1941, p. 96).

The absurdly exaggerated legendary claims of the phenomenal records of gunmen include 30 men killed by Bat Masterson at Dodge City, 21 men by Billy the Kid in his 21 years (“not counting Indians”), and “ten men single-handed” by Wild Bill in the McCannless massacre. Wild Bill had more than his share of miracles. During the Civil War his horse Black Nell, with her “trick of dropping quick,” saved his life more than once. In Sam Bass’s case, horses figured prominently. Besides the Denton mare, which he matched in all races, he had a horse that carried him down cañon sides “where human foot could not find place, carrying on unflinchingly, and at last, when danger threatened, waking its sleeping master by shaking him”—an adaptation of Swift Nick and Dick Turpin (Charles J. Finger, *Frontier Ballads*, 1927, p. 71). Like the pirates of old, Sam Bass left behind him a folk heritage of buried treasure legends. But none of these miracles could compare with the final touch in the Wild Bill saga. His remains, on being exhumed for reburial, showed evidence of natural embalming.

Survival legends are another folklore attribute of the bad man. Rumors that Billy the Kid was still alive persisted as late as 1926. No less than seventeen persons, according to his granddaughter, have claimed to be the “original Jesse James.” From Texas comes the legend that Quantrell, badly wounded but not killed during the Civil War, was for many years a country school teacher in East Texas (akin to the Marshal Ney legend). In Wyoming, tradition has clung to the notion that Tom Horn was cut down alive from the gallows and spirited away.

The bad man lives on not only in folklore and legend but in the Western “thriller,” from the Beadle dime novel to the “Western story” magazine and comic book, and the horse opera of movies, radio, and television, where the Lone Ranger’s bandit mask symbolizes the enigma of the bad man’s personality and reputation.

B. A. BORKIN

**bagpipe** A wind instrument important in folk and military music from the Middle Ages to the present, probably of Asiatic origin, but known in the western world since the time of Nero, who was reported to have played it. It consists of one or more reed pipes of either oboe (double reed) or clarinet (single reed) types, inserted into a bladder or windbag which is inflated by mouth or by a bellows attachment to supply air for sounding the pipes. Generally one pipe, the chanter, has finger holes for playing the melody, and the others are drones of fixed tones for accompaniment. Chiefly known now as the national instrument of Scotland, the variety of its types and names in many languages indicates the widespread popularity of the bagpipe (French *cornemuse*, *musette*, *cheurette*, *loure*, *bignou* or *biniau*, etc.; German *Dudelsack*, *Sackpfeife*; Italian *cornamusa*, *piva*, *piffero*, *zampogna* [also the name among many Gypsies]; Galician Spanish *gaita*; Russian *volynka*; Irish greatpipe, *piob mòr*, *piob Uilleann*, union-pipes; Tamil *srutti*; Hindustani *masak*; etc.).

As a folk instrument in medieval Europe, the bagpipe served as accompaniment for religious observances, for weddings and funerals, for dances, May games, and impromptu festivities. It was thought to have a peculiar charm for animals, to be beloved by fairies, to be the Devil’s instrument, and to have the power of speech.

Processions of the early Irish Christian church moved to the sound of the bagpipe, and its wailing music supported the keen at funerals. Roman Catholic services in Edinburgh, especially outdoor rites, sometimes included bagpipe music as late as the 16th century. In Italy, where Calabrian pipers were noted for their skill, the bagpipe accompanied folk singing before statues of the Virgin and Child in pre-Christmas ceremonies. In Brussels, in 1529, a feast for the Virgin was observed with a masque in which wild beasts danced around a cage where two ape characters played the bagpipes. In England, in 1584, a piper named Cochrane played at the Coventry Mysteries.

For dancing, the bagpipes appeared along with the pibgorn and the pipe and tabor at country dances and Morris, the piper being a character in the dance. Lincolnshire or Lancashire pipers, both esteemed for virtuosity, were regularly hired by the great English houses to play for the dancing of the common people at Yuletide. Street dancing led by bagpipers became such a disturbance of the peace in 16th century Scotland that laws were passed forbidding the playing of pipes on Sunday and after supper. Wandering pipers of Germany gathered village groups to dance to the dudelsack, and Gypsies of eastern Europe played for weddings, dances, and feasts on the zampogna. The national dances of Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Serbians, as well as sword dances of the Scots and Irish, were traditionally footed to pipe tunes.

Bagpipes also entered into work activities. Hiring of pipers to set the pace for harvest hands in England is recorded, and the rat-catchers of continental European

towns, frequently Gypsies, pursued their trade to the drone of the pipes, even as the Pied Piper of Hamelin is supposed to have done in 1284. Shepherds of central Europe and the Near East were believed to be able to draw their flocks in by the alluring strains of their crude goatskin pipes.

The instrument was also thought to be especially attractive to bears, whose heavy dancing steps were directed by Gypsy pipers, and in India and Ceylon a primitive bagpipe has been used for centuries by snake charmers.

Animal players of the instrument are depicted in many medieval sculptures and woodcuts in churches, the favorites being bears, monkeys, and hogs. An Irish version of the song, *Frog Went a-Courting*, brings in a snail bagpiper as one of the wedding guests. Angels, too, are shown puffing gaily on the pipes, though it was more often associated with demons. A 15th century woodcut shows it in the hands of a skeleton figure in a dance of death.

As a military instrument, the pipes were played by the Romans during their colonization of Britain, by French regimental pipers up to the 19th century, and have made the battle music of the Irish and Scottish foot soldier since the Middle Ages. The *piob mór*, war pipe of ancient Ireland, advanced at the head of the kerns against British, French, and Scottish enemies, its wild music bringing terror to the opposition as the pipers played in the thick of the battle. The great Highland pipe of Scotland has served to whip the fighting spirit of Scotsmen in clan feuds, in the Stuart cause, and even in the World War II battle of El Alamein. Scarcely a battle in which the pipes figured is without its legend of a heroic piper who, though wounded or cut off from his regiment, played to his death to hold off defeat.

The position of the piper has varied considerably in legend and history. Though generally not so esteemed by the aristocracy as the harper or minstrel, he often came in for marked royal favor. In ancient Ireland pipers and jugglers were admitted to the king's house and made free of his beer. Both English and Irish nobility often maintained bagpipers on their regular payrolls for the entertainment of their servants and guests. In the 15th century in Scotland, many towns supported hereditary town pipers, who were lodged at public expense and sometimes given a grant of land called "the piper's croft." Vienna, too, had its town pipers, selected from the musicians' guild. In France, during the 17th century, the bagpipe became fashionable at court, the *musette*, a highly decorated bellows pipe, being taken up by the ladies, and a royal piper, Destouches, becoming a court favorite.

So loyal were the household pipers of the Irish and Scots and so effective their music in battle that the English passed laws against them. In Ireland it was made illegal to harbor pipers, story-tellers, and rimers because they acted as spies, and Scottish pipers of the Jacobite period were put to death if captured, their pipes being considered instruments of war.

Stories about bagpipes and pipers are of several types. One type concerns ghosts, changelings, and other evil spirits. Seventeenth century popular belief often made the bagpipe Satan's favorite instrument, the Devil's bellows. Witches were executed on the accusation that they

had danced to the Devil's piping. There are Highland tales of ghostly pipes playing at dusk in the lonesome hill passes where some defeat or retreat of the Jacobites took place. One famous Scottish chanter was said to crack as a prophecy of the death of the clan's chief. Another was said to have carried magic powers in battle for the Grants and the MacPhersons.

A second Celtic story type concerns fairies. The green-coated ones in their mounds loved the music of the pipes, played and taught it, and gave special favors to pipers. Many of these stories are of the *Rip Van Winkle* variety, in which a piper is lured away with the fairies, plays for them for what seems a few moments, and returns home to find that years have passed. Sometimes he returns with a magic token, perhaps a new set of pipes, given to him by the fairies and proving the actuality of the experience. Other stories common in many lands tell of shepherds who frighten thieves or wild animals by the playing of their pipes.

On Skye and Mull particularly there is a traditional story pattern dealing with a piper who, with a dog or some friends, enters a cave inhabited by a demon or wild beast. The dog or the friends return without him and the last sound that is heard is the piper's lament for his own fate, often with the words, "Oh, that I had three hands; two for the pipes and one for the sword." On stormy nights the melancholy piping still comes from such caves, it is said.

The message of the pipes is characteristic of many Scottish tales. One such, crediting the instrument with the power of speech, is *A Cholla mo Run*. It tells of a piper who was captured during the absence of his chief from home and held prisoner while an ambush is plotted for the chief's return. When the chief is seen coming, the piper plays him a warning, which he hears and understands. However, the enemy also understands the language of the pipes and the piper is killed.

Bagpipe music includes reels, strathspeys, laments, marches, pibrochs (variations on a theme called the *urlar*), etc. The MacCrimmon "Lament for the McLeod," "The White Cockade," and "Flowers of the Forest" are among the most famous bagpipe tunes. [rcs]

**Bahiana** Literally, a Bahian woman, but by extension a term used to designate Bahian Negro women who are members of African cult groups. Their distinctive dress, popularized in the motion pictures by Carmen Miranda and others, is a more colorful counterpart of the dress of Negro women in many parts of the New World. The Bahiana of today appears on the street in her traditional dress, most often as a seller of cooked foods, or in processions on festival days; and she is likely to be a woman well into middle age. [MJJ]

**Bahrām fire** or **Berezisavanh** The sacred fire of Iran, which represents the essence of all fires and is made from 16 different kinds of fire: the earthly representative of the divine essence. The Bahrām fire is maintained in the great temples and is fed sandalwood fire times a day by a priest. The Bahrām is one of the five sacred fires of Iranian religion. It is the one which shoots up before Ahura Mazda. The other kinds recognized in Iran are Vohu Fryāna (literally, good friend) which keeps the bodies of men and animals warm, Urvāzishta (most delightful) the fire of plants which produces flame by friction, Vāzishta (best-carrying) the

lightning, and Spēnīshita (most holy) which burns in Paradise. See NAIRYŌSANGHA.

**Bahramgor or Bahram Gur** Hero-prince of many adventures, probably a Sassanian king of Persia of the 5th century A.D. He is said to be the father of Persian poetry, and is often a character in Indian tales. [MWS]

**Baiaime** The great totemic ancestor of the Kamilaroi and other tribes in New South Wales, who lived in the mythical past and originated totemism and other customs. He answers invocations for rain and figures in initiation and other ceremonies. He left mementoes behind him which include a large stone fish trap on the Barwan River. He had two wives, Cunnebbeillee, by whom he had children, and Birrahguooloo, his favorite, who sends floods on request. The three are now in the sky. Women may not use Baiaime's name but call him "Father." The theory of early writers that he was a kind of All-Father, a vague, otiose, spiritual being, now has many critics. See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY. [KL]

**baile de cintas or baile del cordon** The Spanish ribbon or Maypole dance, still performed ceremonially by men at fiestas around a flower-decked pole, in Valencia, Castille, Huesca, and Teneriffe and elsewhere in the Canary Islands. In Catalonia it forms part of the Carnival celebrations by both men and girls. In Portugal it celebrates St. John's Day, June 21. The pole is called St. John's pole, and is surmounted by a puppet. The Basque *cinta dantza* is a furious course following the sword dance or *espata dantza*.

In Mexico the baile de cintas is often performed as part of a longer sequence, as by the Yaqui *matachini* and Pueblo *negritos* dancers and the *tocotines* of Papantla, Vera Cruz (*voladores*). In Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, both men and women participate in special costumes. In Yucatan it forms part of the Carnival. Both in the Old and New World it is an ancient spring celebration around a sacred budding tree, but has been renamed and recostumed in Mexico. [CRK]

**baile de la xisterna** Literally, dance of the well: a Spanish dance of the Island of Majorca, performed especially for the fiesta of San Salvador, August 6. With arms upraised and little forward jumps, termed *mateixa*, the dancers approach the sacred well. They describe a zigzag path typical of many fertility rites. The dance retains much of this ritual significance in its worship of water, well, rain. [CRK]

**Bailiff's Daughter of Islington** An English ballad (Child #105) of separated lovers. The bailiff's daughter and the squire's son meet on the road after seven years. When she tells him that his lover is dead, he says he will go "into some far country," whereupon she makes herself known. The theme, with roles reversed, is found in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Romance ballads. The ballad is known in the United States, as for example *The Bailer's Daughter of Ireland Town* (reported from New Jersey) and *The Comely Youth* (Mississippi) where Islington becomes "Harlington."

**baingan, baigan, begun, or bhāṅṭā** Literally, eggplant: in the folktales, "Baingan Bāḍshāhṛāḍī," told as "Princess Aubergine" in *Tales of the Punjab* collected by F. A. Steele. Baingan was a princess born from an eggplant and brought up by a poor Brāhman couple. A

neighboring queen jealous of her beauty decided to kill her by magic. In trying to discover Baingan's life token, the queen killed her own seven sons. Finally she discovered the token to be the nine-lakh necklace hidden in a box in a bee in a fish. The princess died as soon as the queen obtained the necklace, but she was laid out in the forest by the Brāhman couple who neither buried nor cremated her. There the king found her and daily watched beside the body which was as fresh and beautiful as if alive. After a year, the king found a child beside the body who told him that his mother was alive at night when the queen removed the necklace, but dead in the daytime while the queen wore it. The child got possession of the necklace and the king and princess were married. They buried the malicious queen in a ditch filled with serpents and scorpions.

**bagai or badjang** In Malay belief, a malignant spirit whose presence foretells disaster and is the cause of illness. The bajang is said to take the form of a polecat and is very dangerous to children. In some areas of the Malay peninsula the bajang is the enslaved spirit of a stillborn child, obtained at midnight by incantations said over the grave. As a familiar it is handed down in a family. It is kept in a bamboo vessel, fed eggs and milk, and sent forth to prey upon victims who are seized by unknown ailments when attacked.

**bakemono** Generic term for the goblins of Japanese folklore. [JLM]

**bakru** Surinam form of the West African "little people," who are brought into being by practitioners of evil magic. Belief in them is especially strong in Paramaribo, the capital of Dutch Guiana, and other parts of the coastal area. Bakru come in pairs, one male and one female. They are envisaged as the size of children, with large heads, and as half-flesh and half-wood. They are obtained by compact with a worker of evil magic, for the purpose of bringing the owner coveted wealth. The price paid for them is in meeting their exacting demands. In the end, it is believed, the family of the owner is destroyed by the gods and ancestors in punishment for these antisocial acts. [MJM]

**Balaam** The last and greatest of the heathen prophets of Biblical tradition (*Num.* xxii-xxiv). Balaam, son of the prophet Beor, was himself prophet of Pethor in Mesopotamia. As a prophet and diviner he was equal to Moses in everything but moral sense. Because he was cruel and tried to destroy a whole nation, God permitted no more heathen prophets. Balaam had, according to rabbinical tradition, one eye and was lame in one foot. By some he is held to have been identical with Laban.

When Balak, King of Moab, became uneasy about the spread of the Israelites into nearby territory, he sent for Balaam. Balaam, to whom as to all heathen prophets the Lord spoke only at night, kept the envoys, and then refused to go with them when forbidden to by God. A further embassy met with better luck, for God permitted the prophet to go if he would repeat God's words when the time came. A Mohammedan story says that the ambassadors bribed Balaam's wife, and that her nagging was the real cause of his going to Balak. On the way, in a narrow path, the Angel of Mercy, invisible to Balaam, descended and stood in the way of his ass.

The ass refused to go on, and Balaam whipped the beast. Three times this happened and the third time the ass spoke, reproaching his master, and then died, since animals could not be permitted to rival men in speech. Here for example the stupidest of beasts, the ass, outargued Balaam, the greatest of prophets. The speaking mouth of the ass was one of the traditional twelve miraculous things created on the sixth day.

**balam** In Quiché mythology, the *tigre* or jaguar; a supernatural; a magician. The mythical ancestors of the Quiché, associated with the four directions, bore the names Balam-Quitze (Smiling Tiger), Balam-Agab (Nocturnal Tiger), Iqi-Balam (Moon Tiger), and Mahucatah (Famous Name), probably a euphemism for a feared Tiger or Sorcerer name. Among the Mayans of present-day Mexico, the *balams* are magical beings whose special province is the protection of villages and their inhabitants and the cornfields.

**balance and swing** An American square-dance term. The gentleman places his right arm around the lady's waist and takes her right hand in his left, while she places her left hand on his arm below the shoulder. In this position he swings her to the right about. It is usual for couples to swing completely around twice, though they may swing once. If they are skilful and in the mood for it, they may swing three or four times. See ALL EIGHT BALANCE. [GPK]

**Balder or Baldr** Norse god of light and joy; son of Odin and Frigga, and twin brother of Hodur: one of the most important and the best loved of the Æsir. The story of Balder's death from a spear of mistletoe, the only thing that had not promised not to harm him, and thrown by Hodur, the blind, at the instigation of Loki, and of the descents of Odin and of Hermod to the underworld, forms a prominent part of the Norse legend of the approach of Ragnarök. In the Scandinavian tradition, as told by Saxo Grammaticus, Balder is slain by Hodur, who wields a magic sword, in a fight over the beautiful Nanna. Compare ADONIS; DESCENTS TO THE UNDERWORLD; TWINS.

**Bali** In Hindu mythology, king of the Daityas, son of Virochana, Hiranyakaśipu, or Prahlāda. By his devotion he humbled the gods and obtained dominion over the three worlds. Vishnu appeared to him as Vāmana, the dwarf, and asked for as much land as he could cover in three strides. When the request was granted, Vishnu stepped over heaven and earth and, out of respect for Bali's goodness, then made a short stride, leaving Bali the underworld. He is also called Mahābali. Compare DECEPTIVE LAND MEASURE.

**Bālī or Bālin** In Hindu mythology, the monkey king of Kishkindhyā, the son of Indra, who was slain by Rāma. Bālī was supposed to have been born from his mother's hair.

**balian** The general Indonesian term for a medium. The balian communicates with the spirits while in a trance to learn how to protect individuals and the community. He also conducts purification rites, is a diviner, and knows the formulas and charms used to protect the rice granaries and property.

**Balitao** A Philippine peasant dance in mazurka rhythm, descriptive of work movements, planting, reaping, and winnowing the rice. [GPK]

**Balkis** The Queen of Sheba: in Abyssinian, Jewish, Mohammedan, and European tradition. The Biblical story states simply that, hearing of Solomon's wisdom, she visited him, found his fame not so great as the fact of his wisdom, and departed (1 Kings x, 1-13). The kings of Abyssinia, however, trace their line back to Menelik, supposedly the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In Mohammedan tradition, Solomon requires Balkis or Bilkis to submit to him as overlord and adopt his religion. After testing his wisdom, she accedes and becomes his wife. Both the Arabian and Jewish tradition are much embellished with stories of Solomon's control over birds, animals, and spirits and demons, with which he threatens her. Traditionally, she propounds a series of riddles which he answers without trouble (Ginzburg lists 22).

**ballad** A form of narrative folk song, developed in the Middle Ages in Europe, to which has been applied very ambiguously the name ballad (Danish *vis*, Spanish *romance*, Russian *bylina*, Ukrainian *dumi*, Serbian *junačka pesme*, etc.). This type of folk song varies considerably with time and place, but certain characteristics remain fairly constant and seemingly fundamental: 1) A ballad is narrative. 2) A ballad is sung. 3) A ballad belongs to the folk in content, style, and designation. 4) A ballad focuses on a single incident. 5) A ballad is impersonal, the action moving of itself by dialog and incident quickly to the end.

A ballad is story. Of the four elements common to all narrative—action, character, setting, and theme—the ballad emphasizes the first. Setting is casual; theme is often implied; characters are usually types and even when more individual are undeveloped, but action carries the interest. The action is usually highly dramatic, often startling and all the more impressive because it is unrelieved. The ballad practices a rigid economy in relating the action; incidents antecedent to the climax are often omitted, as are explanatory and motivating details. The action is usually of a plot sort and the plot often reduced to the moment of climax; that is, of the unstable situation and the resolution which constitutes plot, the ballad often concentrates on the resolution leaving the listener to supply details and antecedent material.

Almost without exception ballads were sung; often they were accompanied by instrumental music. The tunes are traditional and probably as old as the words, but of the two—story and melody—story is basic. Many ballads were sung to a variety of melodies. Unlike lyric songs in which the meaning is not so important and which are consequently subordinated to the music, ballads, in which the contrary situation obtains, always subordinate the melody to the words. More variety exists in ballad music than in ballad form and content, for it ranges from the modal types of the West, based on the Gregorian, to the more florid and ornamental types of Greece, the Balkans, and Russia owing much to Byzantine tradition. Here and there, as for example among the South Slavs, instead of melody the ballad is often accompanied by rhythmical chant, almost recitative. The point is, of course, that the ballad is not simply recited or told, but given interpretation and emotional power by the accompanying melody.

The ballad belongs to the folk, but it is by no means primitive or barbaric; rather it is the product of accomplished and often literary-conscious poets. The folk of

the ballad have behind them a long tradition, a tradition partly conditioned and shaped by conscious and lettered culture. The folk are unlettered, rather than illiterate. They are homogeneous, interested in one another, in the dramatic aspects of life. They have a great store of traditional story stuff—märchen and folktales, and a store of folklore, part of which is with them only conventional and half-believed in. So the ballad is likely to be a compound of folklore, legend, and local history. Through the years the folk have their way with the ballad, shaping it, varying it in theme, incident, and style, putting their unmistakable touch upon it.

The last two points may be discussed together. The ballad takes a single incident, as does the short story, brings that into sharp and economical focus. In this respect it is unlike the folktale or epic which develop their stories through a series of incidents episodically. This stripping the story of all excrescences of description, motivation, incidental material, and especially of editorializing, results not only in utter impersonality but in a "gapped" narrative in which the reader gets only the moments of most dramatic action.

The Danish ballad, *Sir Peter's Leman*, is typical. It is very short—twenty-one couplets—but it evokes a dramatic and complex story. Sir Peter and Kirsteen, his sweetheart, are "jesting" with one another as they sit over their meal. "When will you take a wife?" she asks. Sir Peter answers with a joke. Kirsteen comments that when he does take a wife, she will go to the bridal though it "were two hundred miles." (Stanza 6) With no transition, no explanation the ballad plunges into the events of the marriage feast, telling of Kirsteen pouring the wine. (Stanza 7) The bride asks who she is. A serving-maid tells her that Kirsteen is Sir Peter's love. Abruptly the ballad passes to the next scene, the bringing of the bride to bed, Kirsteen bearing the bridal torch.

"The sheets of silk o'er the bed she drew  
There lies the swain I loved so true."

The next stanza tells of Kirsteen locking the door and setting the house on fire, so the "bride must burn on the bridegroom's arm."

These three scenes told largely through dialog give us the story. This technique is more common in the Western ballads than in the Eastern, but even in the Russian ballad the story is basically developed by a succession of scenes rather than by alternation of scene and panorama.

In addition to these primary characteristics one should note certain secondary characteristics. Sometimes the ballad was accompanied by dance. Frequently this was so in the Scandinavian countries, but it was rare in England and found only sporadically in other parts of Europe. We cannot think of the ballad as basically a dance song, but must realize that occasionally it was adapted to that purpose. Likewise many ballads contain a refrain—a word, phrase, line or several lines—repeated after each stanza, or sometimes interwoven with the stanza. But the refrain, though common in the English and Germanic ballad is not generally characteristic of ballad. Certain stylistic qualities are fairly constant, such as the use of stereotyped expressions so common to folk poetry in general, the use of repetition of line and incident, of incremental repetition, triad arrangement, climax of relations, and the testament device. These sec-

ondary characteristics partly account for the wide variety in the ballad as one passes from one country to another and from one time to another. The constant element in the ballad is the form and the manner of telling a story.

The problem of ballad origins has occupied the attention of folklorists and balladists from the beginning of ballad studies. Much confusion about the matter of origin comes from the failure of the first scholars, such as Herder, Grimm, Gummere, in not making clear the distinction between ballad and folk song in general. They saw in the ballad a continuing tradition from primitive times and consequently applied to ballad conclusions arrived at from a study of primitive folk song in general. And so was born the communal theory, that the folk made the ballads by a kind of communal improvisation, a kind of cooperative composition. Later critics (e.g. Kittredge) accepted this explanation but with modification. Feeling that the folk is too indefinite, too unorganized for such concerted effort, they suggested that ballads were composed by the folk under the direction of a leader who brought the necessary discipline into the composition and who functioned as organizer and selector. But they felt that the folk contributed much of the matter. At the present time, however, most scholars favor out-and-out individual authorship. They point out that the ballad is certainly the product of the late Middle Ages, that it is certainly not a product of a primitive society, that it is a highly artful and rather difficult form, that the music is intimately and fundamentally a part of it. All of this would argue for conscious trained authorship. Minstrels, clerks, clericals, wandering scholars have all been suggested as the professionals who originated and perfected the form. After an individual ballad was composed, then the folk came in. Ballads were oral. The folk took them over. Through the years of singing them the folk modified them, changed them, improved them sometimes, sometimes debased them, but the folk had their way with them, and over the years put their mark upon them. And it is a distinguishing mark and an unmistakable one.

The main body of English and Scottish ballads is to be found in the great collection of F. J. Child (1882-1898). This great work contains 305 separate ballads and many variants divided between England and Scotland. It is sometimes difficult to separate the English from the Scottish, for often some variants of the same ballad are Scottish, others English. One variant of *Edward*, for example, is English, the other Scottish. *The Three Ravens* is English; the *Twa Corbies*, Scottish. In general the English pieces seem more realistic and more sophisticated. Here are the Robin Hood ballads, the larger group of historical ballads, the romantic and sentimental love ballads. The Scottish, on the other hand, are more stark, shorter. Most of the fairy-love and supernatural ballads are Scottish, as are the short tragic ballads and ballads of the Border. But the ballad passed freely not only between England and Scotland but between the British Isles and Germanic Europe.

The texts of most English and Scottish ballads are 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The actual date of composition is in many cases much earlier. The earliest ballad text extant is that of *Judas* found in a 13th century manuscript now in Trinity College, Cambridge. Some of the Robin Hood ballads certainly belong to the 14th century, but probably more of the extant English ballads

belong to periods after the 15th century, rather than before. Even though few ballads are as early as the Middle Ages, the ballad as a form of narrative poetry emerged in the medieval period. It is certainly not a part of primitive poetry and consequently is not to be compared with songs and stories of savages. Culturally the ballad everywhere is post-epic.

The best known of all English ballads are the Robin Hood ballads. It matters little whether Robin Hood actually lived or not. The Robin Hood we know is pure folk ballad creation and the only character in English balladry around whom a cycle of ballads has developed, for the English ballad with the exception of *A Geste of Robin Hood* is short and non-cyclic; that is each ballad tells an individual story and there is no tendency to carry one hero from ballad to ballad, as is so common in other European countries. *A Geste of Robin Hood* is certainly a literary product. Probably sometime before 1400 a ballad poet combined several ballads concerned with Robin Hood with transitional material of his own, weaving them into this long popular heroic poem of 456 four-line stanzas. Here Robin Hood appears characteristically as a popular hero though an outlaw, for he robs the rich to give to the poor and escapes apprehension by incredible feats of agility and daring. Many of the ballads of Robin Hood and his men of the Lincoln Green appear through the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. The best are the earliest; the later Robin Hood ballads show degeneration and even debasement of the character of Robin Hood himself. Late in the tradition Maid Marian drifts into the story from medieval pastoral poetry to add a romantic touch, foreign, of course, to the traditional story. Robin Hood is not the only outlaw in English ballad. Other ballads of this character are *Adam Bell* and *William of Cloudesly*, *Johnny o' Cockley's Well*, *The Outlaw Murry*, *Sir Andrew Barton (Henry Martyn)*, *Johnie Cock*. This last, an extremely interesting ballad full of old folk belief and custom, relates the heroic death of an outlaw.

The finest of the English and Scottish ballads are the tragic ballads. Most of them are Scottish and most of them are early. Typical are *Sir Patrick Spens*, *The Two Sisters*, *The Cruel Brother*, *Lord Randal*, *Edward, Babylon*, *Leesome Brand*, *Two Corbies*. Many of these are widely dispersed over Europe. *Edward*, for example, is found throughout the Scandinavian countries and in Finland; *Lord Randal* as far as Italy.

Particularly charming for their romantic and imaginative character are the fairy and enchantment ballads. Three of the finest are *Thomas Rymer*, *Tam Lin*, *Lady Isabel* and the *Elf-Knight*. The first tells of Thomas Rymer's visit to fairyland; the second of the rescue by his mortal sweetheart of Tam Lin, bespelled and captured by the fairy. *Lady Isabel* is a widely known European ballad; it recounts Lady Isabel's escape from an elf-knight by trickery. Other ballads of this type treat of the fairy mistress (lover) theme, of changelings, fairy nurses, fairy enchantment, fairy forest, fairy music and its bespelling power. Several ballads like *Kemp Owyne* and the *Laily Worm* are concerned with enchantment wrought by mortals, usually stepmothers, and the unspelling by kisses of someone intrepid enough to kiss the victim in her loathly form. Here and there among the ballads is found the semisupernatural character Billy Blin (Blind Barlow, Billy Blind, etc.). He functions as a

household familiar assisting the hero with advice and information. He is cunning and well-versed in counter magic. He seems to belong rather to the dwarf tradition than to the tradition of the fairy. Allied with the fairy and enchantment ballads are those concerned with the dead who return, revenants from the world of the grave. *The Unquiet Grave* is based on the belief that too much weeping over the dead disturbs their rest. *The Wife of Usher's Well* relates the visit of three dead sons to their sorrowing mother. *The Suffolk Miracle*, a widespread European ballad the original of which is probably Greek, is the dramatic story of the dead lover who returns to carry off his sweetheart. It is the source of Bürger's *Lenore*. (See *DEAD KING*.)

Justly famous among English and Scottish ballads are the Border Ballads. These are spirited recitals of border feuds, of cattle raids, and of conflicts between English and Scotch, suggestive of the stuff out of which in earlier culture the epic grew. The most famous are *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, *The Battle of Otterburn*, *Johnie Armstrong*. Most of these are realistic and generally literary.

It is interesting that the English ballads have little to do with old Germanic mythology and tradition, nor much concern with Christian legend and theme. There are some few of the latter like *Judas*, *St. Stephen* and *Herod*, *The Cherry Tree Carol*.

The old ballads were brought to America by the early settlers and even today can be found widespread among the folk of the outlying regions. Such ballads as *Barbara Allen*, *Lord Lovel*, *The Cruel Mother*, *Lord Randal*, *Lady Isabel*, *The Gypsy Laddie*, *The Golden Vanity* are widely found. About one third of the traditional ballads are still sung in America. A few narrative songs more or less in the old ballad form and in old ballad style have been composed in America. *Springfield Mountain*, *Frankie and Johnny* (or *Albert*) *John Henry*, *Jesus James*, *Casey Jones*, *The Little Brown Bulls* are typical.

A great stock of fine ballads exists in Danish dating from the 14th century. Like the English they show a variety of themes: historical, supernatural and magical, realistic, stories of the trials and joys of everyday life, love, and blood feuds. Many of them are analogs of the English. The historical ballads, like epic stories, glorify the virtues of bravery, loyalty, and honor in the lives and characters of the national heroes. Some of the best of these concern Stig Hvide who dies valiantly defending the king's standard; King Waldmar and his wife, Sophie, and his mistress, silken-clad Tove; Niels Ebbeson, who rid the country of a foreign oppressor; and the half-dozen ballads dealing with the conflict between Marsk Stig and King Erik. There is a general tendency toward cyclic development among these historical ballads, for they roughly group themselves into the following divisions: 1) Those concerned with Waldmar, his queen, and his mistress. 2) The exploits of Marsk Stig. 3) The cycle of Waldmar II and Dagnar. This is a tendency hardly found in English but common enough in the eastern ballad.

The Danish supernatural ballads generally lack the airiness and grace of the English; they are concerned mostly with trolls, mermaids, mermen, werewolves, magic runes, transformation. In *The Mermaid's Spacing* a captured mermaid reads the future for the queen. *Agnes and the Merman* is the story of the love between

him in his exploits against the Turks. In many of these stories the fabulous and supernatural are linked with the historical.

Another and larger cycle is that of Kiev. These stories, now found only in the north, were originally Ukrainian stories and were probably founded on fact. The central figure is Vladimir I (10th century). Most of the stories relate the exploits of his družina. Here are mostly stories of adventure, but now and then personal narratives like those more frequently found in ballad appear. The most important characters in this cycle are Dobrynya, Ilya of Murom, Nikitich, Aljoša Popovich, Nastasya, Dyuk Stepanovich, Mikhailo. The latter is the hero of a fantastic story involving many folklore motifs: swan maiden, water of life, petrification. It is impossible here to give more than a suggestion of this material so varied and extensive it is.

The *dumi* of the Ukraine are different, for the Ukraine was subject from the late Middle Ages on to much Western influence. Their ballads are more conventional in form and subject. They rime; many of them are stanzaic. The music is definitely melodic. Their subjects are of a more domestic sort—love, courtship, marriage, faithfulness or lack of it, death. They are more impersonal, less inclined to celebrate great heroes. A number of the *dumi* are based on historical themes, recounting battles against the Turks and Poles, raiding expeditions that suggest the English and Scottish border. Here too can be found a number of ballads general to all Europe.

The folk poetry of Yugoslavia falls into two somewhat arbitrary groups: the *junačke pesme*, men's songs, and the *ženske pesme*, women's songs. The *junačke pesme* are heroic and narrative, the *ženske pesme*, lyric, often love songs. Unlike the men's songs the women's songs were often danced to. The men's songs are distinctly heroic; in fact they represent really an epic urge working itself out in the shorter narrative form. Typical are the story poems telling of the exploits of Marco Kraljević, the famous Yugoslav hero, killed probably in the battle of Rovine, 1394. The ballad of *Marco and Andrija* shows analogical relation to *Edward* and to the *Two Brothers*. In a quarrel Marco drives his sword into his brother's heart. Dying, Andrija begs Marco not to let his mother know what happened. When she asks why the sword is bloody Marco is to say that he has just killed a stag. If she asks for Andrija, Marco is to say that he has been bespelled by a lady and lured to the land of no return. He then tells Marco to call on him by name whenever he needs aid in battle. In *The Marriage of Marco* Marco through the help of his faithful falcon secures as wife one of the *vile* (beautiful supernatural winged maidens). After living with him for several years and bearing him a child, the *vila* one day gets possession of her wings, which Marco had kept from her, and flies away. But the story, unlike the swan maiden stories, ends by Marco getting the lady back and their living happily ever after. *Marco Kraljević and the Arab King's Daughter* tells the story of Marco's escape from prison by aid of the jailer's daughter who loved him. These stories are the usual compound of physical adventure of an exaggerated sort and folklore. Some seem very like folktales translated into ballad form.

More dramatic and more poetic are the fine stories that form the cycle of Kosovo. These stories were inspired by the battle of Kosovo (1389) in which the Turks

defeated the Serbs. Characteristic is the ballad, *The Fall of the Serbian Kingdom*, which describes the battle as a whole, making the defeat of the Serbs inevitable and therefore dramatic and tragic. Many of the ballads in this cycle particularize events of the battle. In *The Death of Jugovici's Mother*, the mother receiving the severed hand of her son dead on the field of battle voices lament and dies. Simple pathos is found in *The Maiden of Kosovo*. At daybreak the maiden goes out on the battlefield, turns over the bodies of the slain, wipes the blood from their faces, searching for her lover. In this cycle are some of the finest of European ballads.

In Yugoslavia are to be found a goodly number of ballads dealing with religious story, of which the largest group is hagiographic, often with a touch of didacticism. The stories of supernatural characters form a mixed group, mostly concerned with dragons and vile. *The Walling of Skadar* has interesting European analogies. Three brothers try to build a wall around the town, but each night the wall is destroyed by a vila. Finally, the vila tells them that they must immure whichever wife brings their dinner on the next day. Two of the brothers warn their wives; consequently the wife of the third is walled up. For a year she suckles her child through a hole in the wall and ever after milk flows from that place.

In Bulgaria most of the ballads are concerned with supernatural characters and themes: samodiva, lamia, dragons, Charontes, fates, snakes, talking birds and animals, bespelling music, magic instruments—the whole of Bulgarian folklore crowds into ballad story. The sun and moon appear as supernatural characters in many of these ballads, as they do in Yugoslavia. Another important type is the love ballad—largely stories of seduction, trickery, and tragic love. *Latin Andro and Muz Marica* tells of the protracted grief of Marica at the death of Andro, and of her being murdered on his grave by her jealous husband. As she lies there, the hands of the two lovers meet beneath the sod. A rose grows from Marica and a stream of cool water flows forever from Andro's side.

The ballad in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria has had vigorous growth from the Middle Ages to the present. In Yugoslavia it is one of the most important of all types of literature. It has played a large part in keeping alive tradition, and solidifying the people against outside forces.

The folk songs of France are largely lyrical. What narrative folk songs do exist are reworked from lyric or borrowed from abroad. The *pastourelle* is typical of the lyric-narrative. It is far removed from the true narrative song like the ballad, for the narrative of the *pastourelle* is generalized, patterned, and subordinate. The best of the French narrative folk songs have drifted in from across the borders or have been simply adapted from literary sources. Typical are: *Belle Hélène*, *The Torch of Love*, *Renaud*, *The Woman Killer*, *King Loys' Daughter*, *La Belle Barbière*. There is no body of ballads like that of England and Denmark. The same remarks hold generally for Italy, where many of the French songs penetrated as well as those from other countries. *Donna Lombarda* is probably the most famous of Italian ballads. It is the story of Rosamund and her poisoning of her lover. It was first told in the *Historia Langobardorum* and from that became general folk legend. Italy develops more



historical ballads than France though most of them are late.

Though other Romance countries show little in the way of organized narrative song material, Spain developed a great body of such songs. They came to be known as *romancero* (a word that traveled to France and Germany to denote a body of short dramatic narrative). These songs, unlike the French and Italian, are basically narrative. They are impersonal and dramatic in the same way that the best of the English are. But unlike the English they tend to be tied to specific history. The Spanish ballad too developed a rigid form, highly conventionalized. There is evidence that they are more intense and less diffuse than they were originally; evidently the folk here as usual deleted excrescences and kept alive only the most dramatic elements. Most of the Spanish ballads are semihistorical. But it is rather the personalities of history that interest the balladists. For example, King Pedro the Cruel appears in several ballads but always personally and only incidentally as king and ruler. But ballads of raids, forays, and battles are also found. Many of these recount conflicts between Moors and Christians. Another category is made up of material from the old epics and epiclike chronicles. The most famous of these are the some 200 ballads of the Cid, and the *Infantes de Lara*. In the ballads the character of the Cid changes from that of a distinguished statesman and warrior as he appears in the old epics to that of a young dashing, devil-may-care hero, a great folk hero of Spain. Dozens of ballads work over the old Carolingian stories, the French *chansons de geste*, and even the romances, but all are made history and most of them Spanish history, for the very essence of the Spanish ballad is credibility and historical value. Even general fictional stories are forced into the pattern of history, like *Count Alarcos*, *Count Dirlos*, *Gaiferos*. Among the best ballads of a general sort are *Ramón Berenguer* and the *German Empress* (cf. English *Sir Aldinger*), *Count Sun* (cf. English *Young Beichan* and *Susie Pye*), *Doña Arbola* (cf. English *Child Waters*), *Moriana* (cf. Italian *Donna Lombarda*), *Rico Franco* (cf. Dutch *Hallewijn*), *Don Pedro* and *Doña Alda* (cf. Danish *Elveskud*). Typical of the few ballads that turn largely on folk themes are *Espinelo* which is based on the superstition that assigns multiple fathers to twins, and *Bovalias*, the central feature of which is a light-giving stone. All in all the Spanish ballads in number, forcefulness, and dramatic story are among the most important in Europe. See SPANISH BALLAD.

We have tried to make implicit throughout this article that from the point of view of folklore the ballad richly repays study, for it exhibits not only folk beliefs that are contemporary, but also the fossil remains of the lore of the folk reaching back to remote antiquity. Many of these fossil remains found in the ballad survive, of course, as mere conventions, carried from generation to generation, but valuable to the folklorist for all of that. Not the least interesting aspect of this is the fact that here in the ballad is to be found much material for a history of rationalization.

But the main importance of the ballad is not in furnishing material for folklorists. It is of great intrinsic importance. It is often magnificent poetry with beauty and definitiveness. The felicity of its lines, its moving stories, its suggestiveness and evocations are all of the

high order of poetry. It often gives a deep reading of life, concerned as it is so frequently with eternal matters, such as love and death, and presenting these matters with the simplicity and directness of Greek drama. Socially it is important. It is the expression of people when they were close to one another and to the community, a homogeneous and largely classless group living in close integration. It was an expression of their unity and likewise it was a force making for that unity. "Give me the making of the songs of a nation and I care not who makes its laws" has point when nation means such a society. The debt of the literature of record to the ballad is immense, but the extent of it can never be fully determined, for the ballad long ago became a permanent part of our general cultural inheritance.

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MACEDWARD LEACH

**ball de la teya** Literally, torch dance: a serpentine processional dance performed on the eve of a religious festival, in mountain villages of the province of Lérida, Spain. A bonfire is lit on a neighboring mountain. The people run and leap carrying large branches on their shoulders. These they light and return to the village, dancing exultantly through the streets and around the church. Finally in the plaza the fiery serpent coils and uncoils, contracts and expands, and winds into a spiral—a fusion of fire purification and fertility magic. The most recent bridegroom is the leader. [CPK]

**ball del ciri** Literally, candle dance: a Catalan dance for couples of men and women, performed at religious festivals. Two couples dance at a time, the first group consisting of married couples, the succeeding ones of unmarried couples. The first two women carry branches of flowers, the others carry lighted candles. In Castellersol, on the second day of a fiesta, six couples circle with small skips, hand in hand. They execute various figures, as the hey, or a radiation of the women to the center, the men to the periphery. The candles are replaced by flowers in the left hands of the women and by *morratxes*, glass vessels, in their right. During a processional they sprinkle perfume from the morratxes on the spectators—possibly a vestige of ancient rain magic. Renewal symbolism is inherent in the group transference of the dance from married to unmarried dancers. [CPK]

**Ballet of the Boll Weevil** An American Negro plantation song dating from about 1900 when the boll weevil moved from Mexico into Texas to the destruction of the cotton crops. The field hand's sympathy is with the boll weevil against the white man and stanzas have multiplied as fast as the beetle itself. Since World War II it has been sung as a commentary on the housing shortage, in which the singer, like the boll weevil, is "a-lookin' fur a home."

**ball pla** A Catalan round dance for couples. The music, in triple time, is in two parts, corresponding to the dance: the *entrada* or entrance, a simple promenade, and the dance proper. A variation is the ballet de deu, literally, dance of God, in a slow austere tempo, with one section separating men and women into two lines which fluctuate forward and backward. Another variant, the *bal cerda* from the province of Cerdana, is in light, quick tempo. After a circular promenade, the couples dance singly with small steps and jumps, the man following the woman at a prescribed distance. Finally couples hold hands for another promenade or a mill. These and other variants of the ball pla are performed at religious festivals and pilgrimages, before the church, in city, or mountains. [CRK]

**ball play** A man's ball game played with racket and stuffed ball: found in all eastern North American Indian tribes and now adapted, without the original accompanying ritual, as in the modern Canadian lacrosse and Louisiana Creole raquette.

**Ball the Jack** A dance accompanied by hand-clapping and recitative, the head and feet remaining still and the rest of the body undulating, with a rotation of the hips called "snake hips." American Negroes originated this particular form, which was taken over into minstrel shows, but similar dances are done in the Bahamas and along the Congo. The recitative may be a rhythmic chant similar to children's game rimes, ending with "And I ball the jack on the railroad track." The term derives from railroad slang, meaning to go ahead, go fast, be reckless, risk all, etc. "Ball" is an abbreviation of "highball," the signal to go ahead, which in early railroad practice was a painted metal globe hoisted to the top of a tall pole, and the "jack" was the locomotive. Much of American Negro song and verse contains similar allusions to railroads and trains, which symbolized escape.

**balm** Any of various aromatic plants of the genus *Melissa*. Taken in wine, balm cured snake and rabid-dog bites and was recommended by Arabian physicians for hypochondria and heart trouble. In an English legend of the Wandering Jew, Ahasuerus knocked one evening at the door of an ill Staffordshire cottager who asked him in and offered him a glass of beer. After finishing the beer, the wanderer asked the cottager from what illness he was suffering. The doctors had given him up, he said. Ahasuerus told him to gather three balm leaves, put them into a cup of small beer and drink it, and to refill the cup as it was emptied and put in fresh balm leaves every fourth day. This he did and was cured within 12 days.

**Balor** In Old Irish mythology, a king of the giant Fomorians, son of Dot son of Net, and grandfather of Lug. He had only one eye, which killed whatever it

looked upon; but luckily it was nearly always closed except on the battlefield. Four men attended him to lift the lid with a handle that passed through the edge. He got such an eye as a child from peeking at his father's druids brewing charms. The fumes of the brew went into the eye and poisoned it, so that nothing forever after could survive its glance.

Balor was among the leaders of the Fomorians at the battle of Mag Tured. That day when Lug and Balor met in battle, Balor cried to the four men "Lift up mine eyelid," and just as the lid was raised, Lug cast a sling-stone into it that carried the eye out the back of Balor's head, and killed three times nine of Balor's men behind him.

Balor is among those grandfathers of world mythology whose death at the hand of a grandson was prophesied, who exposed to perish or otherwise disposed of the fatal infant, only to die at the hand of that grandson, always somehow miraculously saved to fulfill the prophecy. The Balor story exemplifies the strong Celtic belief in the evil eye. His story is classified also by Krappe and some others with the Old Year or Winter versus New Year, sun, and spring combats and rituals.

**Bamapama** The stupid, gay trickster hero of Murngin mythology (Arnhem Land) who is called "crazy man" because he violates many tabus, including those against clan incest. See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY. [KL]

**bamboche** Haitian term for a dance attended only for recreation: sometimes applied (in Mirelhalais) to the vodun dances by those who go merely for social exchange, to watch the performance, or to join only in the huge singing dance-circle which never ceases to move around the tonnelle (the temporary brush construction that shelters the actual vodun performance) during the ceremony. [CRK]

**bamboo** In India a symbol of friendship and an emblem of the sacred fire, since it is believed that jungle fires are caused by the rubbing together of bamboo stems. Its origin is told in the tale of Murala, a Brahman girl who, unknowingly was wed to a man of the Sudra caste. When she discovered the deception, she decided to end her life. She prayed to Vishnu and then mounted a funeral pyre. From her ashes grew the bamboo.

In all of southeastern Asia and the East Indies the belief is prevalent that the flowering of the bamboo (which rarely occurs) is the prognostication of approaching famine. In the Philippine Islands bamboo crosses are placed in the fields to aid the growth of crops. Among the Semang of Malaya and many Melanesian tribes bamboo is used in magic. The Aka-Bo of the Andaman Islands believe the first man, Jutpu, was born inside the joint of a big bamboo, came forth, and made his wife from clay of a white ants' nest. The bridge of death of the Kachins of Burma is a slender bamboo under which are rows upon rows of boiling cauldrons which bubble up and engulf the wicked.

The bamboo is connected with the moon, especially in Japan where one of the holy men cut down a bamboo, transformed it into a dragon, and rode to the lunar heaven on its back.

**Bamboo Princess** The title of a Malay legend. Khatib Malim Seleman, carrying a jungle knife, adze, chisel, and betel-nut scissors, went in pursuit of a beautiful

pity upon me, nurturing me from the milk of her own breast. When I became older I loved my foster mother so much that I smothered her with caresses." The provler is the fruit bat which ate the banyan fruit and dropped the seeds in a tree, usually a palm, where they rooted. The roots eventually embrace and kill the palm.

Tahitian (Polynesian) mythology explains the shadows on the moon as the branches of a huge banyan tree from which Hina-i-aa-i-te-marama (Hina-who-stepped-into-the-moon) took bark to make cloth for the gods. Once while clambering around in the tree she broke off a branch accidentally with her foot. It flew through space to the earth, took root, and became the first banyan tree in the world. Hina's companion in the moon was a wild green parrot (*u'upa*) who lived in the tree and ate its figs. This little bird, at Hina's instigation, scattered a bunch of these little red figs across the earth and from them grew all the Polynesian banyans. Here is a folktale strangely contrary to the natural fact that the banyan propagates by its branches. The Polynesian peoples make a good cloth from the bark of the banyan, and thus Hina is still tutelary deity of the sacred cloth-beaters.

The Hindus call the tree Vaibadha, the breaker, and invoke it when they desire vengeance on their enemies. In Indian mythology, Vishnu was born under the shade of the banyan. The tree is confused with the Bo-tree and therefore shares its place in heaven. Like the latter it is the Tree of Knowledge. It is also the tree of Indian ascetics and seers. In Indian folklore the tree is a representation of Siva and anyone who cuts one down will be punished by the annihilation of his family.

**baptism** Ceremonial purification by immersing, bathing, or sprinkling with water, usually symbolic of acceptance into the community, typically the religious community, and often accompanied, as in the instance of the newborn child, by name-giving: a practice originating in the pre-Christian era and found today among many cultures all over the world. While baptism as a sacrament is most common in Western culture, similar ceremonies without this religious background are widespread. Baptism, essentially, seems to be based on the concept of the removal of the ceremonial uncleanness of the mother and child, and of safeguarding them against the demons and evil spirits to which the ordeal of birth has made them especially susceptible. Water, as a pure, "living" material, is most used, but baptism by saliva, blood (human or sacrificial animal), milk, clay, dirt, and even rum is known. Adult baptism is usually an initiatory rite, as for candidates to the Eleusinian mysteries or for proselytes to Judaism, though sometimes the ceremony is a reaffirmation of faith.

Generally, in Europe, underlying the religious significance of the Christian rite of baptism are more ancient, indigenous beliefs. The idea is that the unbaptized, adult or child, is a pagan, hence subject to pagan influences. In Ireland of the 16th century, for example, the right arm of the male child was left pagan (unbaptized) so that it might strike harder blows. The general belief that the newborn child is endangered by fairies or demons gives rise to numerous customs for safeguarding the child and the mother until baptism and churching. In the Middle Ages it was thought that witches took a toll of unbaptized children on Walpurgis night. The Greeks and the Slavs believe that the Lamia has a cer-

tain power over the unbaptized. An obscure Coptic custom, adapted from Christian baptism but observed by many Copts and Moslems in the Middle Ages, was the baptismal river festival in the Nile on Epiphany Eve which cured all illnesses. Group baptism in rivers in the United States has been well publicized. No matter how cold the water or how raw the weather, United States Primitive Baptists believe baptizing never leads to a cold. Among the Lapps, a second or third or subsequent baptism, with renaming, may be gone through in case of illness to foil the malignant spirit causing the ailment.

Baptism accompanied by naming ceremonies is found in Africa, Malaya, Polynesia, India, and Iran, among the North American Indians, Teutons, Greeks, Lapps, and Celts. In Europe, the circumstances attendant on the naming of the child are accompanied by a number of customary observances and beliefs. The behavior and physical and moral perfection of the godparents, the actions and speech of the officiating clergyman, the occupation of the parents during the ceremony, all have influence on the future development of the child. The actions of the child himself during the baptism are important. Widespread in England is the belief that a child who cries is expelling the devil. On the other hand, in Germany a crying child will not live to grow old.

Among the ancient Teutons, the *vatni ausa* (sprinkling with water) of the infant by the father acknowledged it. After that the child was a member of the community and could not be exposed by the parent. The idea behind this is recognition of the infant as a new person in the social group. The formalized religious overtones and ceremonies, while significant, are perhaps subordinate in origin. It is the first bathing of the new child that is of community importance. In Fiji, the group holds a feast without the child being named at that time, although the name itself is significant in later community life.

**baraka** The word used by Mohammedans of Morocco for the supernatural energy, or holiness, attached to certain persons or objects. Baraka is a beneficent power, but it also has a distinct element of the perilous in it. It may be transferred, as from a holy person to a place or thing. Baraka is possessed by brides, plants, trees, mountains, the horse and saddle, camels, greyhounds, prayers, rainbows, and other natural phenomena, certain numbers (the odd having more baraka than the even), etc. Compare MANA; TABU.

**Barashnūm** A Zoroastrian ceremony of purification "the purification of the nine nights": conducted especially to restore purity to those contaminated by contact with the dead. Originally it was performed only for a woman who had given birth to a stillborn child or for a man who had had contact with a corpse; but it is now observed generally by the Parsis of India as a means of securing purity. Every member of the Parsi community must go through the ceremony, which is conducted by the local priest, before the age of 15, and perhaps again later, in order to prepare his soul for its entrance into heaven. If he does not, he cannot cross the Chinvat bridge after death. Trees are felled to prepare a special place suitable for the ceremony. Holes are dug, furrows marked; the one seeking purification walks to each hole,

says a prayer, and is sprinkled with water and *gomez* (cow's urine). The ceremony is performed also at the time of a priest's initiation into the priesthood, for the purification of the initiate and for the sake of some person (living or dead) in whose honor he is entering the priesthood. The whole elaborate ritual is described in detail in *Vendidad* ix. See BAPTISM; BARSON.

**Barbara Allen** The beautiful and cruel maiden in the ballad *Bonny Barbara Allen* (Child #84) who shows no pity or kindness to the young man dying for her love. When she hears the dead-bell ring, she sickens and dies of remorse. Child has only three versions of the originally English and Scotch ballads on the subject, but in America it has become the most widespread of all the transplanted ballads, showing greater geographical range, more tunes, and more text variants than any other ballad. It was first printed in Great Britain in 1710, in the United States in 1830.

**Barbarossa** Frederick I (1123?-1190), Holy Roman emperor, called Barbarossa (Redbeard) by the Italians: a German national hero. Frederick is the best known of the kings and heroes thought to be asleep in a mountain and waiting to return in time of their country's need. The Kyllhäuser Mountain in Thuringia is Barbarossa's resting place. He sits there at a marble table in a cave with his beard growing either through the table or around it. In a late version, when the beard has encircled the table three times he will awaken. Compare BEARD; KING IN THE MOUNTAIN.

**barber** The hair-cutter and trimmer and remover of beards, formerly also the phlebotomist and tooth-puller, at all periods since Roman times (5th century B.C.): renowned as town gossip and retailer of news. The barber's reputation for being talkative is a popular stereotype in many parts of the world. Formerly the barber performed the offices of a surgeon, and his art was called a profession, but under Louis XIV in France and George II in England the hairdressers and surgeons were finally separated, although for some time bleeding and tooth extraction were still performed in the barber's shop. In northern England barbers for a time sold books. The row of shaving mugs, each with its owner's name, was a familiar sight in early 20th century barber shops in the United States. In India the barber is still a surgeon and a masseur, also a matchmaker and expert on marriages. The barber's wife is often a midwife. The Eastern barber appears in the *Kātha Sarit Sāgara* in the "Story of Kadaligarbha," and in "The Hunchback's Tale" of the *Thousand Nights and a Night*. The barber in the North European tale of the three skillful brothers manages to shave a running hare. Barbers like Monsieur Beaucaire and Figaro are familiar figures in modern fiction.

**barber's pole** The striped pole seen in front of barber shops. The red and white stripes on the barber's pole are a survival of the time when the barber was also a surgeon. The white stripe symbolizes the bandage used in the operation of bleeding; the pole itself, the wand grasped by the patient as the vein was opened. Formerly a basin topped the pole to indicate the basin in which the blood was caught. See BARBER.

**barhest or barguest** The specter-hound of Cornwall, known also in northern England. Literally, perhaps it

means bear-ghost (*bar geest*) but there is also some argument for its being derived from German *berggeist*, gnome. It appears to people in the form of a bear or a huge dog, and the sight of it usually precedes a death in the family. Traditionally it cannot cross water. In Lancashire it is sometimes called the Shriker, because of the shrieks it lets out when invisible, and sometimes called Trash because it walks with a splashing sound.

**bariaua** In Tubetube and Wagawaga (Melanesian) folklore, shy, harmless spirits inhabiting the trunks of old trees. They often borrow the sea-going craft of mortals, since they are unable to make them themselves. The bariaua are afraid of being seen by men and run away when approached.

**barley** A hardy bearded cereal grass or its grain, genus *Hordeum*, of temperate regions, with long leaves, stout awns, and triple spikelets at the joints which distinguish it from wheat. Barley has been cultivated since prehistoric times as a staple food and evidence exists that it was one of the first if not the first cereal cultivated by man. Grains of barley have been found in Egyptian remains dating from the pre-dynastic period and in the pile dwellings of Switzerland. It is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament (*Judges* vii, 13; *Ruth* ii, 17; *11 Kings* iv, 42; *John* vi, 9, 13). The meal offering of jealousy (*Num.* v, 15) seems to have been the only use made of barley in the Hebrew ritual. Its use in bread is indicative, however, of poverty.

Indra is called "He who ripens Barley" and the Indians use this cereal when celebrating the birth of a child, at weddings, funerals, and during the rites of the *śraddha*. Pliny says a boil may be removed by rubbing nine grains of barley around it and then throwing them into the fire. To the herbalists barley was a plant of Saturn, more cooling than wheat, and efficacious in the treatment of fevers, agues, and heats in the stomach. A meal of barley boiled with fleaworts and made into a poultice with honey and oil of lilies, applied warm, will cure swellings under the ears, throat, and neck.

Barley is used in making malt for beer; a Babylonian recipe for beer dates from 2800 B.C. In rune II of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen fells the forest to let the barley grow.

**Barmecide's feast** In "The Barber's Tale of his Sixth Brother" in the *Thousand Nights and a Night*, an imaginary feast served to a beggar by a prince of the house of Barmak. The beggar, falling in with the jest, despite his hunger, pretends to eat the imaginary food from the imaginary dishes. Finally, he pretends to become very drunk from imaginary wine and gives the prince two very real buffets. The phrase has been applied to anything imaginary, illusory, or disappointing.

**bar mizvah, bar mitzvah, or bar mizwah** The Hebrew term for a boy entering his fourteenth year. Until the thirteenth birthday, responsibility in religious matters rests in the father, but after that the bar mizvah assumes the attributes of maturity and takes his own place in the religious community. The ceremony solemnizing the event occurs on the Sabbath following the thirteenth birthday, at which time the youth is called to read a portion of the Law. Customarily the boy then recites a learned oration, and receives presents from the guests. The rite has been a fixed custom only since the 14th century, but various indications, such as *Gen.*

xxxiv, 25, where Levi is called "man" at thirteen, suggesting an origin in antiquity.

**barnacle goose** An Old World goose (*Branta leucopsis*) nesting in the Arctic. During the Middle Ages its then unknown breeding habits gave long life to the legend that the bird was in some way hatched from driftwood or that it originated in shells growing on a seaside tree in some obscure place. The story was repeated as late as 1668 despite its being disproved in the 15th century by Æneas Sylvius. Some disagreement existed among medieval rabbis about the bird, since several forbade eating it on the grounds that it was a shellfish, while others discussed the question of slaughtering it as fowl or eating it unslaughtered as fish. A similar Christian debate was concerned with the edibility of the fowl during Lent.

**barn dance** A social country dance, often held in a barn, at which square dances, quadrilles, etc., are danced, to the directions of a "caller" and the music of a small band or often of a fiddler. The dance music, forms, and calls are to a great degree traditional, even to the humor of the calls, and occur in all parts of the United States with regional variants.

**Barnyard** A cumulative song of the mountains of the southern U. S. which enumerates the barnyard animals with imitations of their cries in a manner similar to that of *Old MacDonald Had a Farm*. "I had a cat and the cat pleased me," it says. "Fed my cat under yonder tree. Cat went fiddle-i-fee." The hen went "shimmy-shack" and the duck, the goose, etc., made their particular noises in a long series, each verse adding another.

**barrel house** A cheap saloon of the period about 1900 during which jazz developed, in which the customers could fill their own glasses from a cask, the drip from the spigot falling into a "gut bucket" on the floor. The term is applied to the kind of music played in such places, and especially to the rough, "dirty" timbre of instrumental tone characteristic of this early jazz.

**barrenness** In folklore and folktale, barrenness is removed or prevented by the use of blood or charms, by eating or drinking certain substances, by bathing, or by sacrifice, often sacrifice of a child. Certain persons are considered unlucky because of their barrenness, and are an evil omen if encountered. Old women and priests in particular are so regarded in northern Europe. See BILTANE; BLOOD; PROMISED CHILD; TWINS.

**Barry, Phillips** (1880-1937) Scholar of comparative literature, philology, early Greek music, and the history and theology of New England; scholar and authority on ballads and folk music of New England. He became interested in ballad while studying under Leo Werner at Harvard and began his collection of New England folk music in 1903. He had one of the earliest collections of recordings in the country. Together with Louise Pound, he advanced the theory that the ballad is originated by an individual, and is recreated and changed by each subsequent singer, rather than developed by a group and kept reasonably intact.

In 1930 he founded and edited the *Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of New England*. Besides articles in that publication, he contributed to *The Southern Folklore Quarterly*, *Journal of American Folklore* and the

*Musical Quarterly*. Many of these articles are reprinted in *Folk Music in America* (New York, Natl. Serv. B. Publ. 1939), put out in his name by the Federal Theater Project of the WPA. He also edited *The Maine Woods Songster* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) and in collaboration with others, *British Ballads from Maine; The Development of Popular Songs* (New Haven, 1929) and *The New Green Mountain Songster* (New Haven, 1939).

**barsom** or **baresmān** Originally, a bundle of the stems of a plant which cannot now be identified, used in the chief Zoroastrian ceremonies; now, among the Parsis of India, a bundle of wire rods varying in number from 5 to 33, bound together with leaves, and used in sacrificial ceremonies. The Zoroastrians of Persia use bundles of pomegranate, tamarind, or date twigs bound with the bark of the mulberry tree. The barsom is powerful against demons, wizards, and witches. A single offering of barsom is so powerful that the Druj is weakened when it is made. The bundle, however, must be removed from a house in which a person or a dog has died and it is a sin to prepare barsom improperly or point it toward the north (the region of demons).

**Bartók, Béla** (1881-1935) Hungarian composer and folk-music scholar. Educated at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest, where he studied with János Koessler and István Thomán and where he became professor of piano in 1907, Bartók started his researches into the ancient folk music of Hungary and neighboring countries in 1905. He was particularly concerned with uncovering the indigenous music from the layer of Gipsy music regarded as typically Hungarian until that time, and in the course of collecting joined forces with Zoltán Kodály. Their studies resulted in the publication of *Hungarian Folk Songs for Voice and Piano*, in 1906, followed by Bartók's *Twenty Songs and Székely Ballads*. In all he collected, transcribed, and scientifically classified more than 6,000 songs of Magyar, Rumanian, Slovak, and Transylvanian singers, and extended his field in 1913 to African-Arab music. His monumental work, *Hungarian Folk Music*, appeared in 1924. His investigations also included regional music of Bihar, 1911, Hunyad, 1914, Maramures, 1923; colinde, 1937; and folk instruments and instrumental music. With Kodály he founded the New Hungarian Music Society in 1911. His own compositions, numbering among others an opera, *Prince Bluebeard's Castle*, two ballets, six string quartets, many songs and piano pieces, concerti for piano violin, and orchestra, make extensive and original use of both melodic and rhythmic material from the folk music studies which were his signal contribution to comparative musicology.

**basers** Members of the chorus in American Negro spiritual singing who sing the response after a narrative line from the leader and "spell" him for a breath before his next line. They take up so quickly that the singer has a continuity that gives the effect of never stopping for breath.

**basil** Any of certain aromatic plants (genus *Ocimum* of the mint family; so called because it was believed to be an antidote for the basilisk's poison, although its earlier Greek name, *basilikon*, probably derives from its use in some royal ceremony. Basil, paradoxically, in folk belief is both sacred and dedicated to the Evil One, i

dear to lovers (Italy) and an emblem of hatred (Greece), the propagator of scorpions and the antidote to their stings. Galen and Dioscorides believed it poisonous; Pliny and the Arabian physicians recommended it; Culpeper thought it poisonous because it would not grow with the poison antidote, rue; Gerard recommended smelling it for the heart and the head. It has been and still is used as a cooking herb.

In India holy basil or *tulasī* (*O. sanctum*) is sacred to Vishnu and Lakshmi. It is grown in pots near every Hindu dwelling and temple, is a protection for every part of the body, ensures children to those who desire them, and opens the gates of heaven to the pious.

In Greece and Rome the planting of basil is accompanied by cursing, without which the plant will not flourish. In Persia and Egypt the plant is found in cemeteries. In Moldavia its enchanted flowers will stop a wandering youth and make him love the girl who hands him a sprig. In Africa it is eaten so that one will not feel the sting of scorpions, but in some places smelling the plant breeds scorpions in the brain. Elsewhere the smell of the plant is beneficial to the heart and head and produces cheerfulness. See POT OF BASIL; TULASÍ.

**basilisk or cockatrice** A fabulous reptile of classical and medieval European legend and folktale whose breath and look were fatal. Physical descriptions of the creature differ, but generally the basilisk was thought to be hatched from a cock's egg on which a toad or serpent had sat and which preferably had matured in a dunghill or amidst poisonous materials; the glance of the basilisk was fatal whether it wished to kill or not; its breath was poisonous to all plants and animals; contact with its body split rocks, and killed men (even a horseman using a spear), animals, and plants; and its hissing drove away all other serpents. The basilisk usually had a spotted crest, indicating its kingship among the serpents, and a horrid face, either that of a cock or of a human being. It walked upright and, in some instances, was winged. In heraldry, the cockatrice is depicted as having the head of a cock, wings and feet of a fowl, and barbed serpent's tail. Such was the power of the glance that the basilisk could kill itself by looking in a mirror; human beings of course could not look at the basilisk directly but had to use a mirror. If a man saw the basilisk before it saw him, the basilisk would die. There was also a small weasel-like animal which could kill the basilisk, and from this and the fact that the more or less general words for snake in the Hebrew version of the Bible (e.g. *Isa. xi, 8*) have been translated as "basilisk" and "cockatrice," it is believed that the original of the reptile was either the horned adder of the Sinai peninsula or the hooded cobra of India, the latter fitting well with the common description. Compare DRAGON; POISON DAMSEL.

**Basin Street** A street in the French Quarter of New Orleans, one of twelve blocks comprising Storyville, the red light district marked off by an alderman named Story. Here jazz had its original hearing. One of the most popular of blues pieces was named for the street, *Basin Street Blues*.

**basket dance** A ceremonial dance centering the action around a basket carried in the left hand by the dancer. In all cases the bearer is a woman who may strew seeds from the basket, and in all cases it is a vegetation cere-

mony. In the medieval Nürnberg and modern Thracian carnival dances an old woman of the corn (meaning rye) carries a baby doll in a basket. The distant (in space and time) Tarascan *semladora* sows meal or flower petals. In the basket dance of Cochiti, nine women kneel before nine men and symbolically grind corn on their inverted baskets. In these various instances the symbolism doubtless evolved independently. [GRK]

**Basque folklore** The Basques, "the oldest people in Europe," have preserved little of their ancient culture. The Romans, the French, and the Spanish have profoundly influenced them away from their old traditions, and Christianity since the 7th century directly and indirectly has forced them into the general pattern demanded by the church. Their language, too, so difficult that even the devil has never been able to learn it, has been a factor in keeping Basque culture from spreading and so surviving as, for example, elements of Breton culture were preserved. The language barrier may account for the fact that folklorists have long neglected these people. Even now records are few and often unscientifically compiled.

The Basques seem not to have had an elaborate mythology. They did believe in a universal god, the Yaun-Goicoa, lord of the universe. He created the three principles of life: Egia, the light of the spirit; Ekhia, the sun, the light of the world; Begia, the eye, the light of the body. There is no evidence of an extensive cosmogony such as that of the Indo-Europeans. In some conflict with the belief in the god creator is the evidence of belief in the mother goddess, the great mother of Pan-Mediterranean culture. The Basques called her Erditse, goddess of maternity. All we know of her in Basque culture comes from an inscription on an altar dedicated to her.

A few explanatory myths survive. The Basques account for themselves more easily than most scholars account for them. In the beginning a great fire-serpent lived under the world. Restless in its sleep, it threw up the Pyrenees mountains as it turned its heavy coils. From its seven gaping jaws flowed forth fire which destroyed all the world, purifying everything; then out of the fire the Basques were born. The Basque explanation of the constellation of the Dipper is somewhat different from the usual story. The first two stars in the cup of the dipper are two oxen stolen by two thieves from a laborer. The next two stars are the two thieves following the oxen. The first star in the handle is the son of the owner, sent to apprehend the thieves; the double star is the daughter and her little dog, sent to find the brother. Then following all is the laborer. God condemned them all to this endless journey because of the curses of the laborer at losing his oxen. Most of the myths have been Christianized with the introduction of the Christian god, of Jesus, and of the saints as characters. The moon is a man with a load of fagots, condemned by God to light the world because he cut the fagots on Sunday.

Though the Basques no longer have a pagan mythology, they do retain belief in a group of supernatural creatures and about them tell many stories. Tartaro is a Cyclops-like creature. He is usually described as a giant having one eye in the middle of his forehead. At other times he appears as a great hunter or shepherd

living in the mountains: in one or two stories he is simply a grotesque animal. In most stories he is outwitted by his human opponents and so beaten. The Herren-Surge is a great seven-headed snake. In some stories he must be appeased by offerings of human beings; in others he appears in the role of the conventional dragon. One long story in which he figures is the Basque version of the widespread folktale of the ransomed woman as it appears in the usual version of the *Two Brothers*. The Basa-Jaun and his wife, Basa-Andre, are wild creatures of mountain and wood. Their characters shift considerably from story to story. Often Basa-Jaun is a sort of faun or wood sprite (French *Homme de Bouc*); he is mischievous, not malignant. His wife is often depicted as a sorceress, sitting at the entrance of a mountain cave, combing her long hair, luring men to their doom. In other stories Basa-Jaun is an ogre, and his wife is a witch. And strangely enough she often helps her husband's captives to escape. The Laminak are fairies, probably related to the Celtic little people, for like them the Laminak live underground in beautiful castles. The Lamia in Basque story is a water sprite or mermaid, with none of the malignancy of the conventional lamia of classical mythology. In addition to these rather specific characters, one finds the usual assortment of witches (*astiya*), sorcerers, magicians, and the like. Stories of the witches' Sabbath (Basque *aque-larre*, goat-pasture) abound. Usually they tell of a human being who is an accidental witness to the Sabbath proceedings and who overhears some bit of information by which he can break the spell that the witches or their god, the Devil (in the form of a goat), has placed on their victim. In the religious folktales Christ, St. Peter, Mary appear as beneficent supernatural beings little different from the witches and fairies except that they always work for the good of men. A number of these religious tales are highly moralistic, their terseness and pithiness reminding one of the *Jātakas*. Like the *Jātakas* too are the animal stories. The usual characters are the fox, the wolf, and the ass. Each has his traditional role. Each story is well told by way of sprightly dialog.

One finds among the Basques a goodly store of folk songs. Almost all of the songs are lyrics rather than narratives; in fact, only a very few ballads have been recorded. The lyrics fall into five groups: hymns, carols, love songs, satiric and humorous songs, religious legends. The earliest of the songs, the hymns, are modal, and as one would expect, show close affiliation with church liturgy. The most original of all Basque music is that of the following period when the Basque folk singers began experimenting in the major and minor scales. Most of these songs are love songs of great beauty and charm. The third period of Basque musical development shows the influence of French and Spanish songs. To this period belong the long and tiresome religious legends. The Basques have long been fond of the satirical songs. These carry a weight of social and political protest, and were often as effective as the similar songs in Provençal.

Instrumental folk music was not developed to a degree comparable to that of the vocal. It is composed almost entirely as accompaniment for dance and procession. The instruments generally found are the three-holed flute, the tambourine, and the gaita. Until recent times the violin and accordion, so common in other parts of southern Europe, were not popular with the Basques.

The traditional Basque dances are the round and square figure dances. Among the most interesting are the sword and club dances. In these dances each man fences in intricate dance with his opponent and as the dance becomes faster and faster, the whole dissolves into a general mêlée. Both dances are very old; they memorialize, as some think, the old conflict with the Moors. The masquerades are part dance and part play. They are very elaborate with the participants in fantastic costumes, each representing characters from history and legend. Much of the music which accompanies them is old and traditional. All walks of life from shepherds to lords and ladies—not to mention animals like bears and horses—are represented. The whole is an elaborate Mardi Gras.

There is probably influence back and forth between the masquerades and the folk plays for the plays are widely popular. In spite of the fact that the written versions extend only from the beginning of the 18th century the Basque plays are as old as the Middle Ages in form and tradition, with many elements common to the miracle and mystery plays. Some scholars see a kinship or even influence of Greek drama. The subject-matter of these plays is varied though about half of them are drawn from the romances, chiefly from the cycle of Charlemagne; many are on Biblical subjects, some few on classical subjects (Œdipus, Bacchus); some retell the lives of the saints. The authors of a number of them are known; they are usually teachers, or local scribes who adapt a chapbook story (most of the romances are still so printed even today) or a Biblical story to the conventional play form for the use of local groups. Once the play is composed successive groups of players are likely to modify and change it in the same way the folk modify and change a ballad. Though manuscript copies survive, the plays are most often carried locally from generation to generation in the memories of the players, father teaching his own part to son.

As we have said, the plays show similarity both to the medieval miracle and mystery plays and to the Greek dramas. Like the earlier plays they are highly stylized in the use of stock characters, in the acting, and in the methods of staging. Usually the play is furnished with a chorus, but the chorus functions differently from that in the Greek plays. Here it is a chorus of Satans whose function is to aid the villain and the forces of evil and to combat the good. This chorus of Satans is dressed in elaborate and colorful costumes and each member carries a ribbon-decorated wand with which the action is controlled. One touch of the wand restores the "dead" or strikes down the "living." The chorus is assigned elaborate songs and dances, and generally it plays a colorful and picturesque part. The "bad" characters are represented as Turks, infidels, demons, and less frequently, Englishmen. They are always garbed in red. The "good" characters are the French and the Christians. They are always in blue. The action of the play always depicts the struggle between the bad (aided and abetted by the Satans) and the good, always with the ultimate triumph of the good. The action is very lively, with dancing, singing, gesturing, posturing, and by-play. The lines are delivered in a semichant, completely conventional. The interlocutors advance and retreat on the stage in regular dance formation as they deliver their lines. The good characters move in a dignified and majestic manner al-

ways from the right side of the stage; the bad indulge in grotesque steps and gestures always appearing from the left.

The plays are performed on an elevated stage usually situated in the public square. At the four corners of the stage are stationed soldiers in colorful uniforms armed with guns which they fire at appropriate moments. Place is provided on the stage for certain local dignitaries, such as the mayor and priest. The orchestra is located on the stage. It is composed of a tambourine, flute, trumpet, and guitar. The highly conventionalized music marks the changes in action and introduces the characters; a rapid march, for example, indicates the appearance of the Satans, a slow, grave march the appearance of the good characters.

Although the costumes are elaborate with much head-dress and decoration, the stage props are few. The actors are drawn from the local folk, and many of the roles are hereditary. Women play some parts, but never are women and men on the stage at the same time. Usually, as in the medieval theater, the female parts are taken by boys. One other custom also common to the early theater is the procession of actors in costume through the village on the morning before the play is acted. These plays of the Basque have long been very popular; now they, like much of the traditional culture of the folk, are fast dying out.

The Basque have a great store of proverbs, conventional sayings, riddles. Many of these are common to most of the people of Europe, but a number are unique among the Basque. Familiar enough are such sayings as: There is no tree without shade; On hard bread the teeth will break; The puppy and the bitch are both dogs; Without fire there is no smoke. In the proverbs original with the Basque one is struck by the cynical tone (or is it just keen observation?). A golden key will unlock any door; Marriage of love, life of sadness; Two sisters make a full house. Mention of foxes, dogs, wolves, chickens, and mules occurs constantly in these proverbs. When you have a wolf for a companion keep a dog by your side; A cheap mule is expensive; The fox having a long tail thinks all animals are like him. As one might expect all aspects of the weather are caught up in proverbial sayings. Red morning, south wind and rain; Wet May, happy year; The year of much snow, happy year.

The riddles, like many riddles of the folk, are usually childish or far-fetched. What looks toward the house when going to the wood and toward the wood when going toward the house? The horns of the goat. A fellow with a neck but no head, arms but no hands? A shirt. These Basque riddles lack the subtlety and poetry of Old English riddles.

The Basques have many folk customs, such as telling the bees when death occurs, the bridal procession through the village at which all the presents are carried and along with them certain tools like the hoe and the spinning reel to symbolize marriage, but these customs are also found, with modifications, generally in Europe. Early accounts of the Basques assert that they practiced the couvade. This seems to have been a characteristic of the pre-Indo-European Pan-Mediterranean culture in general and consequently one would expect it among Basques. At present the custom seems to have died out completely. Modern research has failed to find any practice of it. Common still today though is the institution of

*aïzoa*, the neighbor. A person who lives nearest another on the side of the rising sun is closely integrated with his family by very special ties and duties. He is godfather; he attends at births, marriages, and deaths, performing all necessary duties. It is he, for example, who climbs the roof when a member of the family is dying and removes the tiles so that the soul can escape more easily. He holds the candle over the body of the dead, letting the seven drops of hot wax fall on the naked flesh.

MACEWARD LEACH

**Bast, Bastet, Bubastis, Pasht, or Ubasti** An Egyptian goddess represented in two distinct forms: (1) as a lion-headed woman with the solar disk and ureus; (2) as a cat-headed goddess bearing a sistrum, in which form she was called *Pasht*. She was the personification of life and fruitfulness, and was essentially mild, although she has been identified as a war goddess. She is sometimes confounded with Sekhmet and often identified with Mut. The Greeks identified her with Artemis, but this seems to have been simply formal and unconnected with actual worship. People from all parts of Egypt attended her unruly festival. The chief center of the deity was at Bubastis, and the rise of the XXII Dynasty (the Bubastites) helped make her influence more widespread. There were two festivals, the greater and the lesser, Memphis rather than Bubastis perhaps being the scene of the latter.

**Bastian, Adolf (1826-1905)** German ethnologist. He was born in Bremen, and educated as a physician at Berlin, Heidelberg, Prague, Jena, and Würzburg. As ship's doctor, in 1851-66 he traveled to all continents, amassing a great volume of information. He was professor of ethnology at Berlin and head of the ethnological museum there from 1886. With Virchow and R. von Hartmann he edited the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1869). He published almost 60 works on various anthropological subjects, more than 80 volumes, among them: *Die Völker der östlichen Asien* (1866-71); *Ethnographische Forschungen* (1871-73); *Der Buddhismus in seiner Psychologie* (1882); *Amerikas Nordwestküste* (1883); *Indonesien* (1884-91); *Der Fetisch an der Küste Guineas* (1884); *Die mikronesischen Kolonien* (1899-1900). Bastian was proponent of the theory that mankind's common psychological basis explained the existence of common folklore materials like tales, games, beliefs, etc.

**Bat** A humorous character in some Southwestern and Basin North American Indian mythologies. Bat, in the person either of an old man or an old woman, successfully brings down a deity or human being(s) marooned at the top of a high cliff. Humor enters into the tale because of Bat's size, teasing by Bat of the stranded person, or the song sung while transporting the person to earth in a carrying net. See **BATS**. [LWV]

**Batāra Guru or Bētara Guru** The name for Śiva used in the Malay peninsula, Bali, Java, and Sumatra: to the Malayan the all-powerful spirit who held the place of Allāh before the advent of Mohammedanism. Batāra Guru has been identified with Si Raya, the spirit of the sea from low-water mark to mid-ocean, and sometimes with Mambang Tali Iharus, the Malay spirit of the mid-currents. In Sumatra belief Batāra Guru created the earth by sending a handful of earth down to his daughter who had leaped from the upper world into the limit-



less sea. When this was set upon the sea it grew larger. As it increased in size, it shut off the light from the Naga Padoha, a serpent which lived in the sea. The Naga was vexed and gave the land a shove. It floated off. When Batāra Guru saw what had happened, he sent down more earth and a hero who pinned the serpent in an iron block. His squirming, however, made the mountains and valleys and even now causes earthquakes. When the earth was finished Batāra Guru created the animals and plants. Then his daughter, Noru deak parudjar, and the hero begot the first people.

**Bats** Nocturnal flying mammals (order *Chiroptera*), which, in various families comprising more than five hundred species, are of world-wide distribution. The furry body, leatherlike wings, and night-flying habits make of the bat (fluttermouse, night puck, bald mouse, leather wing, etc.) a bizarre creature; and when to these characteristics are added occasionally bright color, like tan, white, or orange, such strange features as are possessed by the leaf nosed and mastiff bats, and the diet of blood of the vampire bats, there obviously exists a popular subject for the folklore of the world. Colloquial expressions like "as blind as a bat" and "bats in the belfry," indicate popular interest, if not a scientific accuracy of folk observation.

The bat's short legs, according to the Chinichua Apache story of the rescue from the height, result from the inability of the boy who killed the eagles to keep from looking down. Bat, basket, and boy fell, Bat's legs were broken, and remained short. According to a Lipan Apache story, Bat advised Coyote to take the wife of the missing Hawk chief, which so angered the Hawk that he threw Bat into a jumper bush. Since then bats hang head downward, even when asleep, as did that first bat caught in the jumper by his long moccasins. The night-flying of the bat has been explained variously: as the avoidance of creditors (Jap), as a search for wives who ran away when they saw Bat in the light (Yavapai Indians of Arizona), as dislike of the dazzling light (Philippine Islands). The Chinese say that the bat flies head downward because its brains are so heavy. Among more recent beliefs about the bat may be mentioned the "scientific" idea that the bat in flight was able to avoid obstacles by his sense of smell. As a corollary result of the development of radar, however, it has been discovered that the reflection of sounds above the range of the human ear enable the bat to navigate surely.

Among some tribes of Victoria, the bat is a man's brother, a male sexual totem, as the nightjar owl is of women, and sacred as a totemic animal. Tongans hold bats sacred, perhaps as containing the souls of the dead. In parts of Australia, in Bosnia, in Shropshire, England, bats are respected, probably for similar reasons, and never killed. On the Ivory Coast of West Africa, there is an island inhabited by many large bats which are sacred to the natives of the mainland because they embody the souls of the dead. A murderer on the Guayaki of eastern Brazil fears that the ghost of his victim will return in the shape of a bat. The bat belongs to the ghosts, according to the Kwakiutl of British Columbia, and hunters will not kill them for fear of becoming unlucky in the hunt. The Babylonians believed that ghosts in the form of bats flew through the evening, while a Finnish story pictures the soul as a bat. A great many of the haunted houses, castles, and caves of Europe and the

United States retain a strengthened reputation because of their high bat, hence ghost, populations.

In Ireland, the bat is a symbol of death, and one of its names is *bás dorca* (blind death). A Queensland variant of the Adam and Eve story says that when the first woman approached the forbidden sacred bat, it flew off, bringing death into the world. A bat coming into the house is an indicator of death in folk beliefs recorded in India, Alabama, and Salzburg.

Although the bat is almost always considered an evil omen, in China and Poland it is a good sign. The war god, Sepi Malori, of Samoa, embodied in a large bat, flew before the war party when they are to be victorious, and towards the party if they are to meet defeat; a belief reminiscent of the eagle's ominousness in Rome.

It is considered lucky to catch a bat in one's hat, as the familiar popular rhyme beginning "Bat, bat, come under my hat," would indicate, but this good luck is canceled if the bat brings bedbugs with it. The avoidance of bats with bedbugs sounds a bit improbable for the belief that bats coming into a house means that the tenants will soon move out may be quite in harmony with it. On the other hand, in Sarajevo, bats coming into a house are a lucky sign, at variance with the former belief that bats bring ill luck, or even death when they enter. To the Chinese, the bat signifies long life and happiness, and the symbol of the five bats is known as the five blessings: wealth, health, love of virtue, of fate, and a natural death. Long life and excellent eyesight result from eating bat preparations. The Bantu of Natal will not touch the bat, and we find it spoken of in the Bible as one of the unclean birds and as an emblem of horrible things. The natives of Victoria will not eat the bat; and it is taboo as food on Strong Island in the Pacific. During the Middle Ages, it was thought that the bat's tongue and heart were poisons, and that bat blood was a depuratory, or a preventive to the removal of plucked hair. In Macedonia, a bat's bone is used as a charm, since the bat is considered there the luckiest of animals. A heart cut from a live bat and tied to the right wrist where it cannot be seen brings luck in gambling (Mississippi).

The bat's outstretched wings were used by Kikuyu enemies, say the Lipan Apache, for the diaphanous of the house when he made the first move in the upper world. There is a common custom of nailing a bat with wings outspread: as a charm to keep evil away (Arabian), as an amulet (Pliny), as a form of the dead (Sicily). The Kwakiutl use a bat, or the imprints of a bat, as a charm in a child's cradle, believing that the child will then sleep all day like the bat. The Amharic of Iran think that a bat's eye will cure insomnia, for all that the bat should be spared because it is always eating the Koran's first sura. The same charm in Borneo: a bat's eye, makes its carrier invisible. The wings of a bat placed on an anthill would prevent the ants from coming out, according to one medieval written the wings are an ingredient in certain grigri of more recent times.

Among the British some believe that the flight of the bat indicates fair weather; and in Kentucky, it is thought that a bat lighting on the head will bring three good thunders. The clouds coming up from the mountains after the rain, in keeping with an incident in a tale of the Southern Ute, are caused by Bat smoking his killing tobacco.

The devil often takes the form of a bat, according to a widespread belief. In Sicily, where the bat is thought of as a form of the devil, they sing a song to the bat and either burn it to death or hang it up. In common with other "loathesome" creatures, the bat is thought to bring disease. The story is told of a French physician that he cured a patient suffering from melancholia by making a small incision and releasing a bat he had been holding in a bag. Somewhat along the same way of thought, bats (or frogs) are taken from the mouths of possessed persons in Nigeria. The Bongo of the Sudan call the bat by the same name they give to their witches or spirits, *bitabok*. Bats were thought to be the familiars of witches; theimps of one witch were seen to be intermediate between rats and bats by one 18th century observer. An Alabama Negro belief is that spirits can be spelled into a bat, and that they will then cease to be troublesome.

There is a belief of general European distribution that bats will become so entangled in women's hair that nothing but scissors and haircut can get them free, or, in Cornwall, a bat may so hold on to a person's face that a knife is needed to cut it off again. Almost as widespread is the belief that bats will eat bacon hung in the chimney flue.

The bat is specially invoked by the Lipan Apache to prevent the fall of a running horse, since the task of preventing such falls while the horse is running, as in a race, was given to Bat boy by Killer-of-Enemies when he made the first horse. Bat is a prominent character in Navaho ceremonials.

Chamalkan, the bat, is the chief god of the Cakchiquel Indians of the Pacific coast. In Guatemala, the Mayan bat god was Camazotz, who was much dreaded. Sepo Malosi and Taisumale are Samoan bat gods connected with war.

There are many folktales, fables, and myths in which the bat is a principal character: in the Philippines, Africa, North and South America; among the Arabs, Europeans, and Polynesians. The European fable of the bat who joined both sides in a war between the animals and the birds has been shown to be literary and not truly of folk making. But the Creek and the Cherokee have a story in which bat is refused by both sides as being neither animal nor bird, but when tolerated by the animals (he has teeth) he wins the game for them. From a Philippine tale: the bat is the only survivor of the many creatures that went into the composition of the one man living; he flew away and became the ancestor of the bats. In two humorous Bulu stories, bat becomes the strongest of all the animals by getting into champion elephant's ear, flapping his wings, and making the elephant so dizzy that he falls down; and bat gets all the honey by waiting until the animals cut down a honey tree, then crawling into a hollow tree, flapping his wings, and scaring the group away. Och-do-ah, an evil spirit in bat form, who poisoned the spring he guarded from noon to dawn, is prominent in the legend of the origin of the death dance of the New York State Iroquois. Among the Plains, Plateau, and Southwestern Indians of the United States, Bat, sometimes as Old Woman Bat, is the animal rescuer who helps the hero stranded on the high rock or tree to get to the ground in the basket held by a strap of one thread of a spider's web. Another cycle of the Plains and Southwest pictures bat as a trickster-hunter whose two wives discover that he is bringing back parts

of himself as food. By a trick they see him, his teeth and pus-filled eyes, and run away. He spies them at a dance, there is a fight, and Bat is badly hurt. The story, with elaborations or omissions, is found among the Ute, Shoshone, Yavapai, Paiute, and other tribes of the region. See VAMPIRE.

**Battle of Mag Tured or Moytura** The most important story in the Old Irish Mythological Cycle: story of the victory of the Tuatha Dé Danann over the Fomorians. According to earliest accounts there was but one battle of Mag Tured in which the Tuatha Dé Danann overthrew both the Firbolgs and the Fomorians. Later narratives report two battles: the first in what is now county Mayo on the west coast of Connacht against the Firbolgs, the second seven years later in Sligo against the Fomorians.

When the Tuatha Dé Danann first arrived in Ireland on May 1 the first thing they did to make sure of victory was to burn their boats "in order that they themselves should not have them to flee therein from Ireland." When they demanded the kingship from the Firbolgs, they were a long time fighting that battle of Mag Tured, but they won at last and the Firbolgs were slain, 1100 of them, and lay on the plain from Mag Tured to the shore. A few survivors fled to islands in the sea: Aran, Islay, Mann, and Rathlin.

In that battle Nuada, king of the Tuatha Dé, had one arm cut off at the shoulder. A wonderful silver arm was made for him by the physician Diancécht and Credne, the brazier, which was a living arm with movement in every finger. But he could not be king with only one true arm, and the kingship was given to Bres, son of the Fomorian king, Elatha, and a woman of themselves. The minute Bres was king he laid tribute on Ireland and put menial tasks on the champions. Ogma had to carry firewood, for instance, and Dagda was set to digging ditches. The severe exactions and inhospitality of Bres caused great discontent among the Tuatha Dé Danann. When Cairbre, the poet, came to Bres's house and was given a small dark hut without fire or bed and three dry cakes on a small dish, he was not thankful and put a satire on Bres that caused his overthrow.

In seven years the chiefs asked back the kingdom from Bres. He gave it, but went at once to the Fomorians to ask their king, his father, for an army.

"What is the need?" said Elatha.

"My own injustice is the cause," said Bres. "I took their jewels and their food, and now I need an army to take back the kingdom."

"You should not gain it," said the father, "because of the injustice." But he sent Bres on to Balor and to Indech and these mustered a fearful army among the Fomorians to fall upon Ireland.

The second battle of Mag Tured was fought farther to the north in Connacht, in what is now county Sligo, on Samain (Nov. 1). Among the kings and chiefs of the Fomorians were Balor and Bres and Elatha, father of Bres, Goll and Irgoll Loscennlomm, Indech, son of the king, and Oetrialloch, son of Indech. It was a bad battle. Lúg was in front heartening the Tuatha Dé. The slaughter was terrible and dead heroes floated in the river Unseann. Indech wounded Ogma. Balor killed Nuada, but Lúg killed Balor with a sling-stone into his one eye. It went through his head and killed three times nine men behind him. Seven hundred, seven score, and seven men of

the Fomorians were killed and counted, and as for the rest that were killed, it were easier to count the stars in the sky. And Lúg and Dagda and Ogma pursued the remnants back to their own place.

So the battle of Mag Tured was won. The dead were cleared from the ground. Badb and Morrigan proclaimed the battle and the victory of the Tuatha Dé Danann all over Ireland, to all its fairy hosts, and told the tale to the waters around Ireland and to all the river-mouths.

**Battle of Otterburn** A border ballad (Child #161) of the Scottish-English warfare of the 14th century. The battle took place on August 19, 1388, when an English force under Harry (Hotspur) and Ralph Percy attacked a Scottish force captained by the Earl of Douglas which was raiding Northumberland. Though outnumbered the Scots routed the English, captured both Percys, but lost the Douglas, who in some versions of the ballad was killed by Hotspur, in others by a boy. The extant tellings of the ballad are much later than the event, but are undoubtedly survivals of ballads composed about 1400. The main version given in Child has been told by an English apologist, and in that version the English among other things are outnumbered and keep the field after the battle. *The Hunting of the Cheviot* probably tells the story of the same battle.

**Battle of the Trees** *Cád Goddeu*: a battle of Brythonic mythology fought by Arawn against Amaethon, because of the white roebuck, the whelp, and the lapwing which Amaethon had taken out of Annwn. The *Triads* describe it as one of the "three frivolous battles" of Britain. The *Book of Taliesin* contains the long, disorganized poem, *Cád Goddeu*, which purports to name the trees in the order of battle.

The battle is also called the Battle of Achren because there was a woman of that name in the battle on the side of Amaethon. Bran fought on the side of Arawn, and no one could overcome Bran without guessing his name; and the same thing was true of Achren. Gwydion, fighting on the side of his brother Amaethon, guessed Bran's name from the alder twigs he carried, and the victory went to Amaethon.

The usual interpretation of the Battle of the Trees is that Gwydion turned the trees into warriors. "Warriors were dismayed/ At renewal of conflicts/ Such as Gwydion made. . . The alders in the front line/ Began the affray/ Willow and rowan tree . . ." are named next, then holly, oak, gorse, ivy, hazel, fir, "cruel the ash tree," birch, heath, "the long-enduring poplar," and elm. "Strong chieftains were the blackthorn." Whitethorn, broom (anciently used for staves of spears), furze, yew, and elder are also mentioned. The "courtly pine," being "inexperienced in warfare," was not in the battle.

Robert Graves in the *White Goddess* (New York, 1948) has undertaken to sort out and rearrange this long and disorganized and deliberately garbled poem, the *Cád Goddeu*, into a sequence which reveals its ancient meaning. He agrees with the assumption of the Rev. Edward Davies, stated in his *Celtic Researches*, that the Battle of the Trees was not a battle of warriors but a battle of letters of the learned. Graves ties up the Battle of the Trees with all the symbolism of the ancient Celtic Tree Alphabet and the mysteries of the druids (*derwydd* means oak-seer), and seeks to lay bare a complex magic centuries-old and centuries-hidden.

**Batu Herem** In the belief of the Menik Kaian and Kintak Bong (Malay peninsula), the stone pillar which supports the sky. Part of the pillar (the Lambong) projects above the sky. This is loose and balanced at an angle on the lower part. Four cords run from this part of the pillar to the four quarters of the world and are weighted with stones which hang below the earth's surface. The Batu Herem is said to stand in Kedah which is therefore the center of the earth's surface.

**batuque** A native Brazilian courtship dance (of African origin) imported via Portugal to Spain in the 18th century. Some writers on the dance do not differentiate it from the lundu. It is described as originally an impassioned dance accompanied by finger-snaps, the girl fluttering on her toes, her partner circling around her with a winding and twisting pattern until the final embrace. It was popular among all classes, including Negroes and mulattoes. By the 20th century it had become modified into a ballroom dance. [GRK]

**Bau** A principal Sumerian goddess of fertility; the Great Mother; consort of Ningirsu, and with him chief deity of the city of Lagash. The Festival of Bau opened the new year in calendars preceding and contemporary with Sargon's era. As the creatrix she is identified with Gula, the Healer, and with Ma or the serpent goddess Nintu. She seems to be the beneficent aspect of Tiamat, the dragon. Later Bau was absorbed into the personality of the Semitic Ishtar. The Phœnician Baau, mother of the first man, may be a translated form.

**Baubo** In the Orphic tradition of Greek religion, one of the daughters of Celeus of Eleusis (elsewhere she is called Iambe), who by a jest and by obscene gestures made the grieving Demeter smile. The jesting and the gestures formed part of the Eleusinian rites, and probably the story was invented to explain these after the fact. Baubo is also considered by some the nurse of Demeter, or the nurse of Iacchus who in one of the common versions of the story himself made the gestures at Demeter's sorrow.

**bay tree** The Grecian laurel (*Laurus nobilis*). To the herbalists the bay was an herb of the sun, under the celestial sign of Leo, and a protection against witches, the devil, thunder and lightning. Its root was used to open obstructions of the liver, spleen, and other inward parts, while the berries were effective against the poison of venomous creatures and the pestilence and were an aid in treating consumption and coughs. According to Albertus Magnus a wolf's tooth wrapped in a bay leaf gathered in August will prevent anyone from speaking an angry word to the wearer. The Romans made the bay sacred to Apollo who once loved Daphne the daughter of the river god, Peneus. She fled from the god and sought the protection of her father who changed her into a bay tree. Thenceforth Apollo wore bay leaves and a garland or crown of the leaves became the award for victory or excellence. The Romans believed also that a bay tree was never struck by lightning. The withering of a bay was an omen of death.

For pleasant dreams put bay leaves under your pillow. If burning bay leaves crack noisily, good luck will come; it is a bad sign for them to burn without snapping. In Britain the bay was long regarded as a symbol of resurrection, because a withered bay tree will revive from the roots.

**Bead-Spitter and Thrown-Away** A Creek Indian story. Two young women went in search of Bead-Spitter of whom they had heard, because they wanted some beads. They met up with Rabbit, who claimed to be Bead-Spitter. He tricked them into staying all night, raped one of them, and provided some beads. Upon discovering that the beads were stolen, however, the two girls traveled on and arrived at the house of Turkey-Killer. He was the one. He tested the chastity of the two with a sieve: water ran through the sieve of the one who had slept with Rabbit; the sieve of the other not only held water, but when she was told to sift, the water came through as beads. This one Turkey-Killer married.

One day in his absence the wife was devoured by a monster, who, however, left her abdomen in the house. Turkey-Killer opened it, found a living child inside, threw the afterbirth in the bushes, and reared his son as well as he was able.

Then follows the story of the little wild brother (Thrown-Away), who rose from the afterbirth in the bushes, how he was captured, taken into the house to be reared with his brother, and the sequence of disobediences, adventures, and escapes the two participated in until their mischief-making compelled the father to try to get rid of them. The brothers enlisted the help of various birds as warners of the father's approach and finally killed their father with a horde of bees and wasps. Then with an arrow they rubbed the dead man's buttocks and he flew off in the shape of a crow. "We must be bad boys," the two said and decided to separate. One went east and one west. There are also Alabama and Koasati versions of this story. Another Koasati story (*The Origin of Crow*) belongs to the group, but emphasizes not the miraculous saving of the live baby from the dead mother's womb and the after-birth-as-twin idea, but only the disobedience of the two boys in spying on their father's activities, his turning against them, the killing by bees, and their transformation of him into Crow.

Bead-Spitter plays no spectacular bead-spitting role in any of these Muskogean tales. Hearsay about him is merely the starting point for a series of adventures of the two girls in search of him, or of the two boys born of one of them. But the whole bead-spitting idea is so common among certain North American Indians (the Algonquians, Iroquois, and Muskogean especially) that their bead-spitters should undoubtedly be numbered among the remarkable spitters of world folklore. Other well-known folk concepts and motifs in this story are dipping water with a sieve as a chastity test, a typical tar-baby trap in one of the brothers' escapades, enemy killed by bees, and the afterbirth as twin.

**Bean-curd Gods** In Chinese folk belief, three gods invoked by the bean-curd makers and sellers. The chief of these is Huai Nan Tzu because he invented the dish. The other two are Chiao Kuan, and Kuan Yü, the great war god who was a bean-curd seller in his youth.

**bean dance** An agricultural dance addressed to the spirit of the life-sustaining bean, with similar objectives as the corn dance, but of lesser importance. The Hopi Indian bean-sprouting rite, or *powamu*, is also a puberty rite. The Fox Indian bean dance is a contra for men and women who cross and recross. The Iroquois bean dance, *degondaneshonta*, or hand-in-hand dance, is a

slow processional ending with a fast trotting dance or *ga'dáshot*. The Iroquois also celebrate a one-day Green Bean Festival in August, with a typical succession of dances: among the Seneca of Tonawanda reservation, for instance, a women's dance, feather dance, *ga'dáshot*, hand-in-hand, and women's dance—a succession common to other festivals which supplicate and give thanks for crops. [CPK]

**beans** Beans are all colors and most shapes, according to Josh Billings, who was also impressed with the fact that a quart of them "biled two hours" come out a gallon and a half. They are at least as old as Esau, Josh adds, and "there ain't but phew things that can beat a bean climbing a pole."

Beans, of which there are 150 species and unnumbered varieties in the world, play a prominent part in the ritual and folklore of the world. In the ancient Aryan religion they held equal place with honey as food for the dead. Beans were used as ballots by the early Greeks and Romans: white beans signifying yes, black beans, no. The Romans had a festival on June 1 called the Bean Calends because at that time they offered beans to the dead. The Greek bean tabus, as articulated by the Orphics, Pythagoreans, and by Empedocles, probably stem from the doctrine of the immortality and transmigration of the soul through its long discipline of human, animal, and plant existence. A 4th century B.C. writer, however, testifies that Pythagoras himself observed no interdict on beans, but esteemed them highly for their laxative effect. Beans were on the list of those things so ritually sacred that they could not be touched or even named by the Roman *flamen Dialis*. In the old Roman midnight observance that closed the three-day Lemuria (annual entertainment of the dead) the head of the house walked barefoot through all the rooms throwing black beans behind him and saying nine times, "These I give and with these I redeem myself and my family." The ghosts followed close behind him, picked up the beans, and departed, not to return until their appointed time the following year. This ceremony greatly resembles the Japanese New Year's Eve ceremony for driving out demons. The head of the household puts on his richest garments and goes through all the rooms at midnight scattering roasted beans and saying "Out—demons! In—luck!" The association of beans with the dead or with the powers of the afterworld prevails in many ancient and contemporary societies.

The Seneca Indians believe that beans are the special gift of the creator to man and are under the guardianship of one of the De-o-ha-ko, the three daughters of the great Earth Mother. Among the pueblo peoples beans play an important part in the kachina rituals. Kachina initiations follow the color-order of the beans cooked for the kachinas by the families of the initiates. In the ceremony of Whipping the Children the little boys are whipped in the order that the beans have been cooked in their homes: the little boy with the yellow beans gets whipped first, etc. Beans are of such importance to the Hopis, both as foodstuff and symbol, that they speak of their great Powamu ceremony as the Bean Festival when speaking to outsiders. They plant beans in the kivas in preparation for the Powamu. If the beans grow high, it is a good omen; if they break before the night on which they are

to be cut, a very bad omen, and the kiva members are whipped by the Whipper for allowing this to happen. This February bean-planting in the kivas is a kind of compulsive magic that influences the summer crop. Every man must go into the kiva in preparation for the Powamu, and must sit up all night. If he falls asleep he is whipped, because his sleep will retard the growth of the beans. At Walpi beans are included with other seeds in the make-up of the Corn Spirit fetish. At Tewa meal ground from a small white bean is used as medicine for neuralgia. At Zuñi a bean is given to a woman in childbirth to swallow, to hasten delivery, because "it slips down quickly."

The Kariaks of the Egyptian Sudan twice a year honor with a meal of beans the wagtail and the snake, in whom they believe dwells the spirit of the grandmother or Mother of Food.

Folklore is full of magic beans: speaking beans which reprove wrong-doers or save fugitives by speaking in their stead, beans that laugh till they split, thus acquiring their characteristic black stripes (very widespread), and the magic beans given to young boys that grow into towering stalks to marvelous upper worlds.

Half a white bean is one of the ingredients of certain New Orleans voodoo charms. Of unidentified but probably European origin are a number of bean beliefs and saws: It is good luck to plant beans on Good Friday. Beans should be planted in the light of the moon. If you dream of beans you have a rich and cruel unknown enemy. If you dream of beans you will have a quarrel. Beans cause bad dreams, and therefore presage misfortune.

**bear** Early explorers' and travelers' tales about bears of the New World are as tall and fabulous as any of the bear myths or folktales. The writings of various early voyagers maintain that bear cubs are born as unformed shapeless lumps which the mother licks into shape, that bears suck their paws for nourishment while hibernating, and sing *h-m-m-m-m* over the delicacy, thus betraying their hide-outs to hunters. John Bartram, honest Quaker, explains that when a bear catches a cow, he punctures the hide with his tooth, and blows into the hole until the cow swells and dies.

Hunters, woodsmen, and frontier settlers add their marvels to the bear stories. A fisherman in the Maine woods peered through a knothole and watched a big bear steal his molasses from the cabin shelf, then saw him catch twelve trout and leave six in payment—and the woman who went to milk the cow in the dark and milked a she-bear instead (the woman's starving baby liked the milk)—and the village strong man walking home through the woods in the dark, full of joy and other spirits, "rassled with a big fellow in a fur coat" because he wouldn't get out of the road.

Louisiana Negroes say to dream of fighting a bear portends persecutions; to dream of a running bear means happiness. Ghostly bears have been seen by Georgia Negroes. In Maine when a dog sucked his paws it was said that he had a streak of bear in him. New Brunswick Indians held that a wounded bear would hasten to a boggy place and plug his wound with moss.

If bears hibernate early, it portends a hard winter. February 2 is the day for the bear's reemergence; if he comes out of his den and sees his shadow, he will go back to sleep for six more weeks. This weather portent

has been transferred from the bear to the weather generally throughout the United States. Years ago in Germany bear's gall applied to an aching tooth was said to cure it. If you meet a bear in the woods lie down and play dead and he will not bother you (a BEAR WHISPERED IN MAN'S EAR). In India bears are believed to be powerful against diseases; children are given a ride on a bear's back to ward off disease; sometimes one hair from a bear is hung as an amulet around their necks. For why the bear has no tail or a short tail, see BEAR FISHES THROUGH ICE WITH TAIL.

In mythology, folktales, and folk belief the bear figures as god, ancestor, totem, sacred animal, dying god (in the role of food-giver), as guardian spirit, as lover, wife, husband, child, as tutelary bestower of medicines and as a curing supernatural spirit, soul-animal, and separable soul.

The bear is a sacred animal among many of the Finno-Ugric peoples. Among the Ob-Ugrian he is the son of *Num-torem*, god of heaven. The ceremonies performed for hunting, slaughtering, and eating the sacred animal are very complicated, because they have to do with the sacrificing of a god. The bear's bones are kept unbroken, and are buried in the same position as in the living animal so that the slain bear may come to life again. The skull of the bear is hung on a tree as a stake. (Karjalainen in *FFC* 63, p. 193-235). See LIMONAI. [JB]

Peculiarly respected, perhaps because of its resemblance to human beings, the bear enters into many North American Indian myths, ceremonies, and beliefs. The tales of *Bear-Woman* and *Deer-Woman* or *Bear-Woman and the Fauns*, and of *Bear-Woman (Wife of Paramour)*, are widely known. In several California Indian tribes shamans impersonated bears, or were transformed into bears according to popular belief. Bear was also considered a powerful spirit helper from whom vision seekers obtained supernatural power. Among 23 circumpolar peoples special rites are undertaken when a bear is killed; a speech of apology is made to the dead bear, who is often addressed as grandfather, and before the flesh is eaten the body, head, or hide is laid out, decorated with beads and cloth; special attention is given to the disposal of the bones. Some of these observances have diffused as far south as the Central Woodlands and Northeastern Algonquians of the United States. [EWV]

**beard** Sharing with hair much reverential attention, the beard has received plenty of its own. Through many years and in widely separated tribes it has been the sign and symbol of many attributes, including not only the obvious ones of masculinity and strength but also the rather illogically inferred qualities of wisdom, dignity, sanctity, responsibility, nobility, and royalty.

Races of men naturally beardless, like the Mongolians and American Indians, were sometimes erroneously deemed effeminate by their bearded neighbors. According to Herodotus (i, 105) the ancient Greeks decided the beardless Scythian men must be women, suffering this humiliating condition as a punishment by an avenging deity for having plundered the temple of Aphrodite. The Emperor Julian in the introductory paragraphs of his celebrated satire *Misopogon* (Beard-Hater) written in Antioch during the winter of 361-362 taunted the Antiochians about the smooth skins

which "so slightly revealed and barely indicated" their manhood. In some Eastern countries a smooth face is deemed to indicate effeminacy; consequently the clergy of the churches in those parts have found it advisable not to shave. By the same token missionaries from Western lands where beards are forbidden to the clergy are, by a special dispensation, permitted to wear them in the East.

Erasmus in his *Adagia* (1523), noting that several classic writers had connected beards with wisdom, such as Lucian's mention of the "learned beard," explains that "As the beard is not completely formed until the age of manhood, it has always been considered an emblem of wisdom." Rather more subtly the author of *Pappe With an Hatchet* wrote in the same century (1589), "Let me stroake my beard thrice like a Germin, before I speak a wise word."

Erasmus might have added that in classic times the philosophers of Greece had proudly worn the beard as a distinctive badge of their learned profession. Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) had introduced the custom of shaving, for the alleged reason of thus affording no opportunity for the enemy to seize his soldiers by their beards. The custom then spread from Macedonia throughout the whole Greek world. Aristotle, alone among the philosophers, conformed to his famous pupil's innovation. They retained their beards, rather defiantly, as a distinctive mark, and for centuries after the Macedonian period the Greek word *pogonotrophos*, "man with a beard," meant philosopher.

While the French have a proverb reminding their young men that "Il est temps d'être sage, quand on a la barbe au menton" (It is time to be wise now that you have a beard on your chin), they also have another "La barbe ne fait pas l'homme" (The beard does not make the man), recognizing that physical maturity does not necessarily bring sapience. Thomas D'Urfey was merely versifying the observations of several predecessors when he wrote (1690):

If Providence did beards devise,  
To prove the wearers of them wise,  
A fulsome Goat would then by Nature  
Excel each other human creature.

In spite of ridicule the beard maintained its position as an emblem of dignity and any assault upon it was regarded as an indignity and highly dangerous, reflected in the common phrase "to beard the lion in his den," that is, to pull his beard. In April, 1587, Sir Francis Drake, returning from his bold raid on the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Cadiz, boasted, "I have singed the Spanish king's beard!" In ancient Israel, according to II Samuel x, 4 ff., compelling a man to cut off his beard was tantamount to insult and disgrace. The Israelite wore a full beard and it was never shaved except in case of leprosy (*Leviticus* xiv, 9) or for the deepest mourning (*Jeremiah* xli, 4-7). Even trimming the beard was forbidden (*Leviticus* xix, 27, xxi, 5). When the Ammonites shaved off one half of the beard of each of David's servants, "the men were greatly ashamed: and the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return. And . . . the children of Ammon saw that they stank before David" (II Samuel x, 5-6). They knew that they had wounded the pride of the Israelites in the sorest spot, their

beards. The succeeding verses record the bloody vengeance which David wreaked on the Ammonites and their allies for this supreme indignity.

For among Orientals, especially those of Semitic racial strains, the beard is not only a sign of manhood, wisdom, and dignity: it is actually sacred to the point of sanctity. It was sacred enough to swear by, as the Semitic Moslems frequently did. Mohammed kept his beard unshorn and his followers kept theirs uncut in faithful discipleship. Indeed the most devout saved every hair that fell from their beards, adding it to the collection preserved in a small box they carried with them for the purpose. The box was buried with them. It was and still is considered, among orthodox Moslems, that to swear by the beard of the Prophet and their own is as if one swore in the presence of Allah himself.

Various reasons have been alleged for this over-anxiety to preserve the integrity of the beard. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* states that Jewish sages agree that the reason is "that God gave man a beard to distinguish him from woman and that it is therefore wrong to antagonize nature." A *Defence of the Beard*, published by James Ward (1769-1859), gave eighteen Scriptural "reasons why man was bound to grow a beard, unless he was indifferent to offending the Creator and good taste." Another (pseudonymous) defender of the beard called it a "Divinely provided chest protector."

These apologia are likely to be deemed mere rationalizing when considered in the light of the well-known anthropological fact that all over the world, among not only primitive tribes but semicivilized as well, it is believed that black magic can work through and by the hair of the victim. Any part of the body, even a single captured hair, is vulnerable to sorcery. It embodies a part of the soul of the man from whose beard it came. He who possesses it has power over the original owner. Among some tribes a captive is kept prisoner by the simple process of the captor cutting off a lock of the captive's hair and keeping it safe. The prisoner is not bound or restrained in any other way.

Like the beard of Mohammed, that of a king was reckoned particularly sacred and important to the whole realm. When Philip V of Spain could not grow a beard, nor Louis XIII of France, their loyal subjects shaved off their own. And "there's such divinity doth hedge a king" that at one time it was thought that three hairs from a French king's beard secured under the wax seal on a document assured the fulfilment of the promises in it.

The ancient kings of Persia, Nineveh, Assyria, and Babylon are depicted with beards. For state occasions Egyptian kings, often naturally smooth-chinned, and at least one queen, Hatshepsut, put on false beards. So did the artists picture Abraham and Adam, and Zeus and Christ and Jehovah himself. It was part of their divinity, according to the belief of the artist. To draw God without a beard would still in some parts be deemed blatant blasphemy.

Legend and folklore have ever found beards of interest. A favorite tale in several versions tells of a sleeping king with a long beard in a mountain cavern. Frederick II (1191-1250), Holy Roman emperor, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, was for a long time after his death believed to be still alive, sitting in a cave in the Kyffhäuser mountain in Thuringia, asleep at a stone

table through which his beard had grown. When the fullness of time had come he would wake and restore the Golden Age of Peace to the Empire. The legend was later attached to his grandfather, Frederick I, probably because the elder king had a better beard for the story and was known by it as Frederick Barbarossa.

Even the nursery tales of children preserve the ancient idea of the oath upon the beard:

"Little pig, little pig, let me come in!"

"No, no, by the hair of my chinny, chin, chin!"

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Bear Dance** A mimetic dance in imitation of the bear, usually performed for curative purposes: among the Indians of North America performed by ceremonial societies. Most realistic were the representations by the Plains-Cree in complete bearskins or masks. Despite the enactment of hunting, the dance was also a prayer for long life. In the Hesi cycle of California tribes the grizzly-bear impersonation is realistic in action and appearance (the Maidu *pano-ng-kasi* and Miwok *uzumati*). Members of the Pawnee Bear Society received their curative powers from the sun and danced head down with their palms up to receive the rays. This gesture is also found in the Fox Grizzly-Bear Dance. Among the Fox and Iroquois, women participate as well as men, not in special costume but with a bearlike waddle. The former dance is performed in a straight line; the latter is a trotting progression in an anti-clockwise circle. The Cherokee *yona* progresses like the Iroquois *nyagwai'oeno*, with the same waddling shuffle and vocal antiphony, but it differs by winding into a spiral, and by adding clawing gestures, similar to those of the Fox Indian bear dancers, and by underscoring the antiphony with movement responses. Among the Cherokee this one-time ritual has become secularized to the point of obscene raillery; among the Iroquois and Fox it has preserved its curative aspects, though without healing tricks as in the Ponca *matcogahri*. Hunting functions have fallen by the way along with the loss of this pursuit for sustenance. The same is true among Plains tribes as the Ute, where the bear dance is an annual huge social celebration, with vague reference to the animal. [GPK]

**bear fishes through ice with tail** A general and very widespread European folktale motif (A2216.1; Type 2) explaining why the bear has no tail (or a short tail). Bear originally had a long tail like the other animals. One winter day he was persuaded by Fox to fish through a hole in the ice with his tail. The tail froze fast in the ice; and when he was attacked and jumped up to escape, it broke off.

This one motif comprises one of the most famous animal stories in Europe, especially in the Baltic countries, so popular as to have migrated into Africa and the Americas, even into some regions where the bear is unknown. It is included in a cycle of animal tales gathered together in the Middle Ages into the famous *Roman de Renart*. Kaarle Krohn's study of these stories, *Bär und Fuchs* (1886), puts their probable origin in northern Germany and holds that they were then (1886) at least 1000 years old. He attributes the transference of the tail-in-the-ice experience from bear (illogically) to wolf to the influence of *Reynard the Fox* (a sophisticated and satirical usage of the original folk material) in which

wolf's wife is tricked by the fox into fishing with her tail through the ice, and is raped by the fox when she cannot pull free.

There are three known African versions of this story and 13 North American Indian tellings. In the African version the tale adapts itself to an iceless portion of the world in that Fox fools Bear merely into using his tail to fish with, and it is bitten off. The story turns up among southern United States Negroes with Rabbit having his tail snapped off through the ice the same way.

**Bear Foster Parent** Title of a North American Indian myth very widespread among tribes of the Northeast Woodlands area, and known also among the Kutenai Indians of Montana and British Columbia. A lost child is discovered in the woods by a she-bear, adopted and reared with the cubs, taught to eat bear food, and taken into hibernation in the cave when cold weather comes.

One night the old bear wakes up and sings, "Come, the people wish us to help them." This happens at the time the Indians are smoking their pipes and praying for food and well-being. So the she-bear and the cubs leave the cave. When they return they bear arm-loads of pipestems, each representing a prayer. The old bear examines each stem: the true prayers are put in one pile, to be granted; the pipestems of those who mocked the bears are put in another pile. The names of these people are remembered, to be terrified by the bears in the Summer. In the Spring the bears and the boy come out of the cave and wander in warm places until the time comes again for the long winter sleep in the cave.

When the Indians again begin to perform the Bear Ceremony, the old bear hears them, and this time gives the young boy the power also to hear his people singing and dancing. Again the bears go forth and bring back the pipestems, and this time the boy too is taught to "read" them. In the Spring when the bears again emerge from the cave, the boy is sent back to his own people, with messages from the bears to pray only in earnest. The boy's father, who had thought his child was dead, receives him with joy. The boy tells the people how the bears can hear the prayers, can tell the difference between the true and insincere petitions, and "feel like" helping only persons of integrity.

**Bear medicine** The curing power of the bear: a concept of certain Pueblo and other North American Indian religions. Bear is the most powerful patron of Keresan, Tewan, and Zuñi curing societies. Shamans "call the bear" to come and attend the curing rituals, and Bear comes. When the shaman pulls on the bear-paws and impersonates the bear, he is Bear, and then possesses the curing power of Bear. He can transform himself into a real bear, just as bears can transform themselves into men. When he dies a shaman goes to live with the bears in the spirit world. Bear gave to mankind a particularly potent medicine, the aster root. It is named for Bear (bear root, bear medicine) and is regarded almost as a cure-all. During a curing ceremony the shaman chews the bear root, which induces in him a trancelike condition during which he can "see" the witch who has caused the illness of his patient.

All members of the Chippewa Indian Midewiwin (curing society) are said to "follow the bear path," i.e. they use the wonderful medicines revealed to them by

the bear. The Sioux also value especially the medicines given to mankind by the bear. They regard him as the chief of all healing animals, partly because his claws are so well adapted to digging roots, partly because benevolence from an animal usually considered ill-tempered takes on particular significance. See ANIMAL CURERS; BEAST GODS.

**Bear's Ear** Title and hero of an Avar (Caucasian) story belonging to the ancient and widespread Eurasian Bear's Son cycle of folktales and also to the dragon-fight cycle. Bear's Ear is the typical Bear's Son by virtue of the bear's ears and superhuman strength inherited from his bear father. He saves the daughter of an underworld king from a water-hoarding dragon. One day out of every year a maiden is sacrificed to the dragon in return for a flow of waters on that day. Bear's Ear kills the monster and is offered the maiden in marriage. But he refuses the reward, desiring more to return to the upper world. This is one of the tales in the vast dragon-fight cycle in which the hero does not marry the sacrificial maiden.

**bearskin quiver comes to life** The motif of a story in the Apache Indian Coyote cycle: told by the Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, and White Mountain Apaches. In the Chiricahua version Coyote killed a bear, dried the hide, and was going to make a quiver of it. Someone came along and advised him not to do that or misfortune would befall him. But Coyote went ahead and made the quiver, slung it over his back, and went along, went along. He came to a place where there were many walnuts on the ground. He leaned the quiver against the tree and began to pick up the walnuts. The quiver began to shake; it came to life; it was a bear again. The bear chased Coyote.

Coyote ran and ran. He met Gopher. "Why are you running?" said Gopher. "Bear is after me." "Jump in," said Gopher. So Coyote hid in Gopher's cheek pouch. Bear came along. "What have you got in your mouth?" said Bear. "Teeth," said Gopher. But Bear gave him a good kick and Coyote tumbled out. Bear chased him. Coyote ran and ran, and at last got away.

This story is of special interest for its embodiment of the Chiricahua Apache awe of the bear. They will not eat bear meat, touch or use the hide for fear of being visited with grave and mysterious ills.

**Bear's Son** Generic term for and hero of a cycle of folktales (Type 301) very widespread in Europe and Asia. F. Panzer's *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte* reports some 200 variants of the tale in 20 languages, from all over Europe and some regions in Asia. In the most primitive form of the story Bear's Son is: 1) a youth of superhuman strength, son of a bear who has stolen the youth's mother (F611.1.1), or 2) the human son of a woman (abducted by or married to a bear while pregnant by a human husband), born in the bear's cave and having acquired bear characteristics (B635.1). In these versions mother and son usually return to the woman's home and the child is adopted by the human father; the youth often avenges his mother by killing the bear. As told in Germany and Croatia, the child is stolen by a she-bear, and acquires bear-strength and bear-nature from being suckled by the bear. In all instances, however, the boy has bear

characteristics: bear's teeth, or ears, or is hairy. He always possesses the superhuman strength of the bear, and he always performs superhuman feats. He kills monsters; he slays a dragon, always rescuing either a maiden who is being sacrificed to it or a whole city from its depredations.

There are a number of North American Indian stories of the Bear's Son in which a woman wanders too far from a settlement, usually while picking berries, and is lost. She marries a bear in the forest and gives birth to either one or two bear cubs. These she transforms into human shape. Then follows the long sequence of their adventures in which human wit plus bear-strength carries all to success.

In most European tellings, the hero (often a youngest son) acquires before starting on his adventures some wonderful or miraculous weapon, adds to himself a group of extraordinary companions (F601 ff.) with whom he comes to and enters an empty house (G475.1). The owner arrives (a supernatural being of some sort—dwarf, giant, ogre, demon) who maltreats one by one the hero's companions. The hero himself then fights the monster, wounds it, follows it to the underworld (F93 ff.) (often underwater) by its trail of blood; there he kills it and either rescues a maiden or a princess from a dragon or wins great treasure (N773; R111). By some treachery or desertion on the part of the companions (K1931.2) he is long delayed from returning home. The story often ends with the companions returning home with a number of liberated maidens, and the hero arriving at the last minute to stop the marriage of the youngest one and marry her himself. (N681; L161). This, in outline the German folktale *The Gnome* (Grimm #91), is the typical Bear's Son story.

The superhuman deeds of Beowulf, especially his struggle with Grendel in the mead hall, the pursuit by the trail of blood to the undersea cave, the nine-day underwater battle with Grendel's dam, and the final slaying of the treasure-guarding fire-drake, have led many scholars (F. Panzer and others) to fit the Beowulf story into the Bear's Son pattern. Dr. Rhys Carpenter has done the same for the Odysseus legend in Chapter VII of his *Folktale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epic*.

The frequency with which Bear's Son slays dragons associates, inevitably, the Bear's Son with the dragon-slaying cycle, especially in so far as the dragon slayer is of miraculous birth. In later fairy tale many heroes have been identified as Bear's Sons by transference: they perform deeds identified with Bear's Son deeds, or the story pattern follows, or almost follows, the Bear's Son formula. The actual bear origin of the hero is either forgotten, over a period of time and retellings which enhance the adventures *per se*, or as has been suggested by O. L. Olsen in his *relation of the Hrolf-saga Krake and Biarkarimur to Beowulf*, Chicago, 1916, sophisticated fairy tale has purposely substituted the dragon-slaying for the original (bear) patricide. Grimm's *The Gnome*, classified as belonging to the Bear's Son cycle, excellently illustrates the whole transmorphosis.

**bear taken for a cat** The motif (K1728; Type 1161) of a popular European folktale in which a troublesome ogre, bogle, etc., is gotten rid of by the bear of an itinerant bear trainer. The ogre (or bogle) always



returns, asking if the big cat is still there, and on being told yes, and that it has three kittens, gives up haunting that place forever. See *BOGLE IN THE MILL*.

**Bear Went Over the Mountain** An American humorous song about a bear who went to see what he could see and found nothing but the other side of the mountain. It is one of many texts set to an air dating from the time of the Crusades. See *MALBROUGH S'EN VA T'EN GUERRE*.

**bear whispered in man's ear** A general European folktale motif (J1488) found typically in Aesop's fable of *The Travelers and the Bear* or *The Bear in the Wood*. A traveler and his companion (or paid guide) met a bear in the forest. One of them was terrified and climbed a tree, regardless of what might happen to the other. The other traveler fell down, held his breath, and played dead. The bear approached, sniffed his face and ears, and walked away. When the one in the tree climbed down, he said, "What did the bear whisper to you?" "He said never trust a coward." This motif embodies the old belief that a bear will not touch a dead man, and that to lie still and play dead is a sure way to avoid being molested.

**Bear Wife or Bear Woman** Title of a number of North American Indian stories in which a man has a bear for a wife. These are known all over the continent, among the northeastern Algonquians, the Plains tribes, and the Carrier Indians of British Columbia. In a Fort Fraser Carrier Indian tale a young man hunting in the woods meets a young woman who turns out to be a black bear. He kills a grizzly for her who is an enemy to her people, and lives happily with her until salmon-fishing time. Then he takes his wife and returns to his own village. The Bear Wife refuses to help with the communal drying of fish and also refuses to gather berries. When the winter supply of food is all gone, however, she reveals a miraculous underground store of dried salmon and dried berries, so that no one in the village lacks for food all winter.

In the summer when all the families go to the fishing places; there the young husband chances to meet and flirt with a former sweetheart. The Bear Wife knows this and weeps all night. In the morning she and her child change into bears and go away. Sorrowfully the young man follows their tracks, looking for them, but they have disappeared. This story contains the typical disappearance of the offended supernatural wife (or husband).

**Bear Woman** Title of a North American Indian folktale known to the tribes of the North Pacific Coast, California, the Plateau, Plains, Central Woodlands, and the Southwest. In the typical *Bear Woman* stories a young woman commits adultery with a bear or has a bear lover. Her family discover this and kill the bear, whereupon the girl instantly changes into a bear and attacks the slayers of her lover. Her family (usually a little sister, a little brother, and a number of older brothers) escape by means of the magic obstacle flight. The angry Bear Woman follows them; they discover that she is invulnerable; the one vulnerable spot is revealed to them by a bird; one of the brothers shoots the bear, and she falls dead. In some versions the children are unwilling to return home because all their relatives are dead, so they decide to live in the sky. Thus they become the

Seven Stars (Ursa Major): the little brother is the pole star, the sister is nearest him, and the five brothers fall low in order of age.

On the North Pacific Coast the Bear-Woman is a young Indian woman who changes into a bear and has twin cubs. Argillite carvings of the Bear-Woman myth have been produced in recent times on the North Pacific Coast. For a description of these, and discussion of the myth, see Marius Barbeau, "Bear Mother" *JAF* 59, p. 231 ff. [ewv]

The Chinese give a Bear Woman explanation for the non-Chinese Gold tribe custom (Lower Sungari) of always offering a girl in marriage first to a maternal uncle. The story is the usual one of a young girl abducted by a bear. The child born to them was a daughter. After a number of years the girl's brother discovered her whereabouts, killed the bear, took the woman and her young daughter back home, and married the daughter. Ever since then a marriageable girl is first offered to her maternal uncle. Only if he does not want her can she be married to anyone else. The Chinese say this is because only on the mother's side are the Gold people human; the ancestors of the fathers were bears. The Gold themselves deny this.

**Bear-Woman and the Fawns** Title of a very widespread California Indian story telling how two fawns escaped from Bear-Woman, who had killed their mother. The Lassik version is more or less representative. Grizzly Bear and Deer were the wives of Chickenhawk. One day by the river Grizzly Bear, pretending to delouse Deer, killed her instead and took the head home to roast. Deer's two children cried out when they recognized their mother's head roasting in the fire, but were told to go and play. As they went, the Deer-mother's hair cried out to them in warning that their lives were in danger. Deer's children and Bear's children were playing together, and the two fawns made a fire and smothered Bear's children with the smoke in a hollow log. They took the meat home and gave it to Bear-Woman. She cooked it and while she was eating it the two fawns taunted her with eating her own children, and ran off. Bear-Woman chased them. The fawns ran and ran; Bear-Woman was after them. They were almost caught. But when they came to a river old Grandfather Crane stretched out his neck and made a bridge for them to cross. The two deer children crossed over and were safe. When Bear-Woman came along and tried to cross over the crane bridge, old Grandfather Crane gave a twist to his neck; she fell off and was carried away by the river.

This story, very prominent among the California Indians, is known also with variations among certain Indians of the Plateau area and the North Pacific tribes. The Shoshoni of the Plains also have a version.

**beast epic** A cycle of tales having an animal, e.g. Reynard the Fox, as its central character. Compare *ANIMAL TALES*.

**beast gods** The animal curers, intercessors, guardians, and companions of Zuñi and other Pueblo Indian religion. Certain birds, in the role of messengers and scouts, are associated with them. They are also regarded as spirits, and they dwell "in the east" in Shipap, or (Zuñi) Shipapolima, the spirit land of the dead; all curing rituals are performed to the east. Specific ani-

imals are specifically associated with the six ritual directions, however, differing in the different pueblos: North, mountain lion, oriole; West, bear, bluebird, vireo; South, badger, wildcat, parrot; East, gray wolf, magpie; Zenith, eagle; Nadir, mole, gopher. See ANIMAL CURE; BADGER MEDICINE; BEAR MEDICINE.

**beast-marriage** A common motif of folktale and ballad found all over the world, in which a human being is married to a beast, in very primitive tales to an actual animal, in later elaborations to a human being doomed to exist in beast form until some woman will love him in the beast-shape. Often the human lover must also burn the sloughed skin of the animal spouse in order to drench the disenchantment. The stories fall into certain types: those in which the bewitched lover cannot return to human form until some woman's devotion proves stronger than the spell; those in which the lover takes on animal form himself to go a-wooing; those in which a deity assumes animal form and carries off a human bride, and those in which some animal by union with a human being becomes the ancestor of a tribe. There are stories of marriage to a person in animal form, in which one or the other spouse is a beast by day and human by night, involving either a formula for disenchantment or tabus against discovery; and there are stories of marriages to animals in human form, involving tabus against naming or mentioning lest they vanish or depart. The list is endless: marriage to a god in bull form (Greek), to a human being in dog form (Chinese, North American Indian), to a deer (Irish, North American Indian), a seal (Celtic), snake or serpent (Hindu, Indo-Chinese, Basuto, Kaffir, Zulu), fox (Indonesian, North American Indian, Chinese, Japanese), lion (Angolian), bee (Indonesian), crane (Japanese), elephant (Hottentot), vulture (South American Indian), fish or whale (North American Indian). The Eskimo story of Sedna who married a gull (or a dog) is very well known, and is closely related to the Dog Husband stories. The story of the two girls who wished for an eagle and a whale for husbands, got them, and had a hard time escaping is common among the Greenland, Labrador, and West Hudson Bay tribes.

The motif turns up in every country in Europe. Some scholars claim Indian origin for it; others hold that it is too widespread and too scattered for this theory to be reasonable. Mme. de Beaumont's *Beauty and the Beast* and Grimm's *Frog Prince* are famous European versions. A more modern treatment is Keats' *Lamia*. See ANIMAL FURMOUR; NAME TABU; SWAN MAIDEN.

Tales of beast marriages between men or women and animals are of frequent occurrence in North American Indian mythology. Some of the most widespread are the Fox-wife story of the Eskimo, the Piqued Buffalo Wife story of the Plains and Eastern Woodlands, Splinter-Foot-Girl of the Plains (in which the heroine marries a buffalo bull), Eagle and Whale Husband stories of the Eskimo, Snake Husband and Bear Husband tales of the Plains, Dog Husband of the North Pacific Coast, and Deer Wife of the Plateau. [LWV]

**beating the bounds** A ceremonial procession about the boundaries of the community with stops at the several landmarks. It was a spring festival, at Easter or on May Day, and in recent times combined religious ceremonies with feasting, drinking and merrymaking. At

the landmarks young people were ceremonially whipped "to help them remember" or thrown into the boundary streams for the same purpose. In Cork, Ireland, in the last century, the mayor in robes of ceremony threw a dart into the harbor. The place where it fell marked the limit of municipal authority. The custom is also known from ancient Greece and Rome and more recently in Russia, Norway, and elsewhere in Europe. Similar ceremonies which give people an excuse to get out of doors in the spring are known in most parts of the world. Phallic boundary-markers (the two-headed Janus), together with suggestions advanced by Granet in his studies of ancient China, lead to the possibility that this segment of the complex of spring festivals was at one time connected with fertility rites. Other names for the ceremony are "riding the marches," "riding the fringes," "common riding." [xvj]

**Beauty and the Beast** Generic title of a world-wide beast-marriage story of which Mme. Leprince de Beaumont's version is the renowned example. *Beauty and the Beast* belongs to that cycle of beast-marriage stories in which the prince, magically transformed into beast or monster, can be delivered or unspelled only by the love and devotion of a woman.

The heroine is the youngest daughter of a merchant who has lost his fortune. Before setting out on a journey to retrieve his losses, the merchant asks each of his three daughters what he shall bring home. The two elder ask for sumptuous presents; Beauty asks for a rose. The merchant fails to regain his wealth, but on the way home picks a rose in the garden of a wonderful palace where he finds himself mysteriously entertained. The minute he plucks the rose the Beast appears, threatening him with death for the theft, unless he will send back one of his daughters in his stead. Beauty volunteers to go to the Beast. There in his palace, surrounded by luxury and kindness, she realizes that the hideous creature with whom she lives is of a generous and noble nature. Admiration for his character and pity for his plight gradually turn to genuine affection. A number of stock incidents follow: permission to go home to see her dying father, the visit overstayed beyond the promised moment, the mirror as life-token of the Beast which reveals that he is dying, and the magic journey back to the Beast's garden. There Beauty finds him almost dead, but her grief for him and her avowal of love suddenly unspell the terrible enchantment. The beautiful prince is thus liberated from his beast form, and Beauty becomes his queen. The good old father is benefited; the jealous sisters are punished.

There are Basque, Swiss, German, English, Italian, Portuguese, Lithuanian, Magyar, Indian, and Kaffir versions of this story. In the Basque story the beast is a huge serpent, his life-token a ring instead of a mirror. In the Lithuanian story the beast is a white wolf, in the Magyar version, a pig. Perrault's *Riquet à la Houppe* is almost this identical Beast and the Beast story, but with the sophisticated, unfolkloristic moral attached. Grimm's *Frog Prince* (#1) and the British *The Well At the World's End* both follow the true Beauty and the Beast pattern of disenchantment through love and devotion, as does also the unique Kaffir tale in which the young girl consents to lick the crocodile's face and is rewarded by having a handsome prince slowly emerge.

The Scottish ballad *Kemp Owyne* (Child #34) elaborates the same theme in reverse: it is the lady who is transformed into a thing of horror and released by the kisses of her lover. Compare *LOATHLY LADY*.

**Beaver** Among several North Pacific Coast, Plateau, and Northern Athabaskan American Indian groups, Beaver is the companion of Porcupine, who tricks his friend and is in turn tricked. Tales of beaver-husband or beaver-wife are popular animal-marriage tales of the Ojibwa and other Central Algonquian Indians. [Ewv]

**Bédier, (Charles Marie) Joseph** (1864-1938) French author and medievalist. He was appointed professor of medieval French language and literature at the Collège de France in 1893 and in the same year won his doctorate with *Les fabliaux*. This work constituted a strong refutation of Theodor Benfey's famous Indianist theory for the origin of the folktale. Bédier's attack did not at once wean away the Indianist disciples, but stimulated stricter scientific approach on the part of such scholars as G. Paris and E. Cosquin. His prose adaptation of *Roman de Tristan et Yseult* was published in 1900; a study, *La formation des légendes épiques*, in 1908; *Les chansons des croisades* in 1909; and a critical edition of *Chanson de Roland* in 1921. In *Les fabliaux* Bédier attacked the intuitive method of Benfey as falling short of ultimate analysis. He said merry tales, particularly, have such simple plots that comparison and analysis of great numbers of variants can have no worthwhile result. Bédier advocated the theory that medieval epic cycles found their development along the routes of pilgrimages.

**beech** (from Old English *bēce*, *bōc*, beech or book, from the fact that the early Saxons and other Teutonic peoples wrote their runes on thin beech boards.) The beech, like the ash, is instantly deadly to snakes when they touch its bark.

Jason's Argo was built largely of beech timber; Bacchus drank his wine from beechen bowls, and, according to Lucian, the oracles of Jupiter at Dodona were delivered through the medium of the sacred beeches and oaks.

The herbalists held that the hard beech wood, if brought into the house, caused hard travail in childbirth and miserable deaths. The leaves, however, are cool, binding, and were applied to blisters or chewed for chapped lips and painful gums. The water found in the hollow places of decaying beeches will cure scurf, scab, and running tetters. The Catawba Indians make a beech tea from the bark to cure weak back. Mixed with lard the beech tea is used to relieve rheumatism.

**bees** The ancient belief that bees originate in the dead bodies of cattle (B713) springs from the fact that the skeleton cage of the ribs provides a good natural framework for a wild beehive. "The swarm of bees and honey in the carcass of the lion" (*Judges* xiv, 8) is a case in point, of which Samson made the riddle, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness," which the men of the city could not guess without help. In a German folktale bees were created to provide wax for church candles; in a Breton story they sprang from the tears shed by Christ on the Cross. In Egyptian mythology they came from the tears of the sun god, Rā. In South American Caingang Indian

myth they were given to man by their culture hero, Kayurukre.

A bee was the symbol of the Hindu gods Indra, Krishna, and Vishnu, who were called *Madhava*, the nectar-born. The bow-string of Kāma, the Indian god of love, was a string of bees. A bee was the symbol of Artemis at Ephesus; and Melissa (bee) was a title of the priestesses of Demeter, Persephone, and the Great Mother (perhaps Rhea). Bee stings have been regarded as medicinal through the ages. Sufferers from rheumatism, arthritis, and neuritis from early times used to visit beekeepers for treatment: two stings were given as a first dose; later a few more per visit until the patient reported some relief. This belief is more widespread today than ever. An extract from bee stings, called bee venom, was on sale in Europe before World War II, and is now available in the United States (see B. F. Beck, *Bee Venom Therapy*, New York, 1935).

Almost everywhere in Europe and quite generally in rural sections of the United States, people still tell the bees when somebody dies in the house. If this is not done they will either leave or die or stop making honey. This is possibly a remnant of an old European belief that bees were messengers to the gods and notified them of mortal deaths. In Ireland not only are the bees told of a death in the family, but crepe is hung on the hive. The Irish tell their secrets to the bees; any new project is also told them in the hopes the bees will prosper it. Bees won't thrive if they are quarreled over. They must not be bought on a Friday. Some people say they must not be bought at all, but bartered for. This is especially true for the first swarm.

It is bad luck to have a swarm of bees come to you of themselves. Even to dream of a swarm lighting on a building portends misfortune. Mississippi Negroes say that to dream of bees in a swarm is a death omen; to dream of being stung means a friend will betray you. If you see them making honey in a dream, you are in for some money. From ancient Greece to modern New England a bee flying into the house means a stranger is coming. It is very lucky to have one fly in and then out; but if one dies in the house, that's bad luck. If you hold a bee in your hand, it won't sting you as long as you hold your breath. In New England and the Maritimes it is said that bees lay by unusually large stores of honey before a hard winter.

The bee in folktale plays the role of God's spy (A39); there are helpful bees (B482), and bees as familiars (G225.1). There are marriages to bees (B655.1), separable souls in bees (E715.3.1), reincarnations as bee (E616.1), and souls in the form of bee (E734.2). A bee identifies a lost princess by alighting on her (H162).

"The old wisdom of the bees"—"the secret knowledge of the bees"—"ask the wild bee for what the druids knew" are frequent phrases of Scottish Highland and island story (see Fiona Macleod, *Winged Destiny*, New York, 1910, p. 38 ff.) See ARISTEUS; LEMMINKAINEN.

**bees produced to rout enemies** A motif found in the Koasati Indian *Story of Crow* and the Creek tale of *Bead-Spitter and Thrown-Away*, in which two young boys collect a great quantity of bees, wasps, and hornets and turn them loose upon the warriors whom their father has mustered to punish the pair for their disobediences. The warriors are stung to death.

The idea is far from being limited to North American

Indian folktale. A similar motif (B524.2.1) in which helpful bees sting an approaching army occurs in both Jewish and Japanese legend. The Irish St. Gobnait (6th century) went out to save her district from being invaded by a neighboring chief with a small hive of bees in her hand. The bees swarmed upon the invaders and blinded their eyes. The idea of routing enemies with bees also occurs in Danish, English, and German tales.

**beetle** Any insect of the order *Coleoptera*, having biting mouth parts and hard horny anterior wings serving as covers for the membranous posterior pair when at rest. The *Coleoptera* are the true beetles, and there are 250,000 known species in the world. Many insects resembling them are so designated, however: the cockroach is often called a "black beetle," for instance.

In general European and United States folk belief, beetles are both deaf and blind, and to kill one brings rain. It is lucky to turn one over on its feet that has fallen on its back. In the Palatinate it is said that this kind deed cures or prevents toothache. If a beetle flies through the house it is an omen of unexpected news. To hear the death-watch beetle (a small wood-boring beetle) in your house means a death in the family. United States southern Negroes say that when its ticking stops whoever is in sickbed will die. Southern Negroes also cure earache by taking the head off of a certain species of wood beetle and dropping into the ear the one drop of blood the insect exudes. Beetles are often included in Negro mojo hands for good luck. In Silesia it is believed that the first cockchafer of the season, caught and sewed up in a little cloth bag, is effective as an amulet against fever.

In Ireland the *darbhdaol* is a species of long black beetle often called the devil's coach horse. Some say that the devil in the form of *darbhdaol* eats the bodies of sinners, and the insect is therefore sometimes construed as the symbol of corruption. If you see one raise its tail it is putting a curse on you. If you accept money from the devil you will find a *darbhdaol* in your hand. Reapers sometimes enclose one in the handle of their tools to give them speed and skill in the work. The *druib* is a large chafer found in Irish bogs and dried pools; if a white or spotted cow happens to swallow one all her hair will fall off the white parts. The *druib* affects no other color.

A huge Beetle is the creator of the world in Lengua (South American Chaco Indian) mythology. From the grains of earth he had left over, Beetle then created man and woman. At first they were joined together, but Beetle separated them, as they are now. Among the modern Toba Indians black beetles are always *pa'yak*, i.e. supernatural spirits.

The Sia Indians of North America have a myth in which Utset, Mother of Indians, gave to Beetle (Isbits) a sack of stars to carry from the underworld to the world above. He made the journey with success, but had become so tired with his load that he bit a tiny hole in the sack to see what was in it. The stars flew out and scattered across the sky. When Utset came up with Beetle she made him blind forever for his disobedience. This is why the Sia say that Beetle has no eyes. There were a few stars left in the bag and these Utset arranged herself: seven in one place (for the Great Bear), three bright ones in a row (in Orion's belt), and seven others in a group (the Pleiades).

In Zuni Indian mythology it is told that when Coyote (culture hero) marked off certain strips of restricted land between the clans and villages, he buried in each strip a beetle and a poisonous spider, so that whoever disobeyed and tried to cultivate for himself the restricted land would go blind, like beetle, or die of poison. If a Zuni Indian is struck by lightning he is given a drink of rainwater from that very storm containing black beetle and suet. If he fails to drink it he will "dry up." Or he is given black beetle in a piece of bread. Among the Hopi Indians Beetle is a helpful war spirit; he covers up tracks. Beetles are also brewed in the emetic drink of the Snake war society. See COCKROACH; LADYBUG; SCARAB.

**Befana or St. Befana, la Strega, or la Vecchia** An ugly but good-natured old hag who leaves presents in the stockings of children on the eve of the Epiphany, or Twelfth Night, in parts of Italy and Sicily. In Rome and many other Italian cities and towns young and old assemble and make a great noise in her honor with trumpets, tambourines, drums, and tin horns. In other places singers and musicians serenade the houses and rag-doll effigies of Befana are displayed in the windows.

In Christian legend, when the three kings passed on their way to adore the Christ Child, they invited a certain old woman to accompany them, but she said she was too busy cleaning her house. Later, she attempted to follow, but became lost and never saw the Holy Child. Every year she comes looking for him. She visits the children while they sleep and fills their stockings, giving to the good candy and sweetmeats; stones and charcoal are left for the naughty ones.

The name Befana is said to be a corruption of Epiphany, although parts of the legend date from pre-Christian times. In addition to obvious Santa Claus and Ahasuerus analogies, the legend contains also some elements of the practice of expelling demons with noise. Compare BERCHTA; SAINT NICHOLAS.

**Béfind** In Celtic folklore and mythology, one of the three fairies who are present at the birth of every child, who predict its future and endow it with good or doubtful gifts: literally, white woman. They are cognate with the Roman *Parcae*, and in Brittany, as in ancient Rome, a table was spread for them in the birth-room. They are definitely Celtic survivals, however, survivals of ancient Celtic goddess triads, earth mothers or goddesses associated with fertility and love.

In Old Irish mythology, Béfind was specifically a woman of the side, married to a mortal, Idath, and mother of Fraech. She was sister to Bóann, queen of the side of all Ireland.

**Beg** The undersea afterworld of Papuan (New Guinea) mythology: a temporary abode for the soul on its way to the blissful final place named Boigu.

**Bego Tanutanu** Bego the Maker, the younger of two brothers of Mono-Alu (Melanesian) mythology, of whom the older is lazy. Bego shaped the landscape, made the food plants, and otherwise contributed to the life and culture of the Mono-Alu islanders. His wife impounded the sea, but when her grandsons spied on her, she released it, causing a flood. (See G. C. Wheeler, *Mono-Alu Folklore*, London, 1926.) [KL]

**begyina ba** (plural *begyina mma*) Literally, in Ashanti, a come-and-stay child: the child (born to parents all of whose former children have died) for whose survival special magical precautions are observed. The loss of all previous children is believed by the Ashantis to be caused by evil spirits, who must now either be outwitted or overcome if the next child is to live. Sometimes the *begyina ba* is given a deceptive name-suffix, usually a slave designation, to lead malicious spirits into believing that this one is not particularly desirable; or sometimes it is even tattooed with the markings of a slave class, for the same reason. Frequently, however, the *begyina ba* is dedicated to some specific god who is then obliged to protect it. Its hair is not cut short like other children's, but allowed to grow long, and all kinds of protective amulets, bells, etc., are fastened into it. Compare **ABIKU**; **NAME TABU**.

**beheading bargain** A motif (M221) in which a giant or other supernatural challenger bargains to allow himself to be beheaded tonight providing he be allowed to behead his opponent tomorrow night (or one year from tonight). Many a hero agrees to the bargain, beheads the challenger (who immediately resumes his head), and shirks presenting himself for decapitation at the appointed time. Only the bravest, truest, most honorable of heroes keep faith, the result always being, of course, that the challenger spares him because of his fearless honor. It usually follows also that the challenger has been in disguise, and reveals his true identity to proclaim the virtue of the hero. Probably the two most famous beheading bargains recorded are the one between Cuchulain and the *bachlach* and that between Gawain and the Green Knight, the former now considered the source of the latter. See **BRICRIU'S FEAST**.

**behemoth** A huge animal described in *Job* xl, 15, usually thought to be the hippopotamus but by some believed to be the elephant: the plural of *behemoth*, beast. According to early and medieval Jewish tradition, as the Leviathan was king of the fishes and the *ziz* the greatest of the birds, so behemoth was the king of the animals. Two of the monsters were created (or only one, a male); however, since a thousand mountains' produce made but one day's food for behemoth (a gloss on *Ps.* 1, 10), and since all the waters of Jordan served the monster for only one swallow, he was provided with no sexual desire lest he and his offspring devour the world; he was given a barren tract of land to live in. Behemoth and Leviathan will be hunted by, or their fight will serve as a spectacle for, the blessed after the Messiah comes and their flesh will serve as a feast for the Chosen at the great banquet. In Moslem tradition, Behemoth is a great fish upon which stood the bull supporting the ruby underlying the world. Compare **HADHAYOSH**.

**běisaé** In Cambodian belief, the souls of those who have died a violent death. The *běisaé* return from the hells (Buddhist) to demand food from the living. They take revenge on those who refuse to appease them by afflicting them with all kinds of evils. Food is left among the brushwood for them. Compare **PRĀY**.

**Bel** The Babylonian form of the title *baal*, lord or master; at first generally applicable to the gods of places, later an appellation of the principal gods, and finally the title, or the name, of the chief god—Enlil or Mar-

duk or Ashur. The Bel of the Old Testament was Marduk. Bel, the god of the earth, was a member of the supreme triad with Anu and Ea. As Bel, he brought on the flood, wishing to destroy the human race. Marduk is not mentioned in the Deluge story. The consort of Bel is Belit, the lady, a general title paralleling that of Bel.

**běla kampong** An annual ceremony of the Malays of Endau, performed to keep the local spirits happy and to gain their aid in averting misfortune and disease. During the celebration a village is under a *tabu*. No strangers may enter it nor may the villagers leave, dig, make a loud noise, shoot animals, or pick coconuts.

**Bele** A Trinidad Negro social dance and its associated rites for the dead, wherein the ancestors are feted to assure that they will exercise a benevolent surveillance over their descendants. These dances have been held clandestinely in modern times because of official and clerical disapproval, and only upon the insistence of the ancestors, who manifest their desires in dreams, and their displeasure with the failure to hold this ceremony by harassing the family with ill health, or bad harvests, or loss of employment. [MJH]

**Belet** The Menik Kaian (Malay peninsula) abode of the dead: an island to the northwest of the Malay peninsula. A soul leaves the body through the big toe and journeys to the sea. After seven days, during which time the soul can revisit its old home, it is escorted (if good) by Mampes across Balan Bacham, the switchbacked bridge which spans the sea. When the soul arrives in Belet it sees the Mapik tree where it meets the souls of those who have died previously. These souls break the limbs of the newcomer and turn his pupils inwards, making him a *kemoit* or real ghost, after which he can wear the flowers of the Mapik tree and pluck its fruit. The Mapik tree bears all things desirable such as food. At its base are breasts from which the ghosts of little children get their milk.

The wicked are doomed to watch from another place the good enjoying the life in Belet. According to I. Evans the Menik Kaian and Kintak Bong are the only groups among the Semang who have any conception of an existence after death. Compare **PULAU BAH**.

**Belial** or **Beliar** One of the synonyms for Satan or one of the minor devils; principally, the Antichrist: as used in the Old Testament, a modifying genitive signifying worthlessness or recklessness, e.g. "sons of Belial" as in the story of the Benjamite war (*Judg.* xix). Hence, the underworld (Sheol) and the personification of wickedness. Belial may perhaps be a modification of the Babylonian Belili, a deity connected with the underworld in the Ishtar-Tammuz story.

**Belit** The feminine form of the Babylonian title Bel; hence, the lady, the mistress: an appellation of rank construed as the proper name of the consort of the chief god Bel (or Enlil, Marduk, or Ashur). Hence, Belit is identifiable with Ninlil. Belit was worshipped in Assyria both as the consort of Ashur and as the ancient goddess of Nippur.

**bell** A hollow vessel, usually of metal, sounded by being struck by a clapper suspended within or by a separate stick or hammer, and serving among almost all

peoples for thousands of years as amulet, fertility charm, summons to a god, prophetic voice, curative agent, or purely musical instrument.

The practice of wearing bells on the person is world-wide and originally had the same purpose everywhere—protection from evil spirits and from bodily harm. Bells of gold were prescribed by God for the hem of the high priest's garment in Israel (*Ex. xxviii, 35*). The sound was to protect him as he came and went from the holy place against the demons that frequent the threshold of sanctuaries. Siberian shamans wear bells for incantations and prophecies, and South American Indians protect themselves in the same way. In medieval Europe, warriors and joustiers wore bells on their belts or hems in combat. In West Africa, mothers tie iron rings and bells on the ankles of an ailing child or a child born after the death of several others to drive off the unfriendly spirits who cause sickness and death. (See *NEGUNA NA*.) These spirits are believed to dislike both iron and the tinkling of bells and can be lured out of the child's body with food while the amulets are put on. Yaqui Deer Dancers of Mexico also wear belts hung with bells. As the original purpose began to be forgotten in Europe, bells appeared on the dress of fops and on fools' motley.

Animal bells, though now largely thought of as utilitarian devices for finding strayed animals, were also first used to drive off harmful spirits. The most useful creatures of each region—goats, camels, elephants, donkeys, cows, horses, etc.—were guarded by neck bells or bell-strung trappings.

As fertility charms bells have been significant for many agricultural peoples. In China, bells were rung as a call for rain, the largest bell of the country serving for one occasion only—the emperor's prayer for rain. The decoration of the bell consisted of fertility symbols such as the sown field, nipples, and the number 9, identified with renewal. The Nilotic Bari people used bells to bring rain by filling the bowl of the bell with water and sprinkling the earth with it. In Europe, Tyrolean farmers insured a good harvest by ringing bells while circling their fields; and at Brunnen on Lake Lucerne, a Twelfth Night ceremony for ringing out witches also carried a potency for making a full fruit crop. Church bells were appealed to in some European countries at harvest time for the safe gathering of the crops.

Ceremonial bells have rung for religious rites of widely varying beliefs. A large bell from the Assyrian period, about 600 B.C., bears the symbols of the gods Ea, Nergal, and Ninurta. Chinese temple bells are sounded between verses of the Confucian hymn and are equated in a complete cosmological system of harmony with autumn, with the west, with dampness, and with metal. (The Babylonians also correlated pitch and season.) Peruvian aborigines used bells and jingles in addressing their gods. In Egypt, the feast of Osiris opened with bell-ringing, and in India, Java, etc., a hand bell decorated with Siva's trident, Vishnu's eagle, and other religious symbols was used by Hindu priests during prayer. African Negro priests, as well as Haitian vodun hangers, invoke gods and loa with bells and dancing. Hand bells, considered effective for keeping away the evil ones, are beaten to accompany the Coptic chant. In the Mohammedan paradise, it is said, bells will hang on all the trees to make music for the blessed.

Since the 5th century bells have been associated with

sacred rites in Christian churches, and have often been inscribed with religious lines. The passing bell called the faithful to pray for the departing soul and warded off evil spirits who might pounce on the soul; the excommunication proceedings called for "bell, book, and candle," the bell tolling as if the sinner were dead; the "pardon bell" of pre-Reformation England rang before and after services; processions of the church were accompanied by bell-ringing to scare off demons, etc. Saints Patrick, Gall, and Dunstan are all linked with special bells.

Customs and legends surrounding Christian church bells are common to all Europe. Bells were publicly baptized, named, and dedicated to a saint in many communities, with sponsors, baptismal dress, gifts, and sprinkling of holy water. In Lithuania it was the belief that bells would not sound until baptized, that unbaptized bells would give trouble by falling from their steeples or other mischief. After baptism the bells would frighten away sorcerers, witches, and the Devil himself. The souls of the dead were supposed to rise to heaven on bell sounds.

Certain bells were thought to ring of their own accord on occasions of great import. An Aragonese legend tells of a bell in which one of Juda's thirty pieces of silver was cast, which sounded without human assistance before national calamities. The ballad of Sir Hugh of Lincoln embodies this belief, relating the unprompted tolling of the bells of Lincoln for his fate.

Bells which have sunk to the bottom of ponds or lakes or have been buried underground (of which every European country traditionally has examples) also ring at solemn times, such as midnight on Christmas Eve. Such bells were generally engulfed as a punishment for some human impiety. One Dutch bell was sunk after being stolen by the Devil.

Some of the self-ringing bells say actual words. Some gratefully sound the names of their donors. One in Denmark tells of its mate, sunk in the Schliemunde on its way to the bell tower. One rings out words of pity for a lad cruelly slain by the king.

Apart from ringing on their own initiative and talking, other activities and individual properties have been ascribed to bells. All church bells were believed in medieval Europe to make a pilgrimage to Rome to keep Good Friday, and the townspeople stayed indoors so as not to see their flight. No bells rang until they had returned to their steeples. If the local bell missed the excursion, bad luck, poor harvests, etc., might follow. Bells might grow indignant at insults or injuries and take revenge. One bell of singularly sweet tone was ordered by the king to be removed from Sens to Paris. It refused to ring in its new site in spite of all efforts, but on being returned at last to Sens, it burst into joyous sound in the cart that was hauling it. A bell in Zweibrücken was about to be destroyed in 1677 by invaders when it sweated blood.

For centuries all over Europe bells were rung to break the power of advancing thunderstorms, which were believed to be the work of evil spirits of the air. English church records show the payment of fees to bell-ringers for services during tempests, and many bells bear such inscriptions as "Fulgura frango, dissipio ventos," or "Lightning and thunder, I break asunder." The wicked spirits were shamed by the bell-ringing and fled. Norse

bells were also often marked with the bent cross, the hammer of Thor, the Thunderer.

It was church bells and hymn-singing, according to legend, that frightened the mountain dwarfs, giants, and trolls away from Sweden, Denmark, and Germany. A ferryman of Holstein got a hatful of gold for ferrying a boatload of emigrating dwarfs across a river when they couldn't endure the bells any longer.

Church bells also overcame witches and were regularly used to drive them out in certain especially witch-troubled seasons. The practice was about the same in various parts of Europe—Germany, France, Switzerland, etc.—whether the occasion was May Day, Twelfth Night, St. Agatha's Eve, or every Friday in March—all the people rang bells and beat pots and pans, the church bells rang, and fires or torches were lighted; with shouting and screaming the witches were routed. A similar custom also held on the coast of Guinea to expel ghosts and witches, and an equivalent ceremony took place when the Emperor Justin II sent ambassadors to the Turks. The shamans chased whatever powers of evil might be attending the meeting with bells and tambourines.

As a curative agent, bells have served in many ways. In time of pestilence they cleared the air of corruption, and were prescribed for that purpose by an English doctor in 1625. St. Mura's bell, in Ireland, could cure any ailment if liquid were drunk from it. An American Negro belief holds that a child can be cured of stuttering by drinking from a bell. In England it was thought that childbirth could be eased by tying the bell rope to the woman's girdle. One particular bell could cure insanity by being placed over the head of the afflicted person.

The prophetic implications of bell-ringing are usually for ill-luck. The Grimm collection has a tale of a household bell which rang to foretell a death in the family. American Negro stories connect bells with death or misfortune; even a ringing in the ear points to death from the direction of the noise.

The use of bells for warnings or summons is more modern, generally, than these other purposes, though the Greeks used their *koda* in this way in military groups; the Romans sounded the *tintinnabulum* for the hours of bathing and of business; and the curfew, signaling the hour for extinguishing fires and lights, was probably introduced into England by William the Conqueror. Bells have also rung for victory, to celebrate Christmas, to warn of the approach of a leper, etc. But for public announcements, heralds or criers were used earlier. Shop bells, now used to bring the proprietor out to his customers, originally guarded the entrance against threshold demons.

Much lore centers around the casting of bells and the mixture of metals required for good tone. Blood was sometimes used, probably deriving from sacrificial customs. For casting the Great Bell of China, it is traditional that the bell-maker's daughter, who had heard of the efficiency of maidens' blood in creating fine bells, threw herself into the metal to save her father from failure with his important commission. There are also many European stories of wicked bell-makers who stole the precious metal contributed for bells and substituted lead. They all met hard fates.

Purely as musical instruments, bells have been used chiefly in the Orient, but English bell-ringers have developed a music of their own, change-ringing, which consists of a progression through the tones of a set of bells. In the Javanese gamelan, the *trompong*, a set of metal bells arranged in scale in a frame, takes the leading melody. Military bands of the Chou dynasty in China used bells. Malayan and Indian musicians play on sets of resting bells (not suspended or swung in the hand, but set rim upwards on the floor) made of metal or porcelain and struck with a stick. This type of bell has also been used in China and Greece.

Classes of bells and bell-like instruments differing from the definition given here are as follows: *chimes*, sets of tuned bells; *carillons*, sets of bells mechanized with clock works, first made in Flanders in the 13th century; *jingles*, hollow metal balls containing loose beads, pebbles, etc., which are more like rattles. Gongs, which have a dead rim and sounding center, are struck plates, as distinguished from bells, with their sounding rim and dead center.

The origin of bells is not known and even the comparative age of various types is uncertain. Bells of shell, wood, etc., of certain primitive peoples may be imitative of the cast or shaped metal bells of other civilizations.

THIERESA C. BRAKELEY

**belladonna** The deadly nightshade (*Atropa belladonna*), a European poisonous plant with reddish, bell-shaped flowers and shining black berries. The plant, according to Plutarch, is the one which produced fatal effects upon the Roman soldiers during their retreat from the Parthians under Mark Antony. Belladonna is used in small doses to allay pain and spasm and is smeared on the eyes to dilate the pupils during medical examinations.

The origin of its name, which is Italian for beautiful lady, is uncertain, but one explanation is its use as an eye beautifier, another that it was used by Leucota, the Italian, to poison beautiful women.

**Belle Hélène** A folk ballad of France telling the story of a dancing girl who was drowned. She was dancing on a bridge and taken by the water spirits. This ballad is of Scandinavian origin and has Icelandic, German, Lusatian, and Hungarian parallels. See BALLAD; FRENCH FOLKLORE.

**Bellerophon or Bellerophontes** In Greek legend, a Corinthian hero; son of Glaucus (or Poseidon) and Eurymede; grandson of Sisyphus; the master of Pegasus; the slayer of the Chimera: a local Corinthian demigod, perhaps originally identical with the Argive Perseus, perhaps not Greek in origin though adopted as early as the time of Homer. Bellerophon was first named Hippoponous, but he slew either his brother or the Corinthian Bellerus and was forced to flee to Tiryns. There he lived for a time at the court of Proetus, king of Argos. Antea (or Sthenobia), the queen, attempted to seduce him and, when he refused her, accused him of making advances himself. Proetus dispatched Bellerophon to Iobates of Lycia, his father-in-law, with a tablet or letter containing secret instructions that Bellerophon was to be killed. Iobates, like Proetus, unwilling to slay a guest out of hand, sent Bellerophon against the Chimera. (See CHIMERA; PEGASUS.) This failing and Bellerophon returning alive, the hero was sent on expeditions against

the Solymoi and then the Amazons; Bellerophon conquered in both. After slaying the pick of Iobates' warriors who lay in ambush for him, Bellerophon was accepted by Iobates as somewhat more than human, given the king's daughter (Philonoe, Anticlea, or Cassandra) for wife, and presented with a large part of the Lycian kingdom. Bellerophon accomplished his revenge on Antea by taking her for a ride on Pegasus and pitching her off the flying horse to her death. At last, however, his pride led to his downfall, probably when he attempted to fly to the gods on Pegasus. Zeus sent a gadfly to sting the horse and Bellerophon was thrown off to fall to earth, which left him blinded and crippled. The gods' vengeance reached Bellerophon's children, Isandrus, Laodamia, and Hippolochus, all of whom succumbed to an evil fate. Embittered by this turn of fortune, the hero wandered alone through the Aleian plain for the rest of his life, and came to an obscure death. A sanctuary of Bellerophon stood in a cypress grove near Corinth. Compare LETTER OF DEATH; POTTIPHAR'S WIFE.

**bellling the cat** A folktale motif (J671.1) in which the mice take counsel together as to how they may get rid of the cat. A clever one among them points out that if a bell were tied to the cat's neck, they all would forever after be forewarned of her approach and whereabouts. A wonderful ideal But, as one grizzled and experienced old mouse adds, Who will put the bell on the cat? This is Aesop's fable (Jacobs #67) in toto, one of the few known to be of true folk origin, and occurring in the folklore of various peoples as far apart as the Estonians, Finns, Italians, and southern United States Negroes. How can mice rid themselves of cats? is also one of the traditional questions asked of travelers on specific quests to other worlds (H1292.10) and the answer is always, Tie a bell on its neck. Belling the cat has long since been synonymous with the proposal of some impossible remedy, or synonymous with the predicament of one who hesitates to risk his own life for the salvation of many.

**Bellona** (1) The Roman goddess of war; companion (either sister, wife, daughter, or nurse) of Mars. Bellona acted as Mars' charioteer, preparing and driving his chariot, and appearing herself in battle with disheveled hair, a bloody whip in one hand and a torch in the other, to spur the warriors on. She is equated with the Sabine war goddess Nerio. Her temple stood in the Campus Martius and there the senators received foreign ambassadors and Roman generals claiming victories. There too the fetialis declared war for the Roman people, throwing a spear over the pillar (*columna bellica*) before the temple, the precinct being considered foreign territory. Human sacrifices were offered only to her and to Mars.

(2) An Asiatic goddess of war, the Phrygian Ma, perhaps identical with the Greek Enya of Pontus and Cappadocia, brought to Rome by Sulla to whom she appeared: often confused with the native Italic Bellona. Her priests, the Bellonarii, dressed completely in black, pierced their limbs and either drank the blood or sprinkled it on the assemblage. By confusion, this offering came to be made on March 24, the day of the original Bellona, and the day became known as the *dies sanguinis*. Her day originally was June 3.

**Belly and the Members** One of Aesop's fables (Jacobs #29). The Members of the Body once complained that they were tired of serving the Belly, who did no work. The Hands thenceforth refused to carry food to the Mouth; the Mouth refused to chew the food for the Belly; the Legs refused to carry the big fat Belly around. It was not long, however, before the Members began to weaken and fail without the sustaining nourishment the Belly provided. And they soon realized that all were mutually and essentially useful. This story belongs to a group of folktales embodying the motif (J461) known as the senseless debate of the mutually useful. The belly and the members (J461.1) is the generic classification for the various tales involving debate between various parts of the body, animal or human, found in Indian folktale, Jewish, Roman as well as Greek, and Italian popular tradition. There is an analogous Nigerian Bantu story.

**belly dance** A late development of the primitive abdominal dance, limited to movements of the *rectus abdominis*: known as *danse du ventre* in North Africa.

**belomancy** Divination by the use of arrows: an ancient method used by the Babylonians, Scythians, Slavs, Germans, Arabs, etc. Arrows bearing inscriptions were shot, the distance covered by the arrow determining which inscription was to be read. (Cf. Ezek. xxi, 21). One form was like astragalomancy, with lettered arrows. Another technique used three arrows, one marked yes, one no, and one blank. The Gold Coast ordeal with poisoned arrows is another type of belomancy. The casting of arrows in groups so that certain markings appeared face upwards—notches for example, or colored bands—is believed to have developed in course of time into divining sticks and thence into divining cards which were the forerunners of our playing cards.

**Beltane** (Irish *Bealtaine*) The Celtic May Day (May 1), and the great festival observed on that day; also, the word for the month of May. Beltane begins officially at moonrise on May Day Eve and marks the beginning of the third quarter or second half of the ancient Celtic year. It is believed to be a survival of an early pastoral festival accompanying the first turning of the herds out to wild pasture, all the ritual observances being intended to increase fertility (as also in the Midsummer, or St. John's Eve agricultural celebration). Witches and fairies are said to be abroad in great numbers. Frazer suggests that the prevalence of witches and fairies on Beltane Eve points to a very early female fertility cult. It is bad to be out late on May Eve; it is worse luck to sleep out; and it is said in Ireland yet that whoever is foolhardy enough to join a fairy dance on Beltane Eve will not be set free till Beltane next year. Beltane is still observed in Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, Wales, Brittany, and the Isle of Man, with more or less varying survivals of the ancient practices.

The Beltane rites were intended to increase fertility in the herds, fields, and homes. The one great ritual of the day was the building of the Beltane bonfire. It was kindled either by a spark from flint, or by friction; in fact the Irish term *teine éigin* (fire from rubbing sticks), is sometimes synonymous with the Beltane fire. The people used to dance sunwise around it (see DEISEAL); the cattle were driven through it, or between two fires, to protect them from murrain and other ills; the



nerable to fire and steel, they sweep their enemies before them.

**beryl** A mineral family of gems including the sea-green aquamarine and emerald, here used to denote the aquamarine. Known since early times, it was usually designated the birthstone of October or Scorpio. It is a defense against foes in battle and litigation, and is used to detect thieves. It quickens the intellect, cures laziness, yet leaves a man amiable but unconquerable. It promotes the love of married couples. Medicinally it is used extensively for diseases of the eyes and disorders of the throat, jaws, and head, and against spasms and convulsions. Kunz, in *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, mentions that engraved with a hoopoe holding a tarragon herb before it, it conferred power to invoke water spirits and to call up the mighty dead for questioning. Engraved with a frog, it promoted friendship and reconciled enemies, and engraved with Poseidon it protected sailors. Some authorities on the Bible claim it was one of the stones of the High Priest's breastplate and one of the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem. It was sometimes used to make crystal balls.

**Bes** In Egyptian religion, a shaggy-haired dwarf god wearing a lion's skin and having a tail: a foreign god probably imported from Punt or Nubia to the south and east of Egypt. Although an ancient god, the large-headed, short-legged figure did not attain his greatest popularity until the XXVI Dynasty (c. 650 B.C.) and after. The image of Bes was a talisman against evil, whether evil omen or witchcraft, and it appeared more often in the Egyptian home than that of any other god. Bes was a god of dual aspect: he was a sensual god, patron of dance, music, and joyfulness, protector of children and of women in childbirth; and he was also a warlike avenging god. The latter was perhaps his original character, but his quaint physical features gained him such popularity that he acquired the genial aspect that became the more common.

**Bessy, Bess, or Besom-Bet** In northern England, the name of the female impersonator in the Fool Plough ceremonies and processions: a man dressed grotesquely as an old woman. The Bessy is a stock character also in pantomime, mummers' parades, and sword dances, but is especially associated with the Fool Plough.

**bestiaries** Western European handbooks of natural history with articles on numerous real or imagined animals moralistically interpreted. Although the earliest may have been put together about 200 B.C. they owe much to St. Ambrose's (c. 340-397) *Hexameron* and St. Isidore's (c. 560-636) *Etymology*. In the Middle Ages and later, bestiaries were enormously popular. Copies have been preserved in the Armenian, Syriac, and Ethiopian languages as well as in the languages of western Europe. They have influenced ecclesiastical art and folk speech and have been influenced by them. [RDJ]

**betel chewing** A widespread and ancient custom of eastern Asia, the East Indies, and Melanesia, of chewing the seed of the areca palm (popularly called the betel nut), wrapped in leaves of the vine *Piper betle* together with a bit of lime and other flavoring ingredients: the "chew" is called in modern India *pān-supāri*,

So prevalent is the habit that it, and the materials chewed, form part of many important ceremonies of the region. For example, throughout the area, betel nuts or leaves are used in puberty ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, and death ceremonies, in courtship, bride bargains, and birth divination, etc. There are more or less rigid tabus connected with the nuts and leaves, their growth, sale, and use. The equipment used by the betel chewers (areca-nut cutters, lime boxes and spatulas, betel bags, spittoons, etc.) is often highly elaborated with native art work. Habitual betel chewing makes the teeth black and eventually rots them, and it stains the saliva red. The Shans say that beasts have white teeth, seemingly differentiating beasts from betel chewers. For a comprehensive survey of the literature and customs of the area connected with betel chewing, see Penzer's "The Romance of Betel Chewing" in Tawney's *The Ocean of Story*, vol. VIII, pp. 237-319.

**betony** A European herb (genus *Stachys*, formerly *Betonica*) of the mint family. According to Pliny betony was an amulet for houses (xxv, 46) and so antipathetic to snakes that they lash themselves to death when surrounded by it (xxv, 55). Antonius Musa, physician to Augustus Cæsar, wrote a book on the virtues of betony as a preserver of the liver and protector from epidemic diseases and witchcraft.

To the herbalists the betony was an herb of Jupiter, under the sign Aries, which helped jaundice, palsy, gout, and convulsions. Taken in wine it killed worms; mixed with honey it aided childbirth. Dry and hot, it was used for infirmities of the head and eyes, the breast and lungs.

**bezoar** A concretion, often of lime and magnesium phosphate, formed around foreign substances in the stomach, liver, or intestines of ruminants; occasionally, similar stones found in other parts of the bodies of hedgehogs, porcupines, monkeys, and human beings. It was considered a gem by the ancients of both the Old and New World. Bezoars were first mentioned as a medicine by the Arabs and Persians, and it was not until the end of the 12th century that they were introduced into Europe, where they soon gained high repute. They are universally considered an antidote for poison, whether used internally, placed on the wound, or merely worn as an amulet. The Chinese wear them set in rings which they suck whenever they believe they have been subjected to poison. The Sioux Indian tribes believe that blowing powdered bezoar into the eyes strengthens the sight and the brain. Used with a laxative the bezoar is good for chronic and painful diseases. The Hindus and Persians use it in this manner as a periodic tonic. In Germany and Bohemia it is used internally for toothache. Unlike many medieval remedies, it evidently had some effect, as it caused profuse perspiration, and care had to be exercised in administering it or it would blacken the teeth. Stones from different animals found particular favor with various authorities, but those from the porcupine, monkey, and man are generally considered best. Those of the New World, although often rough on the outside and of drab color, are equally effective, as is a mineral stone of similar composition found in Sicily. By the middle of the 18th century it had become so popular that medicinal bezoar sold for fifty times the price of

emerald and a piece the size of a pigeon egg sold for \$1,200. The Mongolians claim that it will produce rain. [JWH]

☞ In the New World, bezoar stones, particularly those found in deer, were believed to possess great magical powers to aid hunters, sorcerers, and medicine men. The medicinal properties believed by the Spaniards to be inherent in these stones made them a valued object of search. Some of the New World stones were believed to be superior to those of the Old World. Because of this intense interest, and the resulting monetary exchange value of the stones to Indian finders, this Old World belief seems to have become incorporated into the folklore of nearly all Middle American Indian tribes. [CMF]

bhagat Priests, medicine men, and exorcists of India. [MWS]

**Bhagavad-Gītā** Literally, the song of the Divine One: a dialog inserted in the sixth book of the Hindu epic, the *Mahābhārata*, in which Krishna, as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa Vishnu, expounds his philosophical doctrines to Arjuna and reveals himself as the one and only God. One of the most loved and used of Hindu scriptures, the poem is believed to date from the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. It is divided into three sections each containing six chapters. During the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, Krishna agreed to act as charioteer for Arjuna, leader of the Pāṇḍava princes. The latter, disliking the coming slaughter of friends and relatives, asked Krishna for guidance. This beautiful and lofty dialog followed, in which the doctrine of bhakti (faith) and Karma yoga (action), and the duties of caste are exalted above all other obligations.

**Bhairava** In Hindu mythology and religion, any one of the eight (or twelve) fearful forms of Śiva: worshipped especially by outcaste groups of India. In this fearful aspect Śiva often rides upon a dog. In his modern character, Bhairava has been identified with the local village deity Bhairon and the characteristics of the two have been merged. Bhairava is worshipped in the agricultural districts of northern and central India as a black dog, a snake-girded drummer, or a red stone.

**Bhairon** In Indian belief, a local village god, personification of the field-spirit, whose identification with Bhairava has given him the attributes of Śiva. In Benares he serves as the guardian of the temples of Śiva. In Bombay he is represented in a terrifying aspect as Kala Bhairava or Bhairoba armed with a sword or club and carrying a bowl of blood. See GRĀMA-DEVATĀ.

**bhanga** In Hindu dance, the bends or deviations of the body from the plumb line: abhanga (slightly bent), samabhanga (equally bent) or in equilibrium, atibhanga (greatly bent), and tribhanga (thrice bent). [GRK]

**Bhima** or **Bhima-sena** In the *Mahābhārata*, second of the five Pāṇḍava princes; son of the wind god Vāyu. Bhima was burly, prodigiously strong, courageous, coarse, and brutal. His appetite was such that he ate half the food of the family. During the first exile of the brothers, Bhima subdued the asuras and they promised to cease molesting mankind. In the great battle between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas he engaged in combat with Duryodhana. When Bhima was losing, he struck an unfair blow, smashing Duryod-

hana's thigh. Balarāma was so incensed by the foul attack that he declared Bhima henceforth should be called Jihma-yodhin, the unfair fighter.

Bhima is a nationally worshipped hero who may originally have been a Rākshasa. Like Arjuna, Sitā, and many other epic heroes and heroines, he has the marks of an originally divine nature. He is now the chief rain god of the Central Provinces. The Gonds celebrate a festival in his honor close to the time of the monsoon.

**Bhīshma** Literally, the terrible: in Hindu mythology, the son of King Śantanu by Gangā. When his father wished to marry the young and beautiful Satyawatī, her parents objected because Bhīshma was heir to the throne and her sons could not inherit the kingdom. Bhīshma agreed never to accept the throne nor to marry and Satyawatī's parents then agreed to the marriage. Her sons by Śantanu, however, died without children and the children of her son, Pāṇḍu and Dhritarāshtra, born before her marriage to the king, were brought up by Bhīshma who acted as regent of Hastināpura for them and directed the training of their children, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. In the battle between the two groups he sided with the Kauravas and was mortally wounded. His body was so covered with the arrows shot by Arjuna that they held him up when he fell from his chariot. He is the model for modern ascetics who lie on beds studded with nails. He is also revered in India for his filial devotion and a festival is held in his honor during Kartik (November-December).

**Bhrīgu** In Vedic mythology, one of the rishis or seers: the founder of the race of bhrīgus and bhargavas. Bhrīgu was generated from the heart of Brahmā or from the seed of Prajāpati which had been cast into the fire by the gods. He was, according to the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, adopted by Varuna. According to the *Purāṇas*, the rishis were undecided about which god to worship, so they sent Bhrīgu to test the characters of the gods. Bhrīgu found Śiva so much engrossed in his wife and Brahmā in himself that neither would receive the seer. Vishnu was asleep, so the sage angrily kicked him. Vishnu, awakening, stroked the sage's foot and expressed the honor he felt at this method of arousing him. Bhrīgu reported Vishnu the most worthy of worship. See AGNI; CHYAVANA.

**Bhūmīya** or **Khetrpāl** (feminine *Bhūmīyā Rānī*) In Northern Indian belief, a local earth god or goddess. The god is worshipped when a marriage takes place, when a child is born, or during the harvest. He sometimes changes sex, becoming identified with the earth mother and, like her, has a malignant aspect, bringing sickness to those who are disrespectful. He is worshipped as a snake by the Dāngīs of the United Provinces. When the Jats establish a new village the first man to die in the community is buried in a special mound, a shrine named for him is erected, and he is deified under his name as the local earth god or Bhūmīya. Local Bhūmīyas are gradually being absorbed into both the Vaishnava and Śaiva systems.

**bhūt** or **bhūta** In Hindu belief, the general name for a malignant ghost of the dead; the spirit of a man who has died by accident, suicide, or capital punishment. To

avoid them people lie on the ground, since bhûts never rest on the earth. They have no shadow, speak with a nasal twang, and are afraid of burning turmeric. [MWS]

**bia** Songs sung by the Australian Buin people as laments for the dead. The words are the mourning exclamations and cries of relatives at the cremation.

**bibliomancy** Divination by means of books, or by use of the Bible. This is generally a method in which any book composed of verses may be used as an oracle. In the Middle Ages, the *Æncid* was used in the *sortes Vergilianæ*; throughout Europe, the Bible, often opened with a golden needle, was employed; and in Moslem countries, the Koran. In essence, the method takes force from the sacred nature of the book employed, and it is allied to sortilegium in its acceptance of the chance factor. A Western European variant was to weigh a suspected person against the Great Bible; a guilty person weighed more than the Book.

**biersal** In German folklore (Saxony), a kobold who lives down in the cellar and will clean all the jugs and bottles as long as he receives his own jug of beer daily for his trouble.

**Bifrost or Asbru** In Teutonic mythology, the rainbow bridge made of fire, air, and water for the gods' use, arching from the world-tree, Yggdrasil, on earth, Midgard, to Asgard. It was forbidden to Thor because of his heavy tread. It will be destroyed at Ragnarök by the weight of the giant Surtr and his sons.

**Big House ceremony** A twelve-night ceremony of the Delaware Indians held, at least in modern times, in a rectangular structure known as the Big House. It is held to propitiate the Master of Life (supreme deity) and to ensure for the tribe good health, well-being, and the blessings of the supernatural. Esoteric songs obtained in visions are sung by their owners during the several nights of the ceremony; speeches and prayers are made by ceremonial leaders, and feasting concludes the rites. The interior center and side posts supporting the Big House have carved wooden faces on them. For a detailed account of the construction of the Big House and the ceremony held therein, see F. G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony" (*Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission*, Vol. II, pp. 5-192, 1931). [xwv]

**Big Owl** A destructive, cannibalistic monster, usually having the form of a large owl, in Apache Indian mythology. The White Mountain Apache picture Big Owl as the evil, blundering son of Sun, who killed all the people and was in turn killed by his brother, the culture hero. Among the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache he is a wicked giant; in Lipan mythology Big Owl induces the culture hero to marry his daughter, so that he can kill him; in Jicarilla Apache tales Big Owl transfixes his victims with his glance, carries them home in a basket, and eats them. [xwv]

**Big-Raven** The creator in Koryak mythology: Quikin-naqu.

**Big Sea Day** An old coastal celebration of New Jersey, formerly celebrated every year on the second Saturday in August. People came to the shore in wagons and buggies prepared to spend the day—whole families out of the woods and pines of southern Jersey. Everyone went

in bathing in the sea, wearing whatever they happened to have on for the day, and dried in the sun. It was also called Farmers' Wash Day, with the tongue-in-check implication that New Jersey farmers bathed only once a year. Seagirt was honored with the special celebration of Little Sea Day, the third Saturday in August. This celebration was for those who had to stay home the week before to do the chores. Both celebrations have vanished with the "commercial invasion" of the Jersey coast resorts.

**Bile** In Old Irish mythology, one of the Milesians, a king of Spain. His name is listed with the 41 Spanish chiefs who accompanied the sons of Mil to Ireland to avenge the death of Ith. Bile's name is listed also with those who were drowned in the druid storm sent by the Tuatha Dé Danann to prevent their landing.

Bile as a king of Spain is interpreted by some scholars as a god of darkness and death, Spain being an overseas Otherworld (specifically, a land of the dead). Recent students, however, prefer to interpret both Bile and Spain more literally. Reinach assumes both a racial and commercial relationship between Ireland and Spain, even in earliest times, either by sea or via Gaul. In fact, botanists and zoologists alike can advance evidence that there was once an unbroken European coastline from Ireland to Spain. Old geographers and chartists assumed the two countries were much closer than they are; and that Ith glimpsed Ireland from his father's tower in Spain bears testimony to this concept.

**bili** (singular *bile*) The sacred trees of the ancient Celts: early believed to be the habitation of gods or elemental spirits, later associated with kings and belief in the sanctity or godhood of kings. The king's scepter was made from a branch of his own tree, and a branch of his tree was symbolic of the king. It was sacrilege to pluck or fell the king's tree. Evidently the life token or separable soul idea was here involved. In later Celtic romance one often reads of some hero, giant, knight, etc., defending a certain tree from having fruit or a bough taken from it or from being felled. In Ireland today any sacred or historical tree is called a bile, especially one within a fort or growing beside a holy well. Any unusually big or very aged tree, or one oddly shaped is a bile and regarded as sacred. People will pray near it, and sometimes even still make offerings to it.

**Biliku, Bilik, or Puluga** A prominent deity of the Andaman Islands, associated with monsoons, usually the northeast, while Tarai (another deity who may be wife or brother) is associated with the southwest. Both are associated with weather in general and natural phenomena. The term *biliku* among the northern Andamese means "spider." Lowie (*Primitive Religion*, p. 129 ff.) discusses data collected by Man and Radcliffe-Brown, and denies that evidence points, as Father Schmidt believes, to Biliku as being a "High God." [KL]

**Billy Blin** A semisupernatural being, a sort of household familiar of English and Scottish popular ballad: also known as Billy Blind, Belly Blin, and Blind Barlow. See FAIRY.

**Billy Boy** A question-and-answer song detailing the housewifely merits of a possible bride, known in many variants all over Great Britain and widely popular in America. There are many differing versions, which

were probably introduced separately by colonists from various sections.

**bilwis or pilwiz** In medieval Teutonic literature, an evil, soul-like being with a sickle on his big toe who devastated fields, teased men, and tangled their hair. He was especially active on Walpurgis Night. He was believed to live in trees; and offerings were sometimes left for him to protect children from disease.

**бина** The name given in the Guianas to the plants used by the Indians as hunting and fishing talismans. Many Indians cultivate them near their huts to have a ready store of them. The binas generally bear some resemblance to a distinctive feature of the animal species on which they are supposed to have an influence. Thus, for instance, the armadillo bina typifies the shape of the small projecting ears of this animal. [AM]

**Binnorie** One of the variants of *The Two Sisters* (Child #10), named from its refrain. This ballad embodies the motif of the singing bone: the young girl who was drowned by a jealous older sister tells of her murder through the harp (or occasionally fiddle) made from her bones. Some of the variants of *Binnorie* go into lengthy detail about exactly which parts of her anatomy were used for the parts of the magical instrument which sang her story. The story is repeated half across the world in tales or ballads and may be of Danish or Norwegian origin. It is also known as *The Berkshire Tragedy*, *The Milldams of Binnorie*, *Bow Down*, etc. and is one of the few songs found in America which preserves this motif.

**birch** Any tree or shrub of the genus *Betula* with hard, close-grained wood and outer bark separable in thin layers, common in northern Europe and North America. The birch is widely used in folk medicine and is regarded as a safeguard against wounds, gout, barrenness, caterpillars, the evil eye, and lightning. The Catawba Indians boil the buds of the yellow birch to a syrup, add sulfur, and make a salve for ringworm or sores. In Newfoundland the inside bark of a birch is applied with cod oil to cure frostbite. Culpeper recommended the juice or a distillation of the leaves to break kidney stones and to wash sore mouths.

The Roman fasces with which the lictors cleared the way for the magistrates were made of birch. The books of Numa Pompilius, according to Pliny, were written on birch bark. In Scandinavian mythology the tree was consecrated to Thor and symbolized the return of spring. The birch is especially esteemed by the Russians for whom it is the source of light (torches). It stifles cries (oil of birch is used to lubricate cart wheels), it cleaves (in the Russian steam baths birch branches are used to scourge the body), and it cures, for its sap is used as a cordial in cases of consumption.

Birch branches were used generally in Europe for beating the bounds, and for beating evil spirits out of lunatics. Birch is especially efficacious against evil spirits and for that reason is used in the English country "besom brooms" used for getting rid of witches. The letter B, beth (meaning birch), begins the ancient Irish Tree Alphabet and thus begins the year. In the Scottish ballad *The Wife of Usher's Well* (Child #79) the dead sons return to their mother in the winter time with hats of birch. These were taken from the tree beside the

gates of Paradise; a sign (as suggested by Robert Graves in *The White Goddess*) to the living that these ghosts will not haunt the world but wear the birch in token that they will return to their heavenly abode.

The birch is the personification of Estonia to that country's people. The Swedes believe the dwarf birch was once a full-sized tree, but when a rod of it was used to scourge Christ, the tree was doomed to hide its stunted head. In Finland the origin of the birch is attributed to a maiden's tear. In Newfoundland it is unlucky to make birch brooms in May, for they will sweep the family away. The Canadian Dakota burn small pieces of birch bark to keep the Thunders away. When the Thunders see this, they are restrained in their violence.

**a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush** A familiar proverb, well known, in various wordings, throughout Europe, common in folktale and literature. John Heywood's version, "Better one byrde in hand than ten in the wood," is almost as frequently heard. Better a fowl in the hand nor two flying (Scottish): One bird in the net is better than a hundred flying (Hebrew): Better one 'I have' than two 'I shall have' (French): A sparrow in the hand is better than a pheasant that fleeth by (German): Better one 'take this' than two 'will give' (Spanish) are all common property. "He is a fool who lets slip a bird in the hand for a bird in the bush," said Plutarch in *Of Garrulity* (1st century A.D.). The most common wording, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," quoted and used so widely (John Bunyan, Cervantes, others) can be traced back to one of the *Idylls* of Theocritus (3rd century B.C.) who thus expressed the quintessence of Aesop's fables of *The Hawk and the Nightingale* and *The Angler and the Little Fish* (6th century B.C.). In one the angler wisely keeps the little fish already caught rather than throw him back in the uncertain hope of catching a bigger fish later. In the other the hungry hawk refuses to release the little nightingale, on the grounds that the little bird he has is worth more to his empty belly than a big bird not yet caught. The bird in the hand occurs also in folktale motif, appearing variously as the bird in the hand, the little fish on the hook, and the sleeping hare which the lion foregoes to follow a shepherd (J321.1; J321.2; J321.3).

**bird languages** The languages spoken by birds among themselves: prominent in folktale as a medium of warning, advice, prophecy, or aid to those human beings endowed with the gift of understanding them. The gift is variously acquired: either as a reward for befriending some animal or bird, as the gift of a god, or by eating some magical herb. Occasionally the hero is born with the ability to understand the languages of birds, but often it comes suddenly upon one who has eaten of a snake. In Icelandic belief one could acquire the understanding of bird languages by carrying a hawk's tongue under the tongue. Usually overhearing the conversation of a bird with its mate or friends gives the hero the information needed for his successful outcome in the story. The bird languages motif (B215.1) is common in Celtic and in European folktale from Iceland to Arabia, and is equally frequent in Slavic, Hindu, and Hebrew story. Familiar and typical instances of its use occur in Grimm's stories *The White Snake* (#17), *The Three*

*Languages* (#33), and *Faithful John* (#6). See ANIMAL LANGUAGES; MELAMPUS.

**bird-man** The most familiar and least complicated of these composite beings are the medieval angels and demons, the fairies, and the Greek Keres (represented as tiny human figures with butterfly wings). Many representations of Egyptian gods embody combinations of human and bird anatomy, for the gods were first birds and animals and only gradually evolved into men. Perhaps the most complicated and fearsome of these creatures is the Gorgon, which had serpent hair, the hideous face of a woman, the wings of a bird, and the body of a lioness with bronze claws. The most frightful of these was Medusa. The important feature of the Hindu Garuda bird is that it is one of the few combinations with the head of a bird. Other features vary with locale (it is known in India, Indochina, China, Japan, etc.). It ranges from a simple bird-headed man on wings to a Japanese variety which has the wings and head of a bird on the torso of a woman and the legs of a crane. She has a white face, red wings, golden body, and the tail of a phoenix. The Egyptian soul was sometimes depicted as a bird with a human head, as was also the Greek Harpy, which befouled everything it touched. The Sirens were similar in form, but had beautiful voices and lured men to their downfall. The Welsh Washer of the Ford (Gwrach y Rhibyn) is a spectral female in black with the wings of a bat. The Furies are another of these combinations.

The Sphinx is a combination of man-bird-beast, that is, the head and chest of a man, wings of a bird, and the body of an animal. In Egypt sphinxes were always male, and had the body of a lion. The Greek female sphinx also had a lioness's body. The Babylonian shedu, the Hebrew shedim, and the Sumerian alad were similar to the Egyptian, and male. They had the bodies of bulls, neatly curled beards, and often wore hats. The female counterpart of the sedu was called lamma or lamassu and could fly. The Syrian female sphinx had wings and resembled the Egyptian. She was probably a representation of Astarte.

**bird of truth** A bird which reveals the truth and often identifies murderers, traitors, and other wrong-doers: one of the most widespread of folktale motifs (B131-131.6). In one of the typical stick-fast or tar-baby stories of the Fjorts of the French Congo, it is a bird who reveals to Antelope that Rabbit, forbidden by Antelope to drink from his well, has nevertheless been drinking from it every day. In an Angola tale Turtle-dove plays the role of truth-finder in helping Blacksmith discover which of many identical Blackbirds owe him for his woes.

The famous parrot story, in which a man enjoins his parrot to watch and spy upon his wife's virtue in his absence, is told twice in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*: on the 5th night in "The Husband and the Parrot," on the 579th night in "The Confectioner, His Wife, and the Parrot." When the man comes home the parrot tells all that she has seen: that the wife has made merry and had a lover night after night. The man righteously punishes the wife. No one can imagine how the man found out, but eventually the woman discovers it was the parrot who told. During the husband's next absence she and her maids counterfeit the noise of

a storm so successfully, that the parrot's report of the storm discredits her previous report about the wife. The man now believes both stories were lies and kills the parrot. Later, of course, he discovers that the parrot was a bird of truth. The Scottish ballad of *The Bonny Birdy* (Child #82) partakes of both the bird of truth and speaking bird motifs.

One of the most familiar birds of truth occurs in Grimm's story (#96), *The Three Little Birds*, in which three marvelous children of a king are exposed to perish by the jealous sisters of the queen. They are found and reared by a fisherman and their true identity is eventually revealed to the king by the bird of truth. The bird also reveals that the innocent queen is in prison and that the jealous sisters were the intentional murderers. The story ends with all the satisfactory restorations and punishments.

**birds** If a bird flies into the house, it is a forerunner of important news. Some people say that it is a sign of death, especially if it cannot get out again; and if it is a white bird it is a sure sign of death. In Alabama, however, a bird flying into the house is considered good luck. If a woodpecker taps on the house, he brings bad news, often news of a death in the family. It is very good luck if a wren builds near the house. When you first hear the whip-poor-will in the spring, you may know that you will be in the same place, doing the same thing, the same day the following year. If you can make a wish when you hear him calling for the first time, that wish will come true.

A rooster crowing in front of the house is announcing company. In Nova Scotia it is said that a rooster crowing at the wrong time of night is announcing a death. Southern Negroes interpret a flock of crows around a house as a bad sign. It is generally believed throughout the United States that to hear an owl hooting is a sign bad luck is coming; to hear a hoot owl is a sign of death. The hoot owl says "Who-o, who-o, who are you?" Barn swallows nesting on a barn bring prosperity, but to destroy their nests brings calamity. Some say it will make the cows give bloody milk.

Peacock feathers are very unlucky; they prevent girls from marrying and babies from being born. It is also a general U.S. folk belief that it is bad to have designs of birds or bird decorations on wedding presents: the happiness of the newlyweds will all the sooner take wing. It is not a good thing to have stuffed birds in the house either. They will fly off with your luck.

In Ireland it is said that the crossbill's beak got twisted from pulling out the nails from the cross during the Crucifixion; and the robin is held sacred because it is believed that its breast is stained with the blood of Christ. Irish fishermen believe that sea gulls embody the souls of the drowned. If the rooks desert a farm bad luck will surely follow. The wagtail is said to have three drops of the devil's blood on his tail, which he cannot shake off. And no Irishman will kill a swan because of the Children of Lir.

**bird seizes jewel** A folktale motif in which a jewel is carried off by a bird, occurring especially in a group of stories involving the loss and recovery of various magic objects (Types 560-568). The motif in which a bird seizes some jewel (ring, necklace, etc.) or a turban or other headdress containing a jewel, and flies off with

it, is found in the *Pañchatantra*, several times in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, and also in Hebrew legend. Frequently the theft results in the accusation of some innocent person, who is eventually pardoned when the truth is revealed; or the loser of the jewel follows the bird and is led to distant lands, undergoing many adventures before the jewel is at last brought to light and the story to a happy ending.

Typical of the former is the story of "The Stolen Necklace" told on the 596-597th nights of the famous Thousand and One. A certain woman who had devoted herself to religion was keeper of the bath in the king's palace. One day the queen handed her a precious necklace to keep safe while she went into the bath. The pious woman laid the necklace on the prayer-rug while she prayed. A magpie caught sight of the bright thing, and, unseen by the woman, seized it, and flew off with it, to hide it in a cranny in the palace wall. When the queen came out of the bath and asked for the necklace, it was gone. Neither of them could find it. The king had the woman beaten and questioned over fire, but she continued to deny the theft; at last she was thrown into prison. Some time later the king himself saw the magpie flitting about the corner of the wall and was amazed to see it pulling at a necklace. The bird was caught and the necklace retrieved; the woman was pardoned and set free. The second is represented by motif N352, in which a bird carries off the ring which a young man has removed from the finger of his lover in her sleep. This is related to the accidental separations group of motifs (N310-319) in that the pair are separated in a long series of adventures in their search for it and for each other.

The bird seizes jewel motif occurs also in a medieval French legend, reused with humorous adaptation in "The Jackdaw of Rheims" (one of Barham's *Ingoldsby Legends*). A jackdaw flew off with the ring of the archbishop of Rheims. The archbishop cursed the thief, whoever he might be, with such a blasting curse that the jackdaw drooped and failed into a lame, unsightly, bald, and sickly bird. At last the jackdaw revealed the hiding place of the ring; the curse was lifted; he regained his health and fine feathers, and became a devout Christian.

**bird-soul** The soul in the form of a bird: distinguished from *soul-bird*, a co-existent double of an individual. The bats of Babylonia, flitting in the dusk, were the bird-souls of the dead; when Gormw shot Llew Llaw Gyffes, the latter's soul flew away as an eagle, or bird-soul. But the parrot in the forest, born at the same time as the boy in the hut, whose life is bound up with the life of the boy, is a soul-bird. The distinction is often not clearly drawn by students of folktale and folk belief, and the term is often further confused by being used synonymously with separable or external soul in a bird. See BUSH-SOUL; SEPARABLE SOUL; SOUL-ANIMAL.

**Birds' Wedding** Title and motif of a very widespread European folk song (B282 ff.; Type 224) describing the marriage of certain birds to other birds and occasionally to other animals; widely known in French, German, Lettish, Wendish, English, Russian, French Canadian, Danish, Czech, Estonian, Walloon, etc., and even in Japanese. Eagles, larks, nightingales, pigeons, woodpeckers intermarry with owls, wrens, robins, sparrows,

magpies, wagtails, ravens, quails, cuckoos. In Germany cocks and hens are typical brides and bridegrooms. The nursery story of the wedding of the owl and the cat (B282.4.2) is an example in English. The form is often cumulative, as in the related type of animal marriage of *Frog Went a-Courting*.

**Bird That Made Milk** An African Negro folktale existing in several variants among the Basuto, Kaffir, Zulu, and Sechuana peoples. In the Basuto version a woman comes into the possession of a wonderful bird that provides the family with milk. She conceals it carefully in the hut, and every evening it fills as many clay vessels with milk as the family requires. The children discover it, however, play with it, fill themselves with milk, and finally lose it in the forest. They try to recover it but fail. Suddenly a violent storm comes upon them, so violent that the trees are uprooted. But an enormous bird comes and covers the children with its wings so that they are not harmed. When the storm is over the bird carries them off, nurtures them carefully, at the proper time even putting them through their puberty rites, and returns them safe and beautiful to their parents after that. The joyful villagers then reward the bird with gifts of cattle. After that there is much visiting back and forth between the bird and the people.

The Kaffir version is especially famous in that it contains the incident of the crocodile who takes one of the runaway children to his underwater home, presses gifts upon him, and bids him bring his sister also. When the girl arrives he beseeches her to lick his face, and as she does so, a handsome man emerges. This is one of the most famous of all Beauty and the Beast variants. Other motifs involved in this story are the animal nurse (B535), speaking bird (B211.9), bird gives shelter with its wings (B538.1).

**Bird Whose Wings Made The Wind** A Micmac Indian story relating how the people along the shore could not go fishing because of the high winds and fierce storms upon the sea. They became so hungry that they walked along the shores hoping to pick up a fish here and there that might have been cast to land by the waves. One young man looking for fish in this manner suddenly came upon the cause of their troubles. A big bird stood on a point of land which jutted into the sea flapping his wings and causing all the storms. He called out to the big bird, "O, Grandfather," he called him. He then proceeded to convince the bird that he was cold and took him ashore on his back. Carefully the man stepped from rock to rock until he came to the last one. Then he pretended to stumble, fell, and broke the bird's wing. The kind man immediately set the bone, bound up the wing, and told the old bird to lie still and he would bring him food. Dead calm fell upon the waters. Day in and day out it was calm, until the salt water was covered with scum, and stank. No longer could the fishermen see through the water to spear fish or eels, and were as bad off as before. So they set free the bird, whose wing was now healed, but they explained to him that he must flap his wings gently. They have not had so much trouble since.

This idea of the big bird whose wings made the wind is common to Micmac, Malecite, and Passamaquoddy tribes; it is known among Georgia Negroes, turns up in

Norse and Icelandic mythology, and is one of the motifs in the Babylonian Adapa story. See GLUSKABE.

**birthdays** Among people with well developed sense of time, birthdays mark the transition from one stage of being to another. Because any change is dangerous, birthdays are the times when good and evil spirits and influences have the opportunity to attack the celebrants who at these times are in peril. The couvade and all the rites of the threshold are two of the many examples of this almost universal tendency in folk thinking. The presence of friends and the expression of good wishes help to protect the celebrant against the unknown pervasive peril. Ceremonies and games at birthdays frequently are a symbolic wiping out of the past and starting anew. The American child who at his birthday blows out all the candles with one puff is eager to demonstrate his prowess, but the secret wish he makes will be granted only if all the candles, one for each year, can be extinguished at once. Trials of strength and skill on birthdays are demonstrations of progress. Among some tribes puberty ceremonies are initiated on the birthday. Some of the tribes of the Congo and, in North America, the Hupas and Omahas believed that counting was wicked and kept no record of time. Among these groups, birthdays were not marked. This is also true of some of the aboriginal tribes of Australia who have names indicating the generation but no actual reckoning. The exchange of presents and communal eating, except in communities where eating together is dangerous or bad manners, strengthen communal bonds and this is associated with the importance of ingratiating good and evil fairies, godmothers, and wealthy relatives, on their or our birthdays. The Tshi of West Africa sacrifice to their protective spirits on their birthdays by smearing themselves with egg and asking for good luck. The ceremonial observance of weekly or monthly birthdays has been reported from West Africa, Burma, ancient Syria, and elsewhere. The social importance of birthdays increases with the importance of the celebrant: kings, heroes, saints, gods. Because kings are endowed in folk thinking with magical functions in that a good king or president can bring among other things good fortune to the people, that is peace and good crops, the birth of a royal heir is the occasion for great social and mild sexual excitement. In Christian communities the birthdays of martyrs are their death days, when they are born into eternal life.

The date, hour, and place of birth may be the clues to good or bad fortune as determined by the complex computations of astrologers, numerologists, and geomants. Prudential ceremonies either at birth or at stated anniversaries, depending on the system of computation, are good insurance. Memorial services, or sacrifices at tombs or before ancestral tablets, are in some places customary on the birthdays of the deceased. The function is a mixture of natural affection, the desire to keep the deceased at peace and therefore to keep his ghost from troubling the living.

The birthdays which mark the transition from childhood to adolescence, from adolescence to adulthood, the acceptance of the individual into the tribe, community, or church (confirmation day) have ceremonies which are more or less impressive depending on the ethnic complex. In China the birthdays which mark the transition

from one stage of being to another have each special ceremonies. The 60th birthday is an example. Noodles, which, being long and numerous, symbolize long life and many years, are part of all birthday ceremonies and a necessary dish on the 60th. Filial sons present gifts and garments with the longevity symbol, and put themselves into debt to buy magnificent coffins for their respected parents, and the parents themselves at this date become members of the older generation. On this 60th birthday and for the next ten years, men are advised to put women from their beds though on their 70th birthday filial sons may present their fathers with a new concubine. Christ's birthday on December 25 was, in the Julian calendar, the date of the winter solstice. Egyptians exhibited images of infants on that day and Syrians and Egyptians who had retired into caves emerged at midnight crying, "The Virgin has brought forth. The light is waxing." [RDJ]

**Birth of Cormac or Geineamhain Cormaic** Title of an ancient Irish story of the cycle of Conn of the Hundred Battles, contained in the *Book of Ballymote* and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*. When Art son of Conn of the Hundred Battles traveled westward to fight the battle of Mag Mucrama he spent the eve of the battle in the house of a smith, and begot a son on the smith's daughter, Étain. Art told Étain that her son would be king of Ireland, and said to bring the child for fosterage to Lugna Fer Tri. Art was killed in that battle and Étain set out before the child was born so that it might be born in the house of its fosterer. The birth-pains overtook her on the way and she lay in a bed of ferns and gave birth to a boy. The moment the child was born a clap of thunder announced to Lugna that Cormac son of Art was in the world, and he set out to find him.

Étain slept after the birth and her maidservant kept watch. Finally the maid also slept and a she-wolf came and carried off the infant. So when Lugna found Étain she could only weep and say the child was gone, she knew not where or how. One day a man brought news to Lugna of having seen a human child in a wolf's cave crawling among the whelps. They brought the child home and the wolf whelps with him, and he was raised with Lugna's sons. At length Lugna took Cormac to Tara to live in the house of Mac Con, successor to Art. Immediately Cormac proved his true birth with a true judgment. The sheep of a certain woman had eaten the king's woad and Mac Con had taken the sheep as compensation for the woad. "No," said Cormac. "Take the wool of the sheep for the eating of the woad, because both will grow again." And the side of the king's house from which the crooked judgment had been made collapsed. Legend says the Crooked Mound of Tara is named for this.

The people unthroned Mac Con and Cormac was made king. He kept his wolves by him, and Tara prospered while Cormac was king.

**birth omen** Any unusual happening during the delivery of a child: considered portentous by many peoples. Mesopotamian records contain many statements like: "If a woman has brought forth, and its right ear is small, the house of the man will be destroyed" and "If a woman has brought forth twins for the second time, the country will be destroyed." In general, multiple births are considered to be unlucky; but exceptions are

spread. Marks on the baby's body have significance; on the island of Karpathos near Crete, such marks, however tiny, are called "the fating of the Fates." The month, day of the week, etc., of the birth have significance, being important for the horoscope, and also because certain days are *per se* lucky or unlucky. A difficult delivery is widely taken to be a sign of the mother's infidelity, as were twins in Teutonic belief. Although no direct evidence exists of actual belief or practice, the presence of Roman names like Dentatus and Agrippa, Sextus and Decimus, indicate the importance of birth omens in Europe. Various customs have existed to foretell the future occupation of the newborn; the infant, for example, is shown two objects (e.g. a violin and a purse) and reaches for one. See AFTERBIRTH; ASTROLOGY; CAUL; DIVINATION; TWINS.

**birthstone** A jewel identified with a particular month of the year (or, more rarely, with a day of the week or a sign of the zodiac): thought to bring good luck when worn by a person whose birthday falls in that month. Lists of these stones vary greatly in detail, from country to country and through the centuries. The tabulation below places the currently accepted stone for each month first, with some of the principal variants following in parentheses:

January—garnet

February—amethyst

March—aquamarine or bloodstone (jasper)

April—diamond (sapphire)

May—emerald (agate, chalcedony, carnelian)

June—pearl or moonstone (chalcedony, agate, emerald)

July—ruby (onyx, carnelian, turquoise)

August—sardonyx or chrysolite (carnelian)

September—sapphire (chrysolite)

October—opal or tourmaline (aquamarine, beryl)

November—topaz

December—turquoise or lapis lazuli (ruby)

**birth tree** A tree planted at the birth of a child in the belief that its welfare has some mysterious connection with the welfare of the child all its life. If the tree thrives, the child will grow strong and prosper. If the tree withers, is felled, or damaged, the person will sicken, die, or be injured. The planting of birth trees is still widely practiced and believed in by European peasantry, especially in Germany. In certain districts in Switzerland an apple tree is planted for the birth of a boy, a pear tree for the birth of a girl. Sometimes a tree already grown is acclaimed the child's tree at birth, and to establish his union with it, the afterbirth and the umbilical cord are either buried beneath it or bound into a cleft that has been made to receive them. The birth tree is a living practice and belief among the Ainu, the Papuans, the Dyaks of Borneo, the Balinese, the Maoris of New Zealand, in various parts of Africa, and also among certain North American Indians. It occurs as a motif in the folktales of England, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. There is so indistinguishable a line between birth tree and life token that the birth tree is often called life tree. See AFTERBIRTH; LIFE TOKEN.

**birthwort** Any plant (genus *Aristolochia*) with stimulant tonic roots, now used principally in aromatic bitters. Hippocrates (5th century B.C.) recommends birthwort in the treatment of women, for pains in the side, and ulcers. Dioscorides (1st century A.D.) first

recommended this plant as an aid in birthing and described three species: round-rooted or female with bitter leaves and white flowers; long-rooted or male with heavily scented purple flowers; and *A. clematitis*. Pliny said if taken with beef immediately after conception it assures birth of a male child. Fishermen of Campania used it to kill fish so that they might scoop them from the surface of the water. The property for which it was named, both in Greek and English, that of facilitating birth, was least often mentioned; its principal use was on wounds and as an antidote for poison. It was also believed to drive out demons. This explains its use in hiccup, convulsion, epilepsy, melancholy, and paralysis. Besides being useful in treatment of female ills, it was recommended for all manner of complaints of the teeth, liver, spleen, loins, lungs, and for diseases of the skin.

**Bisan** (Toba *Boru ni Hapur*) In Malay belief, the Spirit of the Camphor: a female spirit which assumes the form of a cicada. Not only do the camphor hunters speak a special language, *bahasa kapor*, while in the jungle, but they propitiate the camphor spirit. On the first night of the expedition a white cock is sacrificed and a conversation with the Bisan is recited by the pēnghulu (leader). When seeking camphor men always throw a portion of their food into the jungle for the Bisan, who if not properly propitiated, will send the hunters home empty-handed.

**Bishamonten** The Japanese God of Riches: one of the Seven Gods of Luck. See JAPANESE FOLKLORE. [JLM]

**biter bit** The motif of a number of folktales in which a cruelty or other misdeed boomerangs back to the originator. Sometimes even an unthinking remark or wish is revisited on the sayer. Typical is a story from the *Jātaka* in which a quail beseeches a wonderful and mighty elephant not to trample on her young. The elephant happens to be the Buddha incarnate, at the head of a herd of 80,000 elephants. He stands over the fledglings and protects them while the herd passes by. But the quail's next encounter is not so fortunate. As a certain single elephant approaches, again she beseeches the mighty one not to trample on her young. This elephant, however, deliberately crushes the young birds with his foot, saying, "What can you do to me?" Whereupon the little mother quail in sequence befriends a crow, a fly, and a frog, who in return for her kindnesses, attack the elephant. The crow picks out his two eyes; the fly lays eggs in the eye-sockets and the maggots feed upon the sore flesh. Then in pain and thirst, the elephant hears the frog croak upon the mountain top. Following the sound he climbs the mountain seeking water; the frog croaks again at the foot of the mountain and the elephant falls over the precipice and is killed. Thus was the biter bit.

**Biter Bit** is the title of a Serbian folktale which begins with an old man's remark that he wished it would please God to send him a hundred sons!—with the result that he eventually finds himself the father of no fewer. It is a long story recounting the old man's search for a hundred wives for his hundred sons, his promise to a giant obstructing the wedding-party to give him what he has forgotten at home, only to discover that this is his eldest son. The next biter bit, however, is the giant. He teaches the young man, thus fallen into his



power, many magical skills and transformations, only to be outdone by his pupil in the end, caught, and destroyed.

**bitter water** Holy water, mixed with dust from the floor of the tabernacle, used to blot out a curse written by the priest after being spoken, and finally swallowed by a woman accused of adultery: a chastity ordeal (*Num. v. 11-31*) of the Hebrews, the only judicial ordeal mentioned in detail in the Bible. The bitter water, containing both the dust of the holy place and the ink of the words of the curse, would, if the woman were guilty of adultery, cause her thigh and her belly, the guilty parts, to rot. In fact, however, the ordeal served as a means of obtaining circumstantial evidence, where the husband had only a jealous suspicion, the guilty woman fearing to go through with the ordeal, the innocent victim of jealousy being absolved by the ritual. The ordeal of bitter water would have no result if the husband too were guilty of adultery; Johanan ben Zakai (c. 60-70 A.D.) suspended the rite because the number of adulterous husbands had become so great as to make the ordeal pointless. Similar chastity tests are known elsewhere in the world. The Gold Coast ordeal in like circumstances makes use, however, of a really poisonous substance; the threatened results are the same, and women often confess to avoid the consequences of swallowing the drink. See ORDEAL.

**Bitter Withy** An English carol based on a legend of the childhood of Jesus, in which he goes out to play ball, meets three young aristocrats who refuse to play with the stable-born son of a simple maid, leads them across a bridge of sunbeams from which they fall and are drowned, and is whipped by his mother with a willow switch when he goes home. He curses the willow, saying, "The bitter withy that causes me to smart shall be the very first tree to perish at the heart." Fragments of the tale and of the song have survived in the United States.

**black and white sails** A folktale motif (Z130.1) in which the color of the sails on an approaching ship indicates good or bad news: one of a group of motifs (Z130-133) involving color symbolism. The classic example occurs in the Greek story of *Aegeus*. Theseus, returning from the Minotaur adventure, forgot the promise to his father to change the black sails of mourning which carried the young victims to Crete to white sails if he were returning safe; and when the watching father saw the ship returning with black sails still spread, he took the sign to mean his son was dead and threw himself into the sea in sorrow and despair. Another famous use of the black and white sails motif is found in a late version of the *Tristram and Iseult* story. Tristram, dying in Brittany of a poisoned arrow wound, sent for his old love, Iseult of Ireland. The sign of her coming was to be a white sail on the ship. His wife, Iseult of Brittany, kept watch for the ship, and jealous and fearful of her famous rival, told Tristram that the sail was black. He died of shock and grief.

**Black Bear** One of the guardian spirits and supernatural powers of Osage Indian religion; also one of certain animals who symbolize strength and courage to the Osage. His name is *Wacabe*. And he is also their specific symbol of old age and longevity. Black Bear is

the subject of many Osage ceremonial songs and wiges connected with the Rite of Vigil. (The wiges are the recited parts of the rituals which relate the traditions of the people.) Certain of the wiges narrate how Black Bear first performed all the symbolic acts used by the Osage in preparation for their supplications to the invisible powers for aid in overcoming their enemies.

These first acts were performed when "The male black bear, he that is without blemish/ Fell to meditating upon himself." He then performed the six sacred acts: plucked and gathered the grasses together into a pile, tore down and broke up branches of the redbud trees and gathered the pieces into a pile, also the gray arrow-shaft tree and the never-dying willow, tore open the hummock with his paws, disclosing the holy soil, and gathered together seven stones in a little pile. Then Black Bear sought and found a cave in which to rest, "the mysterious house of the bear" that excludes the light of day, and there "He put down his haunches/ To rest for a period of seven moons."

The wigie continues with the Black Bear's bestowal of old age and long life upon the little ones (i.e. the people). When the seven moons had passed and Black Bear once again beheld his own body, he said, "Lo, my flesh has sunken to nothing.../ I am a person of whom the little ones should make their bodies/ They should make of me an emblem of old age.../ These my toes that are folded together/ I have made to be the sign of old age/ When the little ones make of me their bodies/ They shall live to see their toes folded together with age, . . ./ They shall be free from all causes of death/ They shall cause themselves to be difficult to overcome by death." The reference to the people making their bodies of the black bear probably means acceptance by them of the black bear as life symbol. The wigie continues with pointing out the wrinkled ankles of the bear as he emerges from his hibernation, the loosened muscles of thigh, abdomen, arm, and chin, the prominent ribs, the scanty hair. It concludes with the poetic description of how the bear moved to the door of his cave and saw the whole land covered with mist, how he heard the sound of the birds and stepped out onto the earth, leaving seven footprints in the soft spring mud. These seven footprints too symbolize certain valorous war deeds of the people. Then the Black Bear came to a place where the sun was warm and "the grass rustled to the tread of his feet," and he stood on the bank of a river where Beaver was already at work. The rest of the wigie is devoted to Beaver's symbolic acts.

**Black, Black, Black or Black Is the Color of My True Love's Hair** A traditional love song of the southern mountains of the United States, sung to several tunes, and characterized by the farewell fidelity theme.

I love the ground whereon she stands . . .  
I love my love and well she knows  
I love the grass whereon she goes  
If she on earth no more I see  
My life will quickly fade away.

The original has been rearranged by J. Niles in the fashion of a typical Elizabethan love song, but no English original is known. The one line "Black is the color of my true love's hair," found in an old sea song, seems to be unrelated to this American mountain love song.

**black drink** A decoction made from *Ilex vomitoria*: drunk as an emetic by the Creeks, Chickasaw, and other southeastern Indian tribes of the United States for ceremonial purification. It is also used as a stimulant, and to induce visions. [EWV].

**Black Hactcin** One of the most powerful of the hactcin or supernaturals of the Apache Indians of the southwestern United States. Black Hactcin is identified with the East, or with darkness and night. He is the leader of the hactcin in the underworld, the creator of man, birds, and water-beings, who gave animals and birds their way of life. [EWV]

**Black Jack David** A ballad from southern Illinois, also called *Gypsy Davy*, resembling (and probably a corrupt version of) *The Gypsy Laddie* (Child #200). The Illinois ballad has been confounded to some extent with the game-song *Weevily Wheat*.

**Black Tamanous** The cannibal spirit who inspired the Cannibal Society of the North Pacific Coast Indians: one of the monsters the Transformer did not kill when ridding the earth of evil beings. [EWV]

**blanket divided** A European folktale motif (J121) in which a man gives his aging father half of an old blanket (quilt, rug, carpet) to keep him warm. The man's small son appropriates the other half and puts it away. When questioned, the child tells his father that he is saving it for him when he too becomes old. The man, thus unwittingly reproved by his child, is ashamed of his ingratitude.

**blarney** Cajolery; the gift of a cajoling tongue; also, in verb usage, to cajole, wheedle, flatter: from the Blarney Stone in Blarney Castle in the village of Blarney, County Cork, Ireland, about 4½ miles west of Cork. Whoever kisses this stone will "never want for words;" forever after he possesses the cajoling tongue and the gift of skilful lying without detection. The stone is set in the parapet of Blarney Castle, built by Cormac MacCarthy in the 15th century. The magic in the stone was revealed to Cormac by Clíodna herself. Cormac was worried about a lawsuit. But Clíodna told him, "Kiss the stone you come face to face with in the morning, and the words will pour out of you." So when Cormac woke, he walked forth and kissed the stone; the words came out; he won the lawsuit. Then for fear all Ireland would be kissing it and be troubled with easy speech, he carried it up to the parapet and set it where it is today. To kiss it now, one must climb to the top of the castle and lower himself head down over the edge to reach it. An iron grating safeguards the visitors, but most of them feel safer if someone holds onto each foot while he hangs upside down for the kissing.

**Blessing Way** A religious ceremony, held for purposes of curing, by the Navaho Indians of the southwestern United States. The Blessing Way is the procedure which the Holy People first followed when they met to create human beings. [EWV]

**blind dupe** A folktale motif (K333.1; K863; K1081.1; K1081.2; K1081.3) associated especially with North American Indian stories, but prominent also in European, Semitic, and Oceanic legend and mythology. Isaac, blind in his old age, duped by Jacob into bestowing on him the blessing intended for the first-born

Esau, is probably one of the best known blind dupes in the legends of the world. The blind Hoder of Teutonic mythology, tricked into killing Balder, is another. This incident of the Balder myth (K863) is in the series of fatal deception motifs (K800-999). Another European usage of the idea is represented in motif K1081.1, in which someone tells a group of blind men that he is giving some money to one of them which he wants divided among them all. He gives it to none. Each one, then, receiving nothing, believes that he is being cheated by one or more of the others and they fight.

The blind dupe occurs in North American Indian tales of the North Pacific Coast, Plateau, MacKenzie, Plains, and Woodlands areas. The Menomini tale of the *Deceived Blind Men* (K1081.2; K1081.3) and the Smith Sound Eskimo story of the *Deceived Blind Man* (K333.1) are both typical.

**blinding** In both early and advanced stages of culture down to the Middle Ages, infringement of law was punished, at times, by blinding the criminal, putting out one or both eyes. This particular state was indeed a symbol of death. The laws of England at an early period prescribed blinding as a punishment for rape; in Uganda, putting out the eyes of a person is common; among the Iroquois, the adulterer was so treated. Examples of blinding in Biblical times may be mentioned: *Gen.* xix, 11 (the vicious Sodomites stricken); *Jer.* xxxix, 7 (Nebuchadnezzar puts out the eyes of Zedekiah, King of Judah); *Jud.* xvi, 21 (the Philistines blind Samson). In the first case, the plight of the Sodomites appears to be a judgment.

Blinding has been carried out not only as a punishment but from motives of revenge, reprisal, ambition, or jealousy. We find instances of blinding in Greek and Roman mythology: the one-eyed giant, Polyphemus was blinded by Odysseus; Orion was blinded for rape, and Oedipus put out his own eyes in horror at having committed both murder and incest. Blinding is found in the *Arabian Nights* and in other Eastern narratives. It occurs also in the folktale, an example of which may be found in Grimm's *The Two Travelers* (#107). Variants of this type (Type 613) are widespread and are found in Scandinavian countries, Russia, Greece, France, Italy, as well as among Negroes and American Indians. [crs]

**blinding the guard** A folktale motif (K621) in which the prisoner or victim by some clever ruse blinds his guard or watcher and escapes. The classical example is Odysseus blinding the one-eyed Cyclops, Polyphemus, and escaping from the cave with his companions under the bellies of the sheep.

The motif occurs in European folktale and among the North American Indians; but its most prevalent occurrence is in the American Negro *Watcher Tricked* stories, versions of which are known in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Jamaica. There are African versions, and a Louisiana Creole version. The St. Helena, S.C., version is typical, in which Bu Wolf is chased by Bu Eagle into a hollow tree; Bu Frog is left to watch the tree while Bu Eagle goes home for his ax; Bu Wolf tricks Bu Frog into looking up, spits tobacco juice in his eyes, and, while Bu Frog runs to the pond to wash his eyes, escapes.

**blind man carries lame man** A general European folk motif (N886) occurring especially in the strong woman as bride (Type 519) cycle of stories. Typically the bridegroom, unable to cope with the bride on the bridal night (she has sworn to marry no one but her equal in strength) makes an excuse to go outside and sends back in his stead his strong friend and helper, who subdues the bride. Later the woman (usually a princess) discovers the hoax, cuts off the feet of the helper, and drives out her weakling husband. The helper joins up with a blind man. The blind man carries the footless one, and the footless one directs his steps. They journey together until they find the healing water, and are both restored. The helper then returns to his master and reinstates him in his true place. Compare LEGLESS AND BLIND BOYS CURED.

**Blind Old Man** In the mythology of the Yuma Indians of southern California, the quarreling companion of Kwikumut, the creator. He is not the creator's brother, as in the myths of most Yuman tribes; but he was born at the bottom of the ocean, and was blinded with the salt water as he emerged. See CREATOR BORN AT BOTTOM OF OCEAN.

**blind trickster** The North American Indian trickster blinded, usually by some trick or blunder of his own. The incident often follows his climbing a tree to stop the creaking of the limbs, getting caught between the limbs, and having to sit in the tree while strangers come along and eat his feast on the ground below. When he finally gets loose there is no food left. So he turns himself into an ant, enters a buffalo skull which he has found, and eats the brains. He transforms himself back into a man, but has forgotten to come out of the skull. His head is stuck in the buffalo skull and he cannot see. In his blindness he feels his way among the trees, asking them how to go, and they direct him. Trickster stories involving the buffalo skull motif (J2131.5.1) and guidance by trees (D1313.4) are common to North American Indians of the Central Woodland, Plains, and Plateau areas.

The Chiricahua Apache Indians have a story about their trickster, Coyote, who got himself a wife without revealing that he was blind, and lost the girl because of his blindness. With her help to guide his aim he had shot a cow; they butchered it; and the girl had put the meat over the fire to cook. She told Coyote to turn the meat over. He could hear it sizzling but he could not find the pieces to turn them. He kept picking up burning coals and dropping them. The girl looked into his face, saw the worms dropping out of the eye-sockets; then she knew that he was blind and ran away. There are also Mescalero and White Mountain Apache and Navaho versions of this story.

**Blodenwedd** The dawn goddess of Welsh mythology. In the *Mabinogion*, the flower-wife of Lleu, created for him by Gwydion and Math, the master magician of Welsh mythology, to circumvent the curse of Arionrod, who said that Lleu should have no wife from any race that peoples the earth. So Gwydion and Math devised for him a wife made from the flowers of the oak and broom and meadowsweet. She was very beautiful, and they named her Blodenwedd, or Flower-Face. But Blodenwedd brought little joy to Lleu. She fell in love with a passing hunter (Gronw Pebyr) in Lleu's absence,

with whom she planned to kill Lleu. Lleu was invulnerable, but Blodenwedd schemed to discover the one secret means by which his life could be taken. She inveigled Lleu into the position which exposed him to her lover, and Gronw killed him. For thus contriving the murder of Lleu, Blodenwedd was transformed into an owl to fly by night.

**blood** Primitive men generally look on blood as being life itself. They see blood flow and the body die and therefore assume that life flows out of the body in a literal sense. Closely allied to this is the belief that the soul or spirit of the being is in his blood, and that when blood escapes the blood-soul escapes too. For these reasons, tabus, superstitions, magical practices, and rituals have grown up in great number in connection with blood. Blood accidentally spilled must be carefully and completely disposed of lest a sorcerer use it to work magic against its owner. It is burned or, when the owner is a king or man of importance, swallowed by underlings kept for that purpose. Malignant spirits, witches, devils, werewolves can be rendered harmless by securing a drop or two of their blood. The blood of human beings and of many animals must not fall on the ground, for it will impregnate the earth with the soul or spirit of the owner, thus making the ground on which it falls dangerous ground. It is believed that the soul of the owner will forever afterwards be there ready to work harm on intruders. For these reasons many people abstain from eating or drinking the blood of animals, lest the spirit of the animal enter into them. The Estonians, some American Indians, and Jews carefully bled food animals so that the eaters would not be contaminated by the animal spirits.

But more commonly the reverse is the practice. Since the blood contains the soul and animus of the owner, and since by the drinking of the blood his spirit and animus becomes a part of the drinker, many people have practiced blood-eating and -drinking to enrich themselves. The blood of a courageous father will be fed to his son to make him courageous too; the blood of a healthy and strong child will be given to a weak and sick one. Men in battle will drink the blood of fallen heroes, friends or foes, to add the store of courage and might of the hero to their own. Some of the Australian aborigines regularly drink the blood of certain of their warriors noted for bravery before they go into battle. And likewise the blood (and flesh) of certain animals is eaten so that the special qualities of those animals may pass to the human beings partaking of it. Norwegian hunters drank of the blood of bears to secure strength; Hottentots drink the blood of lions to ensure bravery, and conversely avoid that of hares lest they acquire timidity. In the Germanic *Kudrum* Hagen slew a fierce animal and drank its blood to become "exceeding strong."

Blood being life can likewise, according to primitive thought, protect or restore life. Blood is consequently widely used by the folk as medicine. Leprosy was generally treated by bathing the person afflicted in blood. Stories of this practice abound from early Egyptian times through the Middle Ages, the most famous of which is the often-told story of Constantine the Great. In folktales generally, blood appears almost as frequently as the Water of Life as the means of restoring

the dead. The widespread tales of the *Two Brothers* and *Faithful John* contain accounts of the blood bath used to reanimate men turned to stone and to restore the dead to life. Sigurd became invulnerable by bathing in the dragon's blood. In the Middle Ages blood was also given as a treatment for epilepsy. A 12th century legend describes how the blood of Thomas à Becket, placed on the eyes of a blind woman, restored her sight. Such beliefs in the efficacy of blood are behind European practices of pouring blood into holes bored in graves "to feed the dead" and of revenants slipping in at night to suck the blood of the living.

Since blood contains the life and soul of its owner, it is often an instrument of vengeance. A dead body bleeds in the presence of its murderer, for instance. According to a well-known medieval legend Richard Lion Heart came upon the dead body of his father on the battlefield of Le Mans. As he stood looking at it, it began to bleed. Richard, conscience-stricken and feeling that he had caused his father's death, fled from the place and then organized a crusade to free him from the sin of murder. Stories abound of murderers trying in vain to wash the blood of their victims from their hands, or from their clothes. One of the most dramatic stories of the indelible blood stains is often connected with the Devil. The Devil is cut by broken glass as he escapes from the cathedral at the elevation of the host. His blood drops on the stone windowsill leaving stains that no one can eradicate.

Special fears and consequently tabus have to do with menstrual blood. The belief is general that such blood is caused by the bite of a snake, or lizard, or some other such animal, or by the bite of a malignant spirit. To the primitive mind it is abnormal, and therefore to be doubly feared since it is both abnormal blood and the blood of a woman. It is a common practice to isolate women at these times. Some tribes suspend menstruating women in a cage away from contact with the earth, so that they can contaminate nothing. The calamities that would result from a menstruating woman breaking her seclusion are enough to disrupt the courses of nature itself. Compare the list in Pliny's *Natural History*.

Blood has played a large part in the rituals of most religions. The ritual of drinking the blood of the god is based on the belief that the qualities of the god are so transmitted to the worshipper. The sacredness of the Grail in many of the Grail stories comes from the belief that it once contained the blood of Christ. It is consequently a life-giving vessel.

The most common of all religious rituals is that of sacrifice to the gods and basically every sacrifice is a blood (not flesh) sacrifice. One propitiates the gods by giving the best—the blood of one's first-born. In later stages of society animals are substituted, their blood poured in libations, or allowed to run over the altar of the god. It is significant that often the flesh is eaten by those making the sacrifice. Likewise in many religions the god gives the blood of his son in sacrifice to mankind. And so the blood sacrifice becomes a covenant.

Since blood is so powerful an agent, it is natural that man should use it as a positive instrument in securing closer ties among his kind and in sealing compacts. Broadly speaking, blood covenant is a term applied to any agreement ratified by the use of blood


of the contracting parties. This blood may be drunk, eaten mingled with food, smoked, bathed in, mingled together and let flow in the earth. Essential to the covenant is an exchange of blood, so that one party to the contract comes into contact with the blood of the other. In later stages of culture an actual contract may be written in blood or signed in blood. The blood covenant is a much more binding agreement than such temporary covenants as food or salt covenants, for it merges the souls of the contracting parties. To primitive man its validity comes from the fact that neither party can work harm on the other without its reacting on the doer since each through his blood is fused with the other. A common form of blood covenant is that between two or more persons entered into to seal a compact or to bind them in a common cause. The ritual consists in partaking of each other's blood by the contracting parties, or of sharing the blood of a neutral person or animal. The Boumali, for example, seal a peace between two villages by assembling all the inhabitants of each, then killing a slave, dividing the body into two halves, one half for each village, and then each person present eating a bit of the flesh and drinking a bit of the blood. Tertullian records that Catiline and his fellow conspirators mingled their bloods in a cup of wine and drank it as a mutual pledge of unity.

The most common type of blood covenant is blood brotherhood, practiced by virtually all people in some form or other. It owes its necessity to the fact that tribal blood ties (actual kinship) are very strong and that members of a family are bound to protect, and if necessary, avenge one another. One who had no brothers was at a disadvantage. He, therefore, entered into a blood covenant, blood brotherhood, with another like himself needing protection. This covenant made them legal brothers, brothers-in-fact; one married the "brother's" widow (if the tribe had such a custom), inherited his "brother's" property, etc. The rite varies among peoples of the world, but it always involves the exchange of blood. A common Germanic ritual will illustrate. Two men who are to perform the rite make an arch of turf, leaving the ends attached to the earth; then, crawling under the arch, they open the veins in their wrists allowing the bloods to mingle and flow to the earth under the arch; then they crawl out through the arch, born anew from mother earth, forever brothers. Chiefs and leaders took advantage of this rite to secure the utmost in loyalty and service from their followers by entering into a blood covenant with each of them. Such a group had not only a bond with the leader but a common tie among themselves. Out of such groups develop the organized bands of warriors, such as the *comitatus* in Germanic society, and ultimately the Irish Red Branch, the Peers of Charlemagne, the Knights of Prussia, and the Knights of the Round Table.

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MACEDWARD LEACH

 The folklore of hereditary transmission through the blood is based essentially in the concept of blood-brotherhood, which is extended to include family, nation, and race, with their actual or supposed characteristics. The "Joe Miller" about the Englishman who received a transfusion of blood from a Scotchman and then (and therefore) refused to pay for the transfusion illustrates this common belief that "blood will tell." From such verbal concepts as "blue blood" and "bad blood" a popular belief, influenced by the figurative language, has developed and burgeoned into pseudo-scientific sociological and anthropological theory. The idea that blood transmits skin color, nose shape, hair form, or any other physical characteristic that may be used as a racial determinant has been proved to be pure myth. Yet so deeply is it ingrained in some groups that during World War II the American Red Cross, to avoid the possible psychic injury a wounded white soldier from the South might sustain from getting a transfusion of "Negro blood," segregated the blood obtained from white and Negro donors.

**Blood-Clot-Boy** A Plains Indian popular tale of a boy miraculously born from a clot of blood that is deposited in a pot or other receptacle. In the numerous versions collected from the Plains tribes the clot of blood is often brought into the lodge by an old man who has been ill-treated by his son-in-law. The boy grows rapidly and, despite the warnings of his aged grandparent, sets out on a series of adventures to avenge the latter. Blood-Clot-Boy is also known among some California Indian tribes; in California versions a boy is born from a clot of blood found by an old woman after her daughter has been killed by a bear. When he grows to manhood Blood-Clot-Boy disobeys his grandmother, goes adventuring and avenges his mother's (or parents') untimely death. [Jwv]

**blood horns** Elk horns in the velvet: eaten as a medicine and tonic by men among the Wulakai of Manchuria. Elk horn in the velvet is believed to be especially potent in cases of weakness, impotence, and sterility. The idea is that the blood of the elk rises into the new young horns at this time, which therefore contain the strength and life-power of the stag (see *JAF* 46: 283).

**blood on the moon** An evil omen: the moon's color during a lunar eclipse, when the moon is in the earth's shadow and shining dully by refracted light. Omens such as this are of great import; any celestial phenomenon so extraordinary as an eclipse or a comet is thought to have bearing on many lives. The belief is mirrored often in literature: Horatio speaks in *Hamlet* of "stars with trains of fire and dew of blood" among the other portents of "fierce events" before Caesar's fall.

**bloodstone** A stone of green chalcedony containing red spots. It is the birthstone of March or Aries. Its name derives from the color of its spots and hence it is a potent remedy for hemorrhage. An early Christian legend says the spots were caused by the blood of Christ falling on a piece of jasper at the foot of the cross. It is credited with many magical properties. It guards a man from deception, yet whatever he says will be believed. It is a calming influence, removes discord, and assuages the wrath of kings. Before it all bonds

will be broken, all doors opened, and, if necessary, walls will be rent asunder. It will foretell the future, cause rain, thunder, lightning, tempest, and earthquake, and turn the sun red. It preserves the general health of the wearer, cures inflammatory illnesses, and, mixed with a little honey, removes tumors.

**Blow the Man Down** A halyard chanty known to British and American sailors in two main versions: one chiefly devoted to experiences on ships of the Black Ball Line, the most famous of the packet lines between New York and Liverpool; the other, to adventure ashore on Paradise Street in Liverpool. Negro seamen and dock workers also sang the song, sometimes substituting the phrase "knock a man down," for the words of the title and refrain. In the Bahamas it is still sung by Negro fishermen for "launching" their boats, by which they mean hauling them up on shore in the fall. See CHANTEY.

**Bluebeard** Title and villain of a very widespread European folktale in which Bluebeard (a king, wealthy merchant, or sorcerer) marries, one after the other, three (or seven) beautiful sisters. He hands his young wife the keys to the castle and departs, saying that she may unlock any door in the place except one certain one. She disobeys, opens the forbidden door, beholds a number of corpses (or a basin of blood). The egg she holds in her hand, which she was told to keep intact, breaks and betrays her disobedience, or the key becomes indelibly bloody. Bluebeard appears and kills her (or chains her in a dungeon to eat only human flesh). The same sequence of events befalls the next sister (or sisters). But the youngest and last, who also disobeys and unlocks the forbidden door, either kills Bluebeard herself with a saber (Basque version), or is saved by a page who kills Bluebeard and marries her (Estonian), or by her cleverness prevents Bluebeard from discovering she has looked into the room, resuscitates the sisters or delivers them from the dungeon, hides them in a sack of "gold" which Bluebeard must carry to her father, then herself dons feathers and escapes, while the brothers sent to rescue her arrive suddenly and murder the murderer. This is Grimm's story *Feather-bird* or *Fitch's Bird*. In the Norse version, the murderous husband is a troll; in the Italian, the Devil himself. In a very ancient Greek story he is Death, who devours corpses, and kills the living girls who refuse to eat his fare. In several northern versions, the brothers rescue the sisters with the aid of animals.

The prominent feature of the tale is the tabu motif and the presentation of the horrible fate of those who break a tabu. The happy ending is said by many scholars to be a comparatively recent fairy tale accretion. More specifically, however, it is the forbidden chamber (C611), forbidden door (C611.1) motifs which are important here. Bluebeard motif (S62.1) is the common name given to traditional murderous husband incidents.

**Bluejay** Creator-Transformer-Trickster of the coastal North American Indian tribes of Washington and Oregon and several inland Plateau groups. Many of the creative deeds and misdeeds credited to Raven by the northern North Pacific coast tribes, and to Mink by British Columbia coastal peoples, are assigned to Bluejay by the tribes farther south. Bluejay's adven-

tures are recounted in long tale-cycles that depict the hero as always anxious to outdo his rivals. Bluejay is also an important character in the winter ceremonies of the Plateau peoples. Among the Jicarilla Apache of the southwestern United States, Bluejay is the hero of a long cycle in which various of his adventures are recounted, and in which he is given the power to ordain a way of life for all the birds and animals. [Ewv]

**blues** A type of sorrow song of the American Negroes ("the po' man's heart disease") which emerged in the South shortly after the Civil War, growing out of the work songs, hollers, and spirituals, and popularized about 1912 by the publication of some of the songs by W. C. Handy. First essentially a vocal music, the blues have spread over into instrumental types, such as boogie-woogie, and into jazz forms far removed from the folk, but are also still being created in a folk manner as songs.

Musically, the blues are distinguished by an 8 or 12 bar structure (16 and 20 bars in later stages), by a strongly antiphonal quality, by the syncopation and polyrhythm characteristic of Negro music, by simple harmonic progressions, and by a slight flattening of the third and seventh intervals of the scale. These latter are the "blue notes." Singers make use of subtle variations of pitch and rhythm, portamento, and a wide range of tone coloration. Certain passages may be hummed or rendered in nonsense syllables called "scat." Instrumental accompaniment (by guitar, piano, or various combinations) improvises melodic and rhythmic patterns to the singer's lead or around a solo instrument, and achieves enormous tonal variety by the use of vibrato, mutes, and ordinarily non-musical instruments such as washboards, jugs, etc.

The poetry of the blues—the tender, ironic, bitter, humorous, or topical expression of a deprived people—tells of "careless love," of the woman who has lost her man or the no-good woman a man can't forget, of the train whistle in the night and the longing to go with it, of floods and cyclones, of jails and chain gangs and levee camps, of lonesome roads, river boats, back alleys, and barrel houses, of hard times and hard work.

The stanza consists typically of a statement repeated one or more times, sometimes with slight variations, and a gnomic comment or response. This construction, both in the words and in the music that is molded to them, relates to the earlier Negro styles of religious and work singing, with their narrative or call lines and responses, and on back to African singing. The "punch" lines, in their frequently proverbial form, hark back to the widespread African use of proverbs in song and story, and the whole song may be of a double-meaning, allusive character close to the African songs of allusion and derision.

The images are graphic ("The gal I love is chocolate to the bone," "You got a handful of gimme, a mouthful of much obliged," "I've got the world in a jug, the stopper's in my hand") and folk beliefs and animal fables enter into the conceptions.

Singing the blues is one way to say what would not be tolerated in speech. Chain-gang bosses, for instance, will ignore comment in song about the work, the food, the misery of prisoners, that would bring swift reprisal if spoken. So long as the picks and hammers keep

swinging to the music, the words of the song don't matter, except to those who sing them.

You have to feel blue to sing the blues, Negroes say. "The blues is nothing but a good man feeling bad." "Got dem blues but too damn mean to cry." The blues will help you when you're down in trouble. You sing about what you have on your mind, about what happens to you, or what you wish would happen.

The earliest and simplest of the blues songs were country blues sung by anonymous singers with regional variations in different parts of the South. The best of the singers gradually found larger audiences in the large cities, where the songs began to deal with more sophisticated themes. Then the blues and the singers moved northward, chiefly up the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Chicago, and east and west, the music winning advocates among young white musicians en route, and eventually, with growing acceptance, wide recording and imitation, losing its folk character in some aspects.

The great blues singers have been mostly women—Ma Rainey, "the mother of the blues," Bessie Smith, "the empress of the blues," Trixie Smith, Victoria Spivey, and numerous others—whose singing was accompanied by the instrumental virtuosity of the great jazz players. Among the songs they made popular are *Careless Love*, *Levee Camp Moan*, *Empty Bed Blues*, *Young Woman Blues*, *Pallet on the Floor*, *Moonshine Blues*, *See See Rider*, etc. See JAZZ. [TCB]

**Blue-Tail Fly** An American Negro minstrel song dating from the 1840's and combining a refrain that is probably authentic Negro folk song ("Jimmie crack corn and I don't care") with ballad verses of a hack song writer of the period. Its theme, behind the gay tune, is the slave's carefree reaction to the death of his master as a "victim of the blue-tail fly."

**Blunderbore** In English folklore, a giant tricked into killing himself by Jack the Giant-Killer. Jack hid a bag under his vest and stuffed into it so much that the giant was hard put to keep up with his "eating." Then Jack relieved himself by plunging a knife into the bag, releasing the contents. The stupid giant did likewise and died.

**Bóann** In Old Irish mythology, queen of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the divine race of Ireland, known also as the *side* or people of the hills; wife of Dagda, the Good, and mother of Angus Og. She lived in the great city of the *side*, Brú na Bóinne, the City of Bóann. Once Bóann went to look into the marvelous well of water that was in Sid Nechtan. This well had the reputation that no one could look into it (except Nechtan himself or one of his water-carriers) or the two eyes would burst out of his head. Bóann boasted that the well could have no power over her, and she went to it, and not only looked into it but walked round it three times *tuatal*, i.e. counter-sunwise. Three waves rose out of the well and took one eye, one hand, and one thigh from Bóann. In shame she ran toward the sea. But the waters followed her and drowned her at last in the mouth of the river that now bears her name, the river Boyne.

**Boar's Head Carol** One of various English feasting carols of the 15th century, sung as the festive dish with

the boar's head was borne to the banquet. A boar's head carol in the Bodleian Library is the only surviving page of the collection printed in 1521 by Wynkyn de Worde. The form is macaronic, the burden in Latin. See CAROL.

**Boas, Franz** (1858-1942) German-American anthropologist and ethnologist, who together with his many eminent pupils made a monumental contribution to the study of the North American aborigines, including voluminous folktale collections. He was born in Westphalia, educated at Heidelberg, Bonn, and Kiel (1877-1881), and in 1883-1884, made a scientific journey through Baffin Land. From 1899 until his retirement in 1937, he was professor of anthropology at Columbia University; and from 1901-1903, curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. The most important of his many journeys of investigation to Mexico, Puerto Rico, and North America, was the Jesup North Pacific Expedition which he planned and whose reports he edited. This expedition revealed interesting connections between north Asiatic and north-west American cultures. Boas' *Indianische Sagen* (1895), one of his most important works, takes up the question whether folklore similarities were due to "psychic unity" or to diffusion. In a brilliant analysis he proves that only the latter theory could explain his British Columbian material. In *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) he reconstructed the history of the tribe from its lore and created a virtual "tribal autobiography." Boas had an exhaustive knowledge of the tales of the Kwakiutl Indians and another of his notable works was the *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1897). Other works include *Baffin Land* (1885), *The Central Eskimo* (1888), *Indians of British Columbia* (1888-1892), *The Mind of Primitive Man* (1911), *Kultur und Rasse* (1913), *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928), and *Race, Language and Culture* (1940).

**Boastful Deerslayer** Title of one of a distinctive group of moralistic folktales found especially in Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, and other Baltic localities. A man kills a stag. When he is reminded that God was his helper, he denies that the stag is God's gift. He killed it himself, he says, with no help from anyone. While he is making this boastful declaration, the wounded deer gets up and runs off. This story (Type 830) is representative of a number of other Baltic tales based on punishments for scoffing at church teachings (Q225). Analogs are found in Nigerian Bantu folktale in which the tabu against refusing credit to the god is always punished by the god (C53).

**Bochica** The great culture hero of the ancient Chibcha Indians of South America. He came from the east and wandered across their country in the guise of an old bearded man. He instructed their ancestors in the moral laws and taught them the most essential manual arts. Many caves and natural "footprints" are associated with his passing. He has become one of the major gods of the Chibcha pantheon. [AM]

**bocor or bokor** The Haitian Negro term for a practitioner of magic, who is distinguished from other workers with the supernatural by the fact that he has acquired his powers by the purchase of spirits rather than by having had the gods come to him of their own accord or through inheritance. The bocor is outside the vodun

hierarchy; unlike vodun priests, his power come primarily from the spirits of the dead he controls as his "messengers." Like the vodun priest, however, he is also a diviner. [MJH]

**Boðb** (pronounced bōv) In Old Irish mythology, one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, eldest son of the Dagda, and a king of the síde, with his headquarters at Síd al Femen in county Tipperary, Munster. He plays an active part throughout the Mythological Cycle. After the battle of Tailtiu, when the Milesians defeated the Tuatha Dé Danann, Boðb was chosen king of the Tuatha Dé for his own great virtues and his sonship to Dagda. It was he who discovered for Angus Og that the sweetheart of his dreams was the swan maiden Caer, and changed Aoife into a demon for her treachery to the children of Lir.

**bodhisattva, bodhisat, or bodhisattwa** In Buddhism, one whose essence is perfect knowledge; title given to those who are believed to be the future Buddhas; one who by the practice of virtues and meditation has arrived at the Bodhi. The bodhisattvas are usually represented in Indian art as youthful or feminine figures.

**body marks** Blemishes, moles, dimples, freckles, as distinguished from tattooing, painting, mutilation, are subjects of study by persons learned in astrology, in chiromancy, and in physiognomy. Chaucer, a master of the astrology of his day, reported of the lusty Wife of Bath who was Martial and Venerian, that she was gat-toothed, bore the print of St. Venus seal, and the mark of Mars upon her face and in another private place. Christian saints who are very holy have at times been honored by the stigmata, marks identical with the marks of Christ when crucified. In India the interpretation of body marks is known as samudrika. Buddha had 32 lucky and 80 minor marks. The virtuous minister Gunasārman decided that because the beautiful Sundari had a mole on her nose, she must also have one on her breast, and therefore would have rival wives. Vararuchi got into trouble because from his knowledge of the arrangement of the auspicious marks in the portrait of the queen he decided she must also have one on her waist and painted it there. English women who have a mole on the upper side of the right temple above the eye will have a good and happy future in marriage. Persians, Arabs, and Western Europeans have thought that moles were signs of great beauty in women. Artificial beauty marks are still popular in some communities. If a man in India have two lines on his forehead he will live for 40 years, if three lines, 75 years, and if four lines, 100 years.

A dimple while smiling means a loose character; a double or broad chin means a strong character; a thin rounded chin or long ears indicate a licentious character or mark a man who wants the love of women. A man with a deep horizontal line at the top of his nose wants to be authoritative. A woman whose little toe overlaps the next or does not touch the ground is morally bad and sexually promiscuous. Among some of the tribes of southern India a curl on the head is lucky, unless it is on the back of the head or near the right temple. Tamil farmers are said to believe that a woman will become a widow if the curl is on her forehead and that the oldest brother of her husband will die if the curl is on the back of her head.

The erotologists of China, India, Peru, and ancient and modern Europe have collected large quantities of lore which is sometimes reduced to a system. In India a woman with a chakrá, flag, umbrella, or lotus on her hand, or with moles on her left breast, is auspicious. Communities which hide the sexual parts are generally agreed that a long nose in a man means a long organ, and that fat men have small organs. In some places a woman with small feet is thought to have small organs, in others small mouths mean small organs. Physical anthropologists have drawn interesting conclusions from their study of the proportions between the several parts of the body, and psychiatrists have studied not only the physical types but also the psychological effects of stigmata, real or imagined. The lore of body marks is contained in many popular rimes such as "Mole on the arm, have a rich farm; mole on the neck, money by the peck." [RDJ]

**Bogarodica** One of the earliest of European folk songs, a war song of Poland, recorded in a manuscript dating from the 13th century.

**bogey, bogie, or boggy** A terrifying spirit of English folklore, of uncertain, but probably hobgoblinish, nature: invoked especially to frighten children. It is usually thought of as "it," and as being black. "The Bogey Man will get you," is a common saying. Bogey itself is a 19th century word, but like all analogous terms—bogle, boggart, pooka, puck, etc.—is probably derived from ME. *bogge* or *bugge*, meaning terror and bugbear, and cognate with the Welsh *bug* (*bug*) meaning ghost or hobgoblin. Analogous beings in other folklores are the German Bumann or Boggelmann, the Irish bocán or púca (pooka), the Bohemian bubák, etc.

**boggart** A hobgoblin or ghost; a supernatural being of English folklore, especially of Lancashire and Yorkshire, very mischievous, sly, and annoying: often invoked to frighten children. Threats of being thrown into some black "boggart-hole" are usually enough to silence the expression of any childish woe. The Lancashire and Yorkshire boggart is equivalent to the Scottish bogle and the puck of general English folklore. There is a typical old Lancashire verse which runs: "Stars is shining/ Moon is breët/ Boggard woänt cum out toneet."

The boggart is full of tricks and devilment, but seldom works serious harm. Sometimes he walks through the rooms at night, twitches the covers off sleeping people, or raps loudly on the door and never comes in or answers. Sometimes he rearranges the furniture so that people who have to get up in the dark bump into it; or sometimes he lays the baby gently on the floor, just to astonish its parents who find it safely sleeping there in the morning. The boggart is often a helpful kind of spirit to have around the house. He has been known to wash the dishes, milk the cows, feed the horses, or even harness them on occasion. But if he is angered in any way, he will break the cups, upset the cream that has been set for butter, or unfasten the cow or horse to let it wander in the night. Nearly every old English house had its own boggart, variously regarded either as a ghost or as the mischievous trick-playing spirit just described. The boggart of Staining Hall (near Blackford) was the uneasy ghost of a murdered Scotchman; the boggart of Hackensall Hall lived

in the shape of a horse who was a willing worker as long as he was catered to. The people even built him a fire to lie by on cold nights, and if he did not get it he complained loudly, or refused to work. But boggarts are less and less frequently seen and heard today; that is because they are afraid of automobiles.

**Boggart's Flitting** Title of a Lancashire folktale, also well known all over Europe. It is the story of a farmer who was so annoyed and tormented by a boggart who had taken abode in his house, that he decided to pack up his belongings and move with his wife and children to another place. As they were about to drive off, the man explained to a neighbor, Yes, they were flitting because of the boggart who was making life unendurable, only to hear a voice say, from the top of the loaded wagon, "So you see, Georgey, we're flitting." The man gave up; he decided to remain in his old home rather than undergo the old annoyances in a new place.

**Colonel Bogie or Bogey** An imaginary opponent against whom one competes in games and contests in which a score is made. Colonel Bogie always makes what is considered an average or a good score. The Colonel's original game was golf, where his score, as opposed to par (the score made by perfect play of the hole), was a not-impossible mark for players to aim at.

**bogle** A hobgoblin or ghost; a supernatural being of Scottish folklore: equivalent to the Lancashire and Yorkshire boggart and the puck of general English folklore, and no doubt a close relative of the Icelandic evil spirit, the puki.

**Bogle in the Mill** Title of a well-known European folktale in which a bogle took abode in a mill, to the great despair of the miller. He poked holes in the bags of grain so that the grain trickled out, and performed numerous other annoying and troublesome tricks. One day a traveling juggler left his bear in the miller's keeping and the miller put the bear in the mill. The bear didn't like the bogle either and treated him so badly that he left the place. Every year the bogle came back and asked the miller, "Is the big brown cat still here?" The answer was always yes and after the miller said the big brown cat had kittens, the bogle disappeared forever.

This story is said to be originally a Scandinavian story—told everywhere in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, etc.—introduced to the rest of Europe about 1060 along with a white polar bear which was sent as a present from Iceland to King Svein of Denmark. The story is known also as *The Bear Trainer and His Bear* (K1728; Type 1161) a story in which the bear chases the ogre out of the room, and a year later on learning that "the big white cat" is still there, the ogre goes away forever.

**bog-myrtle** The Irish *roideog* or *roilleog*; also called sweet willow. An infusion from its branch tips makes a yellow dye, and is also used in tanning. It is the "palm" carried on Palm Sunday in many parts of rural Ireland. It must not be used as a switch for cattle because it is said to have been used as a scourge for Jesus.

**Bohinaville** Literally, the Nail of the North: the Lappish name for the North Star. This nail is regarded as supporting the sky. The Samoyeds also call the North Star "The nail of the sky," around which the heavens revolve. [JB]



**Boigu** The afterworld of the Melanesian people of certain eastern islands of Torres Strait, situated on an island; a happy land of feasting and plenty, where no work has to be done. To reach it the soul must travel under the sea to a place named Beg, and from Beg it is led to Boigu by Terer, the first man.

**bolero** A famous Spanish couple dance from the province of Castille. It is performed in either 2/4 or 3/4 time to the accompaniment of castanets, guitar, and tambourine. The step is slow and gliding: the woman's steps more varied than the man's, both characterized by sideward leg extension. The common pattern is as follows: *paseo* (promenade), *diferencia* (step changed), *travesía* (cross-over), *finale*, and *bien parado*. The bolero is a tender but intoxicating love-making dance, more dignified, less impassioned than the fandango. The boleros have wide distribution in Spain, and are especial favorites in Majorca. [crk]

**Bolte, Johannes** (1858-1937) the greatest of all students of the folktales in Germany, and perhaps of the world. His early years were spent largely in making comparative notes of 16th century jestbooks of Germany and in collecting the learned articles of Reinhold Köhler, librarian of the Ducal Library at Weimar, together with his own additions, in a work of three volumes, *Kleinere Schriften* (1898-1900). His principal contribution was five volumes of notes on the Grimms' *Household Tales*, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (1913-1931). These volumes were issued with the cooperation of George Polivka of Prague, but the work was nearly all Bolte's, Polivka contributing the part on the Slavic lands only. Bolte edited the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* during the latter half of his life and was a great stimulus to German folklore scholarship, being largely responsible for the development of a group of noted folklorists.

**bomor** A Malay medicine man usually called in to cure human diseases. The name bomor is used interchangeably with pawang, but the latter is the name usually applied to the class of medicine men which practices magic to ensure good crops, locate ore, and for successful jungle clearing. The bomor determines the treatment of ill patients by means of divination. He makes propitiatory offerings of food to the spirits, uses counter-charms, or strokes the patient to drive out the 190 (or 193) evil influences. He also recalls the patient's soul (*sémangat*) which is wandering when a man is ill.

**Bon** (1) The pre-Buddhist, shamanistic, devil-charming cult of Tibet which persists with Buddhistic externals. It has been suppressed since the introduction of Buddhism, but it still openly professed in much of eastern and southeastern Tibet where the Chinese administration (brought in to protect the people and their religion from Lāmaism) kept out the influence of the lāmas.

In Bon belief there are 18 chief deities of which the most popular are the red and black demons, the snake devil, and the fiery Tiger god. The chief god is gShen-rabs Mi-bo, reputedly a deified priest. The Bon priest's attire during special celebrations is a coat of mail armor decorated with flags and a high hat ornamented with flags, tufts of wool, and effigies of human skulls. Ordinarily, he wears red robes. Sacrifices, substituted for the

sacrificial animal of earlier times, include wool and yak hair and images of men and animals made of dough. The sacred symbol is the swastika with the hooks of the cross reversed.

(2) or **Obon** A Japanese festival of Buddhist origin, celebrated in July, in honor of the spirits of the dead, which return on the days of the festival for entertainment, food, etc. In country areas, only the New Year's feast is more important. The festival is sometimes called the Feast of Lanterns. See JAPANESE FOLKLORE.

**Bona Dea** The ancient Roman goddess of fertility and of chastity; the prophetic sister, wife, or daughter of Faunus and often called Fauna. She was also known as Fatua, Oma, Damia, and identified with Cybele, Maia, Ge, Ops, Semele, Hecate, and others. Her worship was restricted to women, knowledge even of her name being withheld from men. Yearly on May 1 her festival was held at a ruling magistrate's house and was conducted by vestals. The profanation of this ceremony by P. Clodius in 62 B.C. at Caesar's home was a *cause célèbre* and led eventually to Cicero's exile. Myrtle, men, and wine were forbidden at the ceremony, the wine actually used being called milk and the wine vessel a honey jar. Later etiological tales explain the circumstances of the ceremony. Her father, Faunus, failing to seduce her even after getting her drunk, whipped her with myrtle rods. He finally had his will of her when he transformed himself into a serpent. According to another story, Fauna became so much the drunkard that her husband, Faunus, beat her to death with myrtle, and then deified her. Her ceremony was held at night. There was a grotto in the Aventine dedicated to her. She usually appears as an old woman with pointed ears, holding a serpent. The Marsian Angitia seems to have been the same goddess in a different locale.

**bonang** Gong chimes characteristic of Japanese orchestras, tuned in octaves and set in a low horizontal frame, the higher octave designated as male, the lower as female. See CHIMES; GONG.

**bones** (1) The corpse, particularly the bones, which decay last, is the residence of the physical or animal soul as distinguished from the spiritual soul which enters the body either at the moment of birth or at the moment of baptism. The Chinese have elaborate ceremonies to keep the physical soul out of their houses and contentedly in the tomb or sealed up in it. If the animal soul has sufficient vitality, it will animate the skeleton or skull and commit horrid and revolting crimes—cannibalism, rape, etc.—in the countryside. Bones are thus involved in the systems of beliefs about life tokens, separable souls, and the like.

The bone in the European folktale of the *Singing Bone* (Grimm #28) was taken from the corpse of a murdered brother and fashioned into a flute. When played it accused the murderer. When one of the Indian Yakshini played on a lute made of bones and recited a charm, ascetics who heard her grew horns and fell into the fire. The Yakshini then devoured them. Some of the Australian aborigines are said to bury their dead in trees. When only the skeleton remains they take it down, being careful not to touch the bones, and bury it except for the arm bone which after certain ceremonies is broken and buried separately. Australian "bone pointing" probably has other connections. The Ogowe

in Africa beat their corpses until all bones are broken and thus make it impossible for the spirit to return and make trouble for the tribe. The driving of a stake through the body of a criminal or witch buried at the crossroads is part of this system of belief.

Cardinal Newman explained that the bones of saints retain a part of the virtue which was once immanent in the saints' bodies. Saints' bones thus become objects of veneration and are thought to possess great power to cure physical and spiritual ills. South Slav burglars are said to throw the bone of a dead man over the roof to put the inmates to sleep. Blackfoot Indians carried a skull to make themselves invisible. The "hand of glory," a dead or hanged man's hand holding a candle made of human fat, insured invisibility in many parts of the world. Ruthenian burglars remove the marrow from a human shinbone, pour tallow in it, light it, and march three times around the house to put the people to sleep or make themselves invisible; or they may make a flute of the human leg bone and play on it. (Earth from a grave sprinkled around the house has the same effect.) An Indian ascetic, protected by a circle made of the yellow powder of bones did magic on a corpse. Similar beliefs are found in many parts of the world. The widows of the Carrier Indians carried the charred bones of their husbands with them. The bone used by the Sicilian girl to make a hole in the wall so that she may become pregnant by exposing herself to the sun is possibly incidental, though some Indian tribes used bone instruments on girls during puberty ceremonies. The fashioning of olisboi out of bone or ivory in China, Japan, Greece, and Rome may be convenience rather than superstition. The communal bonfire ("bone fire"), originally built for destroying corpses and bones by fire, is now usually an expression of general high spirits after victory or delivery from danger and is connected with folklore about bones only by its name. [RDJ]

✎ The use of bones in divination is world-wide. Astragalomancy, divining by means of small bones, like the vertebrae, has given rise to several series of games: board games like pachisi, dice games, jacks, etc. The cracks in or the formation of the shoulderbone of a sacrificed animal (scapulomancy) give Mohammedan diviners clues with which to read the future.

A common belief, going far back into prehistory and perhaps older than modern man (species *Homo sapiens*), is that preservation of the bones is necessary for the resurrection of man. Bones colored with ochre and preserved in their natural order have been found in the remains of prehistoric man. The *Talmud* says that the bone of Luz, one of the bones of the spine, is indestructible, and that from it the body can be recreated at the resurrection. The skeleton is still figured as the ghostly symbol of spirits; the rattle of bones and chains is heard in many haunted places. The skull and crossbones, symbol of piracy and death, is used to indicate poisonous drugs, poisonous wells, and the like. [JF]

(2) A musical instrument consisting of two long, slightly curved sticks of locust wood, held between fingers and shaken so as to strike together with rhythmical clicking sound like that of castanets: used especially among mountain men of the southern United States. Originally two actual bones, of birds or animals, were used in the same way by plantation Negroes in their music-making. [rcb]

**bone-throwing** An ancient custom, especially in northern Europe, of hurling gnawed bones during a feast. The trick was to catch them in mid-air and throw them back, so that no one was injured. In medieval Icelandic literature, bone-throwing is referred to as the sport of trolls and giants. In Scandinavia it was a custom more ancient than the literature, and functioned both as sport, punishment, and insult. A lawbreaker was seated lowest at the feast, for instance, and all present were allowed to throw bones at him. And the youngest or weakest of the company was always fair target for the bone-throwers. Bothvar biarki in the *Hrólfs saga* not only saves the boy Hott (later Hialti) from beneath a pile of bones, but catches a bone thrown at the youth and hurls it back with such force that it kills the thrower.

**bonga** The Santal (India) name for an evil spirit who lives in the hills, trees, or rivers. Bongas are usually female and may be married to or have intercourse with human beings. All dead people become bongas except uninitiated children who become bhüts, and women who die in childbirth and are not cremated. These become churels.

The bonga figures in numerous Santal folktales. In one a prince, imprisoned by his father because he refused to marry, found a bonga maiden beside him when he awoke, agreed to marry her, and was released. In another, a bonga rewarded the good deed of a cowherd by giving him the ability to see bongas and to understand the speech of ants as long as he told no one about the gift. His wife cost him the gift by insisting that he tell her.

**Bongo** A Trinidad Negro dance for the dead. It is performed at wakes, and also at the "forty days" observation after a death. The rhythms are beaten with sticks on a small wooden bench, or against a short pole held by two men, and played by a third. Bongo songs are principally topical; dancers are both men and women, though the dance is performed by no more than two persons at a time. [MJH]

**bonito maidens** In the belief of the people of Sa'a (Solomon Islands), maidens who live in pools with the bonito fish and bring them out during the bonito fishing season. These maidens are beautiful, adorned with porpoise teeth, shell money, and shell ornaments. They forewarn the shaman of the appearance of the bonito by giving him a bunch of areca nuts while he is asleep. An altar is built for them and the first bonito caught is laid upon it and is ceremonially washed. Then it is carried to the canoe house, incantations are said over it, and it is baked and eaten by the shaman alone. In folktales sons who have lost their father's prized ivory bonito hooks go to the maidens to retrieve them. See MALAOHU BOYS.

**Bonny Bee Hom** A Scottish ballad (Child #92) involving the separation of lovers. When the ruby-stone his love has given him turns dark and gray in a foreign land, the lover knows that she is dead and he too dies. See LIFE TOKEN. [MEL]

**bon-odori-uta** Songs of Japanese peasants sung with dancing for the Obon Festival, or Feast of Lanterns. Many are preserved in *Yamagachoku-ka*, a collection of songs compiled in 1771.

**boobrie** A fabulous water-bird of Scottish Highland folk belief, which haunts lakes and salt wells.

**boogie-woogie** (1) A type of piano blues first played by the Negro pianist Jimmy Yancey at Chicago rent parties in the early 1920's: popularized about 1936, and later played in various instrumental combinations. It is characterized by a rhythmic ostinato bass, free rhapsodizing of the right hand, and numerous short figures in varied rhythms, and is frequently made up of 12-measure sections. The various patterns are sometimes described as "traveling," "climbing," "walking," etc. The parties were held to enable the tenants of the house or apartment to pay back rent, and guests were expected to make contributions of money, food, or drinks, or to participate in the impromptu entertainment. The sessions often lasted throughout the night, ending with *Five O'Clock Blues*.

(2) A dance to this music, often of a slow, tensed, attitudinized, and despairing character. See **BLUES**; **JAZZ**.

**book fetishism** Belief in the magical qualities of books or written matter: bibliolatry. The connection of books with the wise men of all ages gives them a share of reverence sometimes approximating superstition. The reverential act of kissing or touching a book such as the Bible, for example, suggests the idea of contagious magic. After that act the mouth can speak only truth. Miniature books, written scrolls, or sentences inscribed on strips of paper are also used as amulets.

**Book of Ballymote** A late 14th century manuscript of the west of Ireland, containing for the most part historical material. It contains one version of the famous story of the *Birth of Cormac* and also the "Adventures of the Sons of Eochu Muigmedón." This last is of especial folkloristic interest in that it contains the motif of the loathly hag transformed to a beautiful woman by the kiss of the courteous young Niall.

**Book of Changes** or **Yi King** An ancient Chinese classic: one of the nine books included in the Confucian canon. It contains the Eight Trigrams allegedly copied by the legendary ruler of China, Fu Hsi, from the back of a creature which emerged from the Yellow River. These diagrams correspond to the powers of nature. Supplementary material including definitions, observations, and a commentary by Confucius were added. The book is a mixture of speculation and a system of divination.

**Book of Death** In Hebrew and Christian legend and belief, the book in which are listed the names of the unrighteous together with their evil deeds. Those so listed will be cast into a lake of fire after death.

**Book of Destinies** or **Tablet of Destinies** The Babylonian book of life in which Marduk's scribe recorded the fate of the living and the decrees of the ruler of the underworld. Compare **BOOK OF LIFE**.

**Book of Leinster** or **Lebor Laigen** A 12th century Irish manuscript containing early histories (especially of Leinster), genealogies, sagas, and poetry. It contains a version (probably 8th century) of the great *Táin Bó Cúailgne* or *Cattle Raid of Cooley*, also the *Exile of the Sons of Usnech*, *Melodies of Buchet's House*, *Destruction of Dinm Ríg*, the *Bórama*, and the grim tale of the fifty captives buried alive around the grave of a son, killed in battle, of Eochaid Muigmedón, king of Leinster, 358-366. It contains also, among other things, a 6th

century Dinnsencás, or history of places (i.e. legends explaining place-names) which mentions Cromm Críach, the great idol on the plain of Mag Sleacht to which the ancient Irish sacrificed their children on Samhain.

**Book of Life** The book or muster roll of God in Hebrew and Christian legend which contains the names of His followers. From it the names may be blotted out either to signify death (*Ex. xxxii, 32, 33*) or because of unrighteousness (*Ps. lxi, 28*). This thus becomes the list of those who will be admitted to future blessedness. According to the *Book of Jubilees*, there are two heavenly tablets: a Book of Life for the righteous and a Book of Death for the adversaries of God. According to the Pharisees, God sits in judgment on the first day of each year (Rosh ha-Shanah) with three books open. In one is recorded the fate of the wicked, in another that of the righteous, and in the third that of an intermediate class. This middle class is allowed a respite of ten days till Yom Kippur to repent and become righteous. Hindus, Moslems, and Buddhists share this belief in registers holding the fate of men.

**Book of the Dead** or **Books of Thoth** In Egyptian religion, the guide for the dead containing formulas, hymns, incantations, and prayers which were believed to secure eternal life for deceased persons, to enable them to escape the dangers and snares besetting their journey to Amenti, to answer the 42 judges, and to secure a triumphant vindication before Osiris. The book was believed to have been transcribed originally in the handwriting of the god Thoth; it was written actually over a period of centuries. Copies of the entire book or of sections of it were inscribed on the sarcophagus or tomb, on the inside of the mummy cases, or on papyrus which was rolled up and placed in the mummy case.

The title, *Book of the Dead*, is erroneous, for Egyptians called the collection the *Chapters of Pert em Hru* or *The Coming Forth By Day*. Many versions of the book have survived. The size and content varied with the wealth of the dead man or of his friends, and papyri varied from a few feet to a hundred-foot roll. Included in the material was information on how to preserve the body from decay or the ravages of certain animals (cockroaches or beetles?), charms against the serpent Apepi and the crocodile which takes the charm from the deceased, and the ritual of the judgment of the dead.

**Book of the Dun Cow** or **Lebor na hUítre** An early Irish manuscript compiled in part by a monk of Clonmacnoise before 1106. It contains, in addition to the Mythological Cycle and *The Voyage of Maelduin*, for the most part the stories of the Ulster cycle, among them the long humorous story of *Bricriu's Feast* and the famous prose epic *Táin Bó Cúailgne* or *Cattle Raid of Cooley*, the oldest heroic epic of ancient Europe. This is the story which gives the manuscript its name, for the *Táin Bó Cúailgne* is said to have been recited by Fergus Mac Róich (summoned from his grave for the purpose) to Ciarrán of Clonmacnoise who wrote it down upon the hide of a dun cow.

**book rimes** Two distinct sorts of rimes appear on front fly leaves: versified warnings to book-borrowers and thieves, as:

If this book you steal away,  
What will you say  
On Judgment Day?

or mere identification rimes, often closing with a pious sentiment:

Marlboro is my dwelling-place;  
America's my nation;  
Henry Dudley is my name,  
And Christ is my salvation.  
or And heaven my expectation.

Book rimes were common in the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries but have lately largely disappeared or been superseded by engraved or printed book plates. [CFF]

**Boötes** A conspicuous northern constellation, containing the important bright star Arcturus; the Oxdriver, or driver of the Wain; the Herdsman; the Bear Warden, etc.; named wherever it is recognized for its following the constellation of the Great Bear as if guarding or driving it. It has been called for example, the Barking Dog (Arabic) or the Shouter (as of the driver to his oxen or the huntsman of the Bear to his dogs). The stars of Boötes form a long, kite-shaped figure resembling a man, the two faint triangles of stars on either side of Arcturus forming the legs, the wider triangle north of Arcturus being the head and shoulders. In China, the cho-t'i, or attendants of Arcturus (the small triangles), were indicators of the approach of the Spring season and were important in figuring the calendar.

**borage** An herb (*Borago officinalis*) with bright blue flowers and hairy leaves and stem, used in salads, in making claret-cup, and believed valuable as a febrifuge, demulcent, and diaphoretic. The flowers figured in Tudor and Stuart needlework. In medieval times the leaves and flowers were put into wine to drive away sadness. The plant was also believed to revive the hypochondriac and to inspire courage; according to the old couplet, "I, Borage,/ Bring alwaies courage."

**bordón-danza** The Basque religious sword dance of Guipuzcoa and Tolosa, performed by a group of men in two facing lines. They wear white shirts and breeches, red sashes and berets. They run through various longways interweavings. They meet, and cross long sticks (which have replaced swords). The accompaniment is usually in the 5/8 time of the zortzico. The dance is most commonly performed on St. John's Day, June 24, thus suggesting a former connection with solstice rites. [GRK]

**Boreas** In Greek mythology and religion, the north wind; son of Æolus, ruler of the winds, or of Astræus and Eos, the starry night and the dawn. In early Attic legend, Boreas carried off Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus after trying unsuccessfully to woo her. Their children were Cleopatra, Calais, and Zetes. The latter two accompanied the Argonautic expedition. Boreas assisted the Athenians in the Persian war by destroying their enemies' ships and aided the Megalopolitans against the Spartans. The Athenians held the Boreas-moi in his honor; a festival was celebrated with sacrifices in Megalopolis; and the Thurians also sacrificed to him as the destroyer of the fleet of Dionysius of Syracuse. He was depicted as a winged, bearded man blowing a conch shell and identified by the Romans with Aquilo.

**bori** A class of spirits of the Hausas of Nigeria, each one of whom is credited with causing a specific disease,

and each of whom has its own name. The cult which centers in the bori involves the summoning of specific ones with drumming and particularized song, and possession by the bori of the summoners during the ritual dances. The dances are intended both to drive out and avert disease. Whenever an individual is stricken with a disease, a summoner of the bori (i.e. medium) is consulted, who puts himself or herself into relation with the spirit (i.e. becomes possessed), and appeases it with offerings or otherwise rides the sick one of it. Sixty-five dancers participate in the communal possession dances, also called bori, which are now absolutely forbidden in northern Nigeria. (See A. J. N. Tremearne, *Ban of the Bori*, London, 1914.)

**Born-from-Water** Identical with CHILD-OF-THE-WATER.

**born with teeth** An occurrence variously interpreted as good or bad among the peoples of the world. That a child born with one tooth (occasionally two teeth) will have a wonderful future is the general folk belief in France, Italy, and other Latin countries, and is known to have prevailed from Roman times. The tribune Lucius Sicinius (450 B.C.) carried the epithet *Dentatus* from the fact that he was born with one or more teeth.

Slavic and Finno-Ugric peoples believe that children born with a tooth will become sorcerers or vampires. Bohemians and Moravians call such a child a *drud*, or (fem.) *drude* or witch. Certain groups of Wends call them *murava*; Kasubians refer to them as *ohyns* or vampires. Often the tooth is immediately pulled out and the child is thus rendered normal and harmless. Hungarian peasants believe that infants born with teeth are *táltos*, changelings, and such children are cruelly mistreated. English babies born with teeth are said to be "hard-bitten" and are always suspect. Most Asiatic peoples regard dentate births as events of evil omen. A number of African peoples are said to destroy at birth any infant born with one tooth or more already formed. Alabama Negroes believe that a child born with teeth will have bad luck all his life.

**borrowed feathers** A folktale motif (K1041) in which a dupe lets himself be carried aloft by a bird and then is dropped. The motif is found in Danish, Greek, Spanish, Indonesian, Rhodesian, American Negro, and American Indian tales. In a Micmac story the cranes, jealous of Badger, carried him into the air and dropped him, but Badger called himself back, part by part, until he was whole and alive again. In a Nez Percé tale, Coyote was not so fortunate. On a hunting expedition with his brothers-in-law (geese) he was carried on their backs over the river until they reached the middle. There the geese let him go and he had fallen almost to the river when he wished himself a feather and immediately went up again. He was afraid of going too high so wished himself an arrow and dropped down almost to the river. Then he made a mistake, said "To be an arrow," and plummeted into the river.

**boträd** The abode-tree: an elm or lime tree growing in front of a Swedish homestead and regarded as the abode of the guardian spirit of the family. Not even a splinter was cut from this tree and sacrifices and prayers were offered beside it to ward off evil. Pregnant women embraced it to make delivery easy.

**Bo tree, Bodhi tree, or Bodhidruma** The sacred tree (pipal or *Ficus religiosa*) under which Gautama sat on a couch of grass facing the east until he obtained knowledge and the perfect state. This tree, located in Bodhi Gayā, Bihar, has been sacred to Buddhists for nearly 2400 years. Pilgrims flock to it from all parts of Asia to present their offerings and to pour libations at the foot of it. The tree now standing is regarded as identical with the tree of Buddha. The present tree, however, is probably a direct descendant of the original tree, propagated by seed. King Asoka is supposed to have cut and burned the tree in the 3rd century B.C., but it was miraculously restored from its ashes. He was so overwhelmed that he did not return home. The queen then had it cut down, but it was again restored.

According to one tradition Gautama spent seven weeks under the Bo tree; according to another he spent seven days under this tree, seven days under the Goat-herd's Banyan, seven days under the Rājāyatana tree, and then returned to the Banyan. The Bo did not shed its leaves in summer or autumn, but denuded itself and developed an entire new set of leaves on the anniversary of the day Buddha achieved nirvāṇa. The Bo tree is worshipped by Buddhists and Hindus. Today a mud platform is built around the largest pipal in each North India village and there discussions and meetings are held.

A Bo tree in Amirādhapura, Ceylon, grown from a slip of the original sacred tree, is also revered by Buddhists and is believed to be a parable of the universe. Its trunk represents the connection between the invisible and the visible worlds and its vertical branches and roots represent man's striving for perfection.

**bottle imp** An imp or spirit shut up in a bottle, the bottle or other container often serving as the medium whereby the presence of the confined spirit may be invoked. The bottle imp is common in Arabian folktales and appears also in Estonian, Finnish, Swedish, Swiss, Hebrew, and Philippine tales.

**Bought a Cow** W. G. Pitts reported (1909) (*JAFL* 26: 128 #18) a folk rime from country whites in Mississippi as:

Bought a cow from farmer Jones,  
She wasn't nothing but skin and bones;  
Kept her till she was as fine as silk;  
Jumped the fence, and strained her milk.

This is a sort of "pore relation", a deteriorated descendant of an English 17th century rime which had for its second line:

She was nowt but skin and bones,

which had a concealed double meaning, for the word "nowt" formerly meant cattle (cf. neat's-foot oil) as well as "nought."

It is also obviously related to one of the many old "If I had a . . ." rimes:

If I had a cow 'n' she give good milk,  
I'd dress her in the finest silk;  
I'd feed her on corn oats and hay  
And milk her forty times a day.

[CFP]

**Bouki or Uncle Bouki** The dupe of the Haitian trickster cycle, who is the foil for the quick, clever Ti Malice. The relation between the two characters is essentially

that between Brer Wolf and Brer Rabbit in the Uncle Remus tales, both of which series form part of the widespread African and New World Negro series of trickster stories. [MJH]

**boundary** A limiting or dividing line or mark; also, any object serving to indicate a limit or confine. Boundaries between nations, tribes, or the holdings of individuals are frequently the subject of dispute. To prevent the encroachment of neighbors or neighboring peoples, folk customs have developed and laws have been passed. Natural landmarks such as rivers, trees, boulders, seas, and mountains, and artificial landmarks such as boundary stones, pillars, posts, hedges, walls, or fences have been employed throughout the world. Trespass was and is usually considered a crime. Trespassers were often killed when caught, or punished by mutilation (India), and quarrels were frequently settled at the boundary stones.

Boundary markers or stones were regarded as sacred by many peoples (New Zealand, Brazil, India). Those of the Kandhs were sacred to the god of boundaries, Sundi Pennu; those of the Semites were sacred to Nabu, Papu, Ninib, Nuskur, and Shamash. Zeus and Hermes were the protectors of Greek boundaries, Jupiter Terminus of Roman landmarks. Thor, Frigga, and Holde were Teutonic boundary deities. Cruel and severe punishments were meted out to those who removed landmarks. Punishments varied from death (New Zealand, early Rome, Aztec Mexico), a curse (Etruria, Babylonia, New Britain, South America), to large fines (late Roman Empire, Wales).

In Scandinavian and Teutonic folk belief, the Jack o'Lantern was the ghost of someone who had violated a landmark. Local legends are full of men condemned to carry the boundary stones which they had moved to increase their holdings in their lifetime. The water from a boundary stream was used with silver to remove the curse of the evil eye.

**Bouphonia or Buphonia** In Greek (Athenian) religion, the sacrifice of an ox at the altar of Zeus on the Acropolis. Oxen were driven around the altar during the festival of Diipoleia, and that ox which nibbled at the cereals on the altar was killed with an ax which was then condemned and thrown into the sea. Meanwhile the flesh was eaten and the hide stuffed with grass, sewn together, and yoked to a plow.

The origin of this sacrifice was the killing of an ox by Sopatrus after the ox had eaten the cereal he was offering as a sacrifice. Seized by remorse, Sopatrus buried the ox and fled to Crete but a famine followed and so the Bouphonia was instituted. The custom, according to Frazer, points to a belief in the ox as a form of the corn spirit or, according to Robertson Smith, to totemism.

**bourrée** A peasant dance of Auvergne, France: a double file choral dance performed by men and women facing each other. The two lines advance and retreat from each other, and one by one, beginning with the leader and his partner, the dancers exchange places. The bourrée is also danced as a lively couple dance in 3/8 tempo, men with arms raised, women holding their skirts. In Limousin it is a lusty, stamping, jumping, finger-snapping performance. The Languedoc bourrée is in 4/8 time. It was introduced at a court

festival for Catherine de Medici in 1565 but was not performed except as a peasant dance until much later. Finally, as a court dance, the *bourrée* appears as a ballet form. The ballet *pas de bourrée* is a brief grapevine with tiny steps (r. back, l. side, r. forward, reverse) producing a kind of rocking in place; or the grapevine can also be prolonged to a progression from side to side. [crk]

**Bow bells** The bells of St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, London, within sound of which cockneys are born; hence, the region within London called cockneydom. In the legend of Dick Whittington, it was the Bow bells which he heard say, "Turn again Whittington, Lord Mayor of London."

**box** A slow-growing evergreen tree or shrub (genus *Buxus*) highly valued for hedges and for its tough close-grained wood. The use of the wood for musical instruments was mentioned by Pliny, Vergil, and Ovid. *Isaiah* (lv, 13) mentions box as one of the three trees to beautify his place of sanctuary. Box attains exceptional old age.

Why does the box retain its leaves longer than most other trees was one of the wise questions put by the ancient Jewish physician and philosopher, Isaac Israeli, in his Arabic *Universal Diets*, and re-asked by Petrus Hispanus in the 13th century in his inquiry into the occult properties of various plants and animal parts.

In the north of England a basin filled with sprigs of box used to be placed outside the door of a house in which there was a funeral. As the mourners left the house, each would take a sprig of box and later drop it into the grave after the coffin was lowered. In parts of France crosses and wreaths were made of box for Palm Sunday, and kept from year to year, long after they were withered. If an animal sickened during the year, the byre was cleansed and one of these old wreaths or crosses was burned inside the place. This fumigation drove out the disease.

In a Breton folktale the separable soul of a giant is hidden in an ancient box tree in his garden. To kill the giant the hero must cut the root of the tree with one blow of the ax.

Boxwood combs are used in crossroads divination in Japan; running the fingers along the teeth of the comb invites the gods to speak.

**box dropping from sky** A motif occurring in the Cocur d'Alene Indian Coyote's-son cycle in which the Spider Women in the sky help Coyote's son drop back to earth in a box. The motif occurs in the typically northwestern Indian story *Coyote Steals His Daughter-in-law*. Coyote coveted one of the wives of his son. He managed to send the son into the sky, and then took for himself the wife named Tern. Coyote's son had many adventures in the sky; he had the beaver girls for his wives, and he had children by the beaver girls. But he was homesick for his earthly wife, Black Swan, and her child. He went to the Spider Women and asked them to help him get back. They put him in a box with a lid and told him how to go. They said the box would stop four times before it got to earth; each time it stopped he must roll around and it would continue to drop; but he must not get out until he heard the wind blowing in the grass. Coyote's son got into the box and all happened as he was told. When he heard

the wind blowing in the grass he got out. He found Black Swan and his child outcasts from the camp. So he returned to the camp and killed everybody. The story ends with the closing formula, "That is the end of the road."

In many variants Coyote's son is marooned on a high rock from which he escapes, or he drops from the sky in a spoon (Sahaptin), or he causes a flood which destroys the faithless wife (Columbia River). But the usual medium for his return is the spiders' rope. And the four pauses of the box in its descent is vivid description of any spider's descent from a high place.

**boxi moni** The British Guiana equivalent of the Trinidad cooperative savings device known as 'susu. [MJU]

**Boy and the Mantle** An English minstrel ballad (Child #29) with the chastity test motif and in which the Arthurian material is prominent. A boy arrives at the court of King Arthur with a mantle which, he says, will never become a wife who has "done amisse." Only Craddocke's lady could wear it, to the embarrassment of the other court ladies. Then the boy killed a boar and invited each of the knights to carve it, saying that a cuckold's knife could not cut it. Finally he produced a horn of red gold from which a cuckold could not drink. Only Craddocke could carve the boar's head and drink from the horn.

**boy judge** The hero of a number of folktales of clever decisions: related to the Solomon cycle, the group of tales of the clever peasant girl, the king and the bishop, the maiden who confounds the king's wisest counselors, and the like. In the type tale of the boy judge, the king overhears the decision of a boy acting as judge in a children's game based on an actual problem the king faces. He summons the boy to court and has him decide the real case. In the *Arabian Nights* the tale of Ali Cogia (Burton, Supp., III: "Ali Khwajah and the Merchant of Baghdad") the problem of the jar of olives and the gold pieces hidden therein is solved by the boy's calling, as judges of the age of the olives, experts who can say that they are fresh olives and not seven-year-old olives. Another Eastern story tells of the deposed vizier who hears children playing a game closely paralleling his own misfortunes. Repeating what he has heard the boy say, he tells the sultan that in return for the goods taken from him he wants back the years sacrificed for them. Cyrus, in a story told by Herodotus, and Jesus, Mohammed, and Charlemagne are all heroes of stories telling of their precocious wisdom in the face of adult dilemmas. The tales are of course related to the game children play, like School or Play House. The game of the boy-Kazi is a favorite of Arab children. The story of the boy judge, along with other tales of so-called "enfants terribles," is known from Mongolia to Arabia and in Europe. Perhaps the best known of all folktales of the boy judge is that of Daniel and Susannah: how the young Daniel questioned each of the two accusers of the innocent but convicted woman and how their testimony, when taken separately, did not agree. Related to this are other stories of adultery exposed or refuted by the cleverness of a child. In a Persian story, the boy discovers that the illness of the king is caused by the adultery of one of his wives. The

**Three-Year-Old Child** in the *Arabian Nights* who cries prevents, by his explanation, the libertine from having his will of the woman.

**božaloshtsh** In the belief of the Wends (eastern Germany), the messenger of death: literally, God's plaint. She is a little woman with long hair who cries beneath the window of a person about to die. Compare BANSHEE.

**bracken** Any large, coarse fern, especially the common brake (*Pteridium quelinum*) common in Europe and North America. It is often called "poor man's soap" because its root stocks will make a lather in water. In Biblical legend Christ was born on a bed of bedstraw and bracken. The bedstraw, proud of the honor, burst into flower and was rewarded with golden instead of white blossoms. The bracken, however, refused to honor Christ and so has been flowerless ever since. In Shropshire, however, it is said that the brake flowers once a year, at midnight on Michaelmas Eve, but that the flower is gone by daybreak.

To the herbalists the plant is under the dominion of Mercury, and is drunk, when boiled in mead, to kill broad and long worms. In Ireland the bracken is a symbol of fecundity. "As prolific as the bracken" is a common saying. A beverage made from the roots is considered good for worms. Tea from the leaves is a soothing application for burns and scalds.

**Braes o Yarrow** A Scottish Border ballad (Child #214), in which a young man leaves his young wife to go to meet her brother John "upon the braes o Yarrow." There nine armed men awaited him. "Four he killed and five did wound," but a "coward loon came him behind" and pierced him to the heart. The young wife found her true-love lying dead and took her own life beside him. In another, and probably earlier, version, *The Dowy Houms o Yarrow*, she drank the dead man's blood and cursed her old father (who had disapproved of the match) for causing her young lord's death.

**Bragi or Brage** In Norse mythology, the god of poetry and music: one of the original Æsir. Son of Odin and Gunlod, he was born in a stalactite-hung cave, put on board a vessel belonging to the dwarfs, and presented with a magic golden harp. As the boat floated out of the subterranean darkness, Bragi seized the harp and began to sing the song of life. When the vessel reached the shore, he leaped ashore and walked through the forest playing his harp. The flowers bloomed and the trees budded as he played. There he met and wed Ithunn and the two hastened to Asgard where Odin traced runes on Bragi's tongue and decreed that he should compose songs in honor of the heroes received in Valhalla.

Bragi is often pictured as an old man with a long white beard. At Scandinavian feasts a horn consecrated to him was used for drinking while each man made a vow to perform a deed during the succeeding year worthy of immortalization in verse or saga.

**Brahmā or Brahman** The first of the Hindu trinity; the deity of the later Brāhmaṇas who assumes the creator role of the Vedic Prajāpati and Hiranyagarbha: the personification of the supreme brahman. Brahmā, in mythology, sprang from the egg created by the supreme first cause. According to the *Rāmāyana* he arose self-existent and, becoming a boar, created the

world and raised the earth. According to the *Mahābhārata* he sprang from the navel of Vishnu or from a lotus growing from the navel of Vishnu. The Śaivites believe Rudra to be the creator of Brahmā.

Brahmā probably had his origin in speculation rather than in popular cult. The world of Brahmā will endure for 2,160,000,000 years (a day and night of Brahmā) after which the world will be consumed by fire, to be recreated by the god again and again until a hundred years of such days have passed, when the whole universe and the gods themselves will be resolved into the primeval substance.

Brahmā is represented as red in color with four heads (a fifth was burnt off by Śiva when he spoke disrespectfully to the latter) and four arms. He controls a quarter of the universe with each face. He holds in his hands a scepter, or string of beads, or spoon, bow, water-jug, and the Veda. His vehicle is a swan or goose. His consort is Sarasvatī with whom, as the father of men, he had incestuous intercourse. He was the father of Dakṣa and the four Kumāras, the mind-born sons who remained forever boys. Brahmā is rarely worshipped and is of secondary importance. In a mythological argument between Vishnu and Brahmā as to who was the creator, Śiva settled the argument by proving himself the supreme force.

**Brāhman or Brāhmin** [masculine, accented on the last syllable] A member of the first of the four castes of Hindus; usually, but not necessarily, a priest. The chief duties of the Brāhman are the study and teaching of the Vedas, the performance of religious ceremonies, and the making of sacrifices. His life is divided into four stages: Brahmachāri, in which he is a religious student; Grihastha, in which he is a householder, married and teaching the Vedas; Vānaprastha, in which he lives as an anchorite after having discharged his duties as a man of the world; Sannyāsi, during which he is a religious mendicant subsisting on alms, heedless of joys or sorrows in his desire for final absorption in the essential principle of the world. The Brāhmins were and still are privileged. They claim divinity on the basis that there are two kinds of gods—the gods and the Brāhmins who have learned the Vedas. Many modern Brāhmins neglect their religious duties and engage in secular occupations. The Brāhman is a popular character in Indian folktales.

**Brahmāpura** In Hindu mythology, the heaven and city of Brahmā, situated on the summit of Mount Meru.

**Bran** (1) In Brythonic mythology, a son of Llyr, brother of Manawyddan and Branwen, and legendary king of Britain. He was a huge being, likened in some versions of his story to a kind of sea giant. Traditionally it was Bran who waded across the strait between Great Britain and Ireland and (like Orion in the *Ægean*) caused the great tides.

The story, as told in the *Mabinogion*, is that Bran was sitting on a great rock on the shore at Harlech, when he saw 13 ships sailing toward Britain from Ireland. It was Matholwch, king of Ireland, coming to ask for the hand of Branwen in marriage. Branwen was given to Matholwch for his wife. The feast was held in tents because no house could contain Bran. One day soon after this Evnissyen (a half-brother to Bran, noted for his envious nature and desire to stir

up strife) was walking among the horses and trappings of the Irish, and suddenly in rage he turned and cut off the lips and eyelids and tails of the Irish horses. The creatures were maimed and useless. Matholwch could not understand this insult.

Bran did what he could: he explained that the deed was no one's will but the whim of an ill-natured half-brother; he made up the loss, horse for horse, and added a silver staff as tall as himself and a gold plate as wide as his face. Then lest it seem not enough, Bran gave to Matholwch a caldron of such a nature that if a man be slain today and cast into it, he will come out alive tomorrow, though speechless. This was the caldron of regeneration, given to Bran by a man and woman who came out of a lake in Ireland.

The first year that Branwen was queen in Ireland she was loved and acclaimed, and a son was born to her named Gwern. But in the second year, the minds of the men of Ireland remembered the old insult they had received in her country, and they took vengeance by driving Branwen from Matholwch's bed, turning her to do the cooking, and causing her to receive a blow every day. No man that came to Ireland from Britain was ever allowed to return lest he tell the story. But Branwen took a young starling and reared it in the kneading trough. She taught it to speak and obey her, and explained to the bird how to recognize Bran. At last she wrote "a letter of her woes," fastened it to the starling, and sent the bird to find Bran.

When Bran read the letter he embarked with his hosts and sailed towards Ireland. But Bran's ship lay deep in the water with his weight and could not reach the shores. So he got out and walked on towards Ireland beside the fleet. Watchers were dismayed, and when they described that a mountain was seen coming to Ireland beside the ships, Branwen knew it was her brother Bran.

Messengers from Matholwch met Bran, proposing to build a house for him, who had never had a house, in compensation for the wrongs done to Branwen. Bran accepted the offer and the house was built. It had a hundred pillars in it and on each pillar were hung two long leather bags, with an armed man in each one. Eynissyen saw the bags, felt of each one, and crushed with one hand the head of every man in every bag.

At the feast that was given, the sovereignty of Ireland was conferred on Branwen's son, who passed among the visitors one by one, greeting his uncles, Bran and Manawyddan and many others. All loved him, except Eynissyen, who grabbed him up and threw him in the fire. A terrible fight took place then and many were killed. The Irish renewed their slain by casting them into the caldron of regeneration. And when Eynissyen saw that he threw himself among the dead, was cast into the caldron with them, stretched himself, and cracked it. Only seven of Bran's people escaped from the place, and Branwen went with them.

Bran bade his companions cut off his head and bury it in the White Hill in London, facing France, so that it might protect the country forever from invasion. So they cut off the head, and the head, the Urdawl Ben, or Noble Head, entertained its guardians for 87 years before it was buried in the White Hill. In its presence time passed in merriment and jest and feasting. But at last it was buried where Bran had said; and it pro-

ected Britain from invasion until Arthur dug it up, preferring rather that the valor of its defenders protect the land. (Belief in the power of a buried head to turn back invaders was a strong and ancient belief. The heads, sometimes the bodies, sometimes sculptured heads of warriors, were buried in certain places for this purpose.)

Bran later became known as a Christian saint, Bendegeit Vran, the Blessed Bran, one of the three kings of Prydain who brought Christianity to the Cymric people, after he had been seven years in Rome as hostage for his son Caradawc (probably the historical Caractacus).

There is a riddle of Taliesin's to which the answer is Bran, embodying both the mythological and legendary aspects of Bran's story, along with the uncertain implication of his position as a sea god: "I was at the court of Dón before the birth of Gwydion; my head was at the White Hill in the Hall of Cymbeline: it is not known whether my body is flesh or fish."

(2) One of Fionn mac Cumhal's wonderful dogs: one of two whelps born of Tuiren, wife of Iollan, a chief of the Fianna. Tuiren was transformed into a bitch by a former sweetheart of Iollan's, a woman of the síde, and given as a present to Fergus Fionnlai, who did not like dogs. Later, after Tuiren was restored to Iollan, Fionn took the two beautiful whelps and named them Bran and Sceolan. They were famous for their wonderful intelligence. Bran was especially beloved by Fionn; she was so swift that she could overtake the flight of wild geese. Bran and Sceolan were the two dogs who conducted the young doe safely through the forest into Fionn's dún, where she was safe from her enchantment and became, in her own shape, Fionn's beloved wife, Sadb. Later she was tricked out of the dún and became a deer again. After that Fionn would allow no dogs to hunt except Bran and Sceolan, who would know her. And it was Bran and Sceolan again who discovered the boy Oisín naked in the forest, and brought him to Fionn, who knew him for his own son, child of Sadb, the deer.

It was Fionn himself who gave Bran her death and never got over grieving it. One day Fionn was hunting and Bran was following a fawn. Fionn heard the fawn cry out in despair that nothing could save her from Bran. "Run through my legs," said Fionn. So the fawn ran through his legs, and as Bran followed Fionn crushed her with his knees. Fionn's grief was terrible because of this. It is believed he could never have done it, except that the quarry must have been his own mother or Oisín's.

**brando** An Italian folk dance of moderate tempo: originally a 15th century peasant dance and still performed as such in the province of Bologna. It developed into the court spectacle. It was a chain round, retaining much that was typically primitive choral dance; but in the late 16th century, it became a square, executed in 14 varying figures, by two diagonally facing couples. [GRK]

**brante** A French 16th and 17th century mimetic couple dance, danced in groups, either in open file or closed circle, and characterized by a typical balancing movement. There were many variants: a different brante for each province, the brante of Poitou, of



Champagne, of Burgundy, etc. The branle of Brittany was a *passepied*. There was a branle for all ages: *branle gai*, very fast and lively (in sextuple rhythm) for the young; *branle simple*, rather lively, for married couples; *branle double*, with a slow rhythm for the old. There were mimetic branles, such as *branle des hermites*, *du sabot*, *des lavandières*, etc. Most of them were in quadruple time. The *branle des oficios*, also mimetic, is claimed to have developed into the *volte*, which later became the waltz. [CRK]

**Bran, son of Febal** Hero of the 8th century Irish *The Voyage of Bran and His Adventure*.

**Branstock** In Teutonic mythology, a mighty oak in the great hall of Volsung's palace which pierced the roof and shaded the building. One day Odin thrust the sword, Gram, into the trunk of the tree, up to the hilt. Only Sigmund was able to withdraw it.

**Brazen head** An oracular head of brass: said to have been made by several of the medieval magicians. The giant Ferragus of Portugal had one which told of the past, present, and future. That of Friar Bacon, which spoke to Bacon's assistant while the master magician slept, and was shattered before he awoke, is the best-known brazen head in English tradition. See **SPEAKING HEAD**.

**Brazen Serpent** An image set up by Moses at the command of God, which is said to have healed those who looked upon it. When the weary Israelites, near the close of the desert wanderings, were forced to march around Edom, thus prolonging the journey, they murmured against God and Moses. As a punishment, fiery serpents were sent against them. When they repented, Moses was told to put upon a lofty pole a bronze image of a serpent, so that those who had been bitten might look upon it and live. When he hurled the image on high, it remained floating in the air, so that those who raised their eyes and thought about God were healed. Gradually the people forgot the symbolical meaning and came to worship the snake itself, so *Hezekiah found it necessary to destroy it* (*II Kings*, xviii, 4). In rabbinical belief, the serpents were considered a punishment for sins of the evil tongue (*Num.* xxi, 5).

**bread** Many peoples believe bread the gift of the supernatural, and will not eat bread unless an offering has been made. The Jews must sacrifice a portion of the dough as *chalah*. In ancient times it was given to the priest who was ritually clean, who consumed it, but now this is impossible, so instead a portion the size of an olive is removed and burned. On the New Year, the ritual loaf is shaped like a ladder to symbolize man's ascent to heaven. On the Sabbath, the oldest male of the house blesses the Sabbath loaf and the wine, cuts the loaf, and each person present must partake before the Sabbath meal can begin. On Passover, the Jews eat unleavened bread, *matzo*, to commemorate the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt when they did not have time to let the bread rise.

In Northwest India, the first of the grain reaped is mixed with milk and sugar to be eaten by a member of the family, while among the Ainu, the new crop of millet was baked, and worshipped by the old men before anyone else could eat it. Among the Natchez Indians the first sheaves of maize were made into loaves,

and offered to the setting sun before they could be eaten. In Peru, the first of the harvest had to be consumed by the Inca and the nobles, who were descendants of the Sun, before they could be eaten by the common people. In Silesia, only the family may eat of a loaf made from the last sheaf. In the Volga River region, when the first bread from a new harvest is baked, the entire village assembles in the house of the oldest inhabitant. They open the eastern door, face it, and pray. Then the bread is cut, each person is given a morsel by the old man, and then all pray. In Lithuania all types of grains were mixed and baked into sacrificial loaves, one for each member of the family.

Bread may also be regarded as the body of the supernatural. In Yorkshire, the clergyman cut the first corn from which he made the communion bread. In Hermland, in Sweden, the last sheaf was ground and baked into a loaf shaped like a little girl which the entire household ate, for it embodied the corn spirit. The Aztecs ate the body of Huitzilopochtli, twice a year, in May and December, in the form of cakes baked in the idol's image. In Spain to avert a storm which threatens the crops, bread is placed in a napkin, and placed on the window ledge facing the direction whence the storm is coming. One says three times: "Lord, let not harm come to thy body." In Rumania long, wheaten loaves, "beautiful like the face of Christ," are baked for weddings, baptisms, festivals, and funerals.

Bread also can cure disease or act as an amulet. In Holland stale bread is placed in the baby's cradle to ward off disease, and in Morocco it is thought that stale bread cures stuttering, while in Egypt licking it cures indigestion. In Belgium, crumbs blessed in church on St. Hubert's Day, November 3rd, were sewn into the pockets of garments to avert rabies. This bread was first eaten by the family, and then fed to the dogs. (St. Hubert is the patron of hunting).

It is sinful to waste bread in many parts of Europe. After her death a wasteful Polish housewife may be heard scrambling around for every crumb of bread that she has dropped in her lifetime, and her soul knows no peace until she has picked it all up. Among other Slavs it is believed that these wasted fragments are weighed against the soul of the culprit, and if they are heavier than he, his soul belongs to Satan. In Transylvania, if bread falls to the ground it is picked up and kissed, for it is sinful to throw it away or step on it. However, it can be thrown into the fire as an offering to the dead. The Russian uses bread and salt as a symbol of friendship, and among the Poles the bride is greeted in her new home by her mother-in-law with bread and salt. The Greeks believe that it is sinful to take two bites of any food in succession without a mouthful of bread between.

Bread symbolizes the home and family in other ways. A Rumanian proverb has it: "The bread of my land though to others hard and bitter, to me is sweet." A Slavic proverb says: "Without bread, even a palace is sad, but with it a pine tree is paradise." To the Italian, bread is all food, the rest is merely accompaniment, and such is his regard for bread, his superlative simile is "as good as bread." To the Spaniard: "All sorrows are less with bread," and for the Dane: "Bread is better than the song of the birds." In many parts of Europe bread baked on Good Friday would never stale. If a woman

baked on Good Friday and the five Fridays following, she was particularly blessed. However to the Russians, baking on any Friday was unlucky, and on Good Friday particularly so. To them Good Friday was a vengeful old hag, so jealous that if a woman baked, her hands would be turned to wood. In Scandinavia, if a boy and girl ate from the same loaf, they were bound to fall in love.

Menstruating women were dangerous to the bread for their touch would prevent it from rising. Therefore, they were enjoined from baking it or kneading the dough in eastern Germany, Italy, and southern France.

It is a common belief in England and America that a loaf of bread, weighted with quicksilver, will locate the body of a drowned person. Such a loaf set in the water travels towards the lost body and remains motionless over it. [NFJ]

**bread dance** A term applied to various Amerindian dances for sustenance: to the Iroquois Spirit-of-the-Food dances, to the Shawnee spring and fall dances, respectively a plea for crops and for plentiful hunting. The Shawnee female deity, Kokumthena, Our Grandmother, is sometimes present and her voice is sometimes heard above the women. The three Iroquois life-sustaining sisters, corn, beans, and squash, are also conceived of as feminine, because the raising and preparation of crops is primarily a woman's occupation. The Shawnee follow the two bread dances with all-night social dances. The Iroquois have a definite sequence, varying with each reservation. [CRK]

**break** An American square dance term: all drop hands, followed by swing (joint pivot in place). [CRK]

**Breathmaker** The Seminole Indian culture hero, Hisagita misi, who taught the Indians how to fish and dig wells. He made the Milky Way and the kooniti (pumpkin) plant. He is equated with Jesus by modern Seminoles.

**Brennan on the Moor or Bold Brennan** An Irish come-all-ye based on the story of the outlaw, Willie Brennan, who was betrayed by a false-hearted woman and hanged for highway robbery in County Cork, 1801.

**Brer Rabbit** The rabbit (or hare) has played a role in folklore quite out of proportion to its diminutive size and timorousness. Among the traditions that have helped to establish it in the folk mind as a charmed creature may be mentioned the lunar hare (the Eastern equivalent of the Western Man in the Moon), the *Osterhase* or Easter bunny, and the belief in the rabbit's foot as a lucky charm or countercharm against witchcraft. The divinity assigned to the hare in the *Jatakas* or birth-stories of Buddha is somewhat approximated by the role of the Great White Hare as a culture hero among the Algonquians.

The rabbit's trickster role in Negro folklore is anticipated in the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesa* of India, where the hare outwits the elephant and the lion, and in Burma and Tibet, where it outwits the tiger. In Africa, from which the slave brought Brer Rabbit, the rabbit trickster is general, except on the Slave Coast, where it is replaced by the tortoise, and the Gold Coast, where it is replaced by the spider. See ANANSI; AUNT NANCY. Among the Kaffirs of South Africa the rabbit finds its counterpart in the Tom-Thumb-like Hlakanyana. In

Liberia its place is occupied by the chevrotain, a nimble, graceful, fawn-colored creature about eighteen inches long, whose elusiveness and cunning have made it an object of veneration. The confusion of Brer Rabbit with Cunnie (Cunning) Rabbit, another name for the chevrotain, is often cited as reason for the Negro's transference of the cunning of the latter to the former.

The popularity of rabbit trickster tales (including the "Tar Baby" story) among the American Indians, points to Negro-Indian exchange. J. W. Powell and James Mooney lean toward the view that the Indian would have been less likely to accept and transmit Negro tales than the Negro would be to take over Indian tales. Joel Chandler Harris (*Nights with Uncle Remus*, Boston and New York, 1881, p. xxv) supports the opposite theory, and Stith Thompson states (*Tales of the North American Indian*, Cambridge, 1929, p. xxii) that the animal tales so popular among the Southeast Indians have "become so greatly influenced by the 'Uncle Remus' tales as to be at least as Negro as Indian." By the same token, Mary A. Owen's rabbit tales (*Voodoo Tales*, New York, 1893) seem to be as much Indian as they are Negro.

In American Negro folklore the assignment of the trickster role to the rabbit is associated with the Negro's own role in slavery, where cunning and deception ("hitting a straight lick with a crooked stick") were often his only weapons against oppression. This, however, according to M. J. Herskovits, is an "adaptation and reinforcement of the African ways of thoughts," and is in line with the universal tendency on the part of oppressed people to identify themselves with the weaker and triumphant animal in the pitting of brains against brute force and superior strength.

In Harris's versions the tales of Brer Rabbit are closer to literature than to folklore, though it is a tribute to his artistry and his folk-art that they have established themselves as American classics. In this way Uncle Remus has fulfilled the social function of the Negro nurse or house servant as story-teller to his master's children—a role which made possible the slave's retention of African animal tales but which at the same time has conditioned whites to look upon Negroes as mere happy-go-lucky entertainers. While many plantation stereotypes linger in the nostalgic versions of Brer Rabbit and other Negro folktales by Harris and others, including Louise Clark Pynelle and Virginia Frazer Boyle, more authentic (and more painfully accurate in their Gullah dialect) versions are to be found in the work of Mrs. A. M. H. Christensen, Ambrose E. Gonzales, and Charles C. Jones, Jr. More recently, as the hero of bedtime stories and animal comics (under such designations as Peter Rabbit), the rabbit has degenerated into a purely comical or whimsical character, along with a host of other small animals, some of whom have taken over the rabbit's role as good-natured rogue and trickster tricked. [NAB]

**Bres** In Old Irish mythology, the son of Elatha, a king of the Fomorians, and Eri, a woman of the Tuatha Dé Danann; brother to Ogma, and husband of Brigit. He was called Eochaid Bres, Bres the Beautiful, because nothing was more beautiful than he. By the time he was born, he had attained a two weeks' growth; when he was seven, he was as big as a boy fourteen; and so he continued. To Bres the Tuatha Dé Danann gave the kingship of Ireland in the hope that his reign would

ensure peace and good will between the Fomorians and the Tuatha Dé Danann. But Bres was unworthy, and only trouble followed. See BATTLE OF MAG TURED.

**Brethren** Culture heroes of Torres Straits Islands and Papuan New Guinea mythology: unrelated to the brothers of the cycles of eastern Melanesia (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1935). See MELANESIAN MYTHOLOGY. [KL]

**Bricriu Nemtenga** Bricriu of the Bitter Tongue; in Old Irish legend, a warrior and trouble-maker in Ulster. It was he who incited the first three champions of Ulster (Loegaire, Conall, and Cuchulain) to quarrel over the champion's portion at his famous feast, and instigated the rivalry of the champions of Ireland for the carving of MacDatho's pig, which resulted in such wholesale bloodshed. In the *Táin Bó Flidais* (The Driving of the Cows of Flidais), however, Bricriu appears in quite different character. Here he plays the role of poet and ollam, satirist of bitter but not venomous tongue; he satirizes Fergus for his broken promises and his seduction of Medb, acts as ambassador of Ailill, king of Connacht, to Ailill, husband of Flidais, and is honored in every place.

**Bricriu's Feast** Title of one of the oldest and longest stories in the Ulster cycle of Old Irish legend and romance. Bricriu Nemtenga made a great feast for Conchobar, king of Ulster, and the Ulster warriors. He built a huge special house for it, and then traveled to Emain Macha to invite the king and his chiefs. The chiefs were unwilling to go, saying the dead would outnumber the living because of Bricriu's setting one man against another. But Bricriu said he would do that sooner if they did not come. So Conchobar and the chiefs of Ulster went, but they would not let Bricriu himself into the hall. Bricriu had foreseen that they would take this precaution, and had already secretly led each of the three best champions of Ulster (Loegaire, Conall, and Cuchulain) to expect the champion's portion. Likewise he incited the wife of each one to expect precedence over the others. Tests of valor and prowess among the three heroes followed, but no satisfactory decision could be made that anyone would abide by, neither the decision of the Ulstermen themselves, nor of Bricriu, nor of Medb and Ailill whose verdict they sought, until at last the three went to Cú Roi mac Dairi for judgment. All three heroes had opportunity to show great courage, keeping watch and guard on Cú Roi's castle. Cú Roi's judgment was as follows: the champion's portion always to be Cuchulain's for he was first in valor, and to his wife precedence before the women of Ulster. But when the three got back to Emain Macha Cuchulain did not want the champion's portion, for he loved more the good will of his companions. Not until another time was the champion's portion definitely assigned to him—after the great beheading bargain proposed by the bachlach who visited Emain Macha nightly. Munremur, Loegaire, Conall, all accepted the challenge and beheaded the bachlach, but shirked the appointment to allow themselves to be beheaded each following night, when the bachlach returned, whole and headed, each time. Only Cuchulain kept faith. He beheaded the bachlach one night and stretched his own neck across the block to be slain in the next. But the bachlach

brought the great ax down blunt side first beside him, proclaiming him not only fearless but true. "The sovereignty of the heroes of Erin to thee from this hour forth and the champion's portion undisputed," the bachlach cried and vanished. But later it turned out it was Cú Roi mac Dairi in disguise, keeping his promise to give judgment on the heroes of Ulster.

**bride** A newly married woman, or a woman about to be married. The state here discussed is from the time of betrothal up to the time the bride becomes a participant in the wedding ceremony. The bride-elect of today participates in certain customs which were unknown to primitive brides. Some of these usages, known at present in America and in other countries, are to a certain degree similar to those of long ago; but in Africa, Asia, and Indonesia, and elsewhere, marriage was a business devoid of romance, and so probably was the interim between betrothal and wedding.

In England and on the Continent, the bride looks forward to the day of the wedding; certain days are more favorable than others, Wednesday being the favorite day. Especially important is the weather for the great day. The belief in this respect is summed up:

Blest be the bride the sun shines on,  
Curst be the bride the rain falls on.

If married on a rainy day, as many drops, so many tears; but snow foretells happiness. Another thing that concerns the bride is the initial letter of her future husband's name:

Change the name and not the letter,  
Change for worse and not for better.

In preparation for the wedding ceremonies, dress is important. Its color appears to be of first importance and there are many jingles which prescribe for this occasion. The bride will be unhappy if married in *black*; bad luck will attend her if married in *green*. "Married in *white*, you've chosen right." Further, the bride is supposed to wear

Something old and something new,  
Something borrowed and something blue.

She must not wear pearls as they symbolize tears. She may decide on the material for her dress by divination, that is, by skipping a rope and saying, "silk, satin, calico, . . ." until there is a miss on the name of the goods her dress will be made of. She may count buttons for the same purpose. The veil is an indispensable item. Some symbolism is attached to the veiling of the bride, but it is generally thought that the veil is to protect the bride from the evil eye. The bridal wreath is composed of different flowers, or vines. In Germany the myrtle wreath is usual and it has its special symbolism.

Tabus for the bride include the following: the ring must not be worn before the ceremony, nor must the wedding dress be put on, and on no account must the bride make the wedding cake herself or assist in its making. Lovers may not meet on their wedding day until the hour and place of the ceremony, nor may the prospective bride and groom be photographed together. When leaving the house for the wedding ceremony, she must be careful to step out with her right foot first and she must also weep and groan.

Bride favors were tokens given out at certain festivities either before or after the ceremony; they consisted

of topknots or garters, sometimes of other articles, such as small baskets to hang in the house. Loveknots were conspicuous in these favors and the colors used were significant: blue (for constancy), and so on. [crs]

**bride cakes** In ancient Rome, *confarreatio*, a round cake of salted meal was baked by the Vestal Virgins for the wedding ceremony. It was carried before the bride as she went to her new home, broken over her head, and she and the groom ate of it as a sacrifice to Jupiter. Then it was given to the guests. In Macedonia an elaborate cake was begun on the Monday before the ceremony, when the bride and her friends sifted the grain; it was kneaded on Wednesday, when a boy with a sword stood at one end of the trough, while a little girl dropped a ring and a coin into it. The dough was left overnight and then divided up among the guests. The person finding the ring returned it to the groom, who ransomed it with a gift. The dough was then baked, was sung and danced to, then broken up and thrown over the heads of the couple. In Norway, coins are placed on a cake, by each guest in the bride's new home, for the couple. In Spain they used a pie instead for collecting the coins—each guest made a slit in the crust, those who danced with the bride paid more. The cake was eaten daily, and when finished another party was held for the same guests. *Karavai* was the Ukrainian wedding cake, in which all present shared, but the older were served before the younger. To avert the evil eye, in Germany, a cake with a silver coin in it was given to the oldest man in the village on the day before a wedding.

Cakes are distributed at weddings for luck or for the poor, as in China where the groom sends meat-filled cakes to his bride's family, who in turn give them to their friends. In Czechoslovakia, the invited guests get cakes before the wedding, and they send food to the couple. In England, the bride's cake used to be a type of cracknel, which were thrown at her and then given to the poor. In later times they were buns, which were piled up, and the couple kissed over them. Tradition has it that a French chef introduced the idea of icing the buns together, and thus when the cake was broken over her head, it fell apart. In England and America it is believed that if an unmarried girl sleeps with a piece of wedding cake under her pillow she will dream of her future husband. Bride cakes in the United States are usually light in color, rather than dark fruit wedding cake, and are cut at the wedding, the bride and groom holding the knife together to make the initial cut. [NfJ]

**Brigit** Ancient Irish goddess of fire, culture goddess associated with fertility, cattle, and crops, all household arts and smithcraft, poetry, and wisdom; daughter of Dagda. She appears in Gaulish and British inscriptions as Brigindo, Brigantia, Brig. Her personality passed over to the 6th-century SAINT BRIGIT. See BRES; DANU.

**Bṛihaspati or Brahmanaspati** In Vedic mythology, an abstract deity, the Purohita (family priest) of the gods; the Lord of Prayer; the heavenly Brāhman, prototype of the earthly Brāhman, and sometimes also of the god Brahmā. In Brāhman mythology he is a divine sage, the son of Angiras, progenitor of the family of Agnis, with whom he is identified in the *Rig-Veda*. He helped the gods vanquish the asuras. To teach Indra how to

rule the world, Bṛihaspati, as wisdom incarnate, wrote a treatise on government; to teach him the virtues of secular life, he wrote a treatise on married love. An ancient Indian law code bears his name. Bṛihaspati's wife, Tārā, was carried off by Soma but restored at the command of Brahmā. Bṛihaspati is represented with seven mouths, sharp horns, a hundred wings, and armed with an ax and a bow. His chariot or car is called Nītigghosha and is drawn by eight horses.

**Brisingamen** In Scandinavian mythology, the magic necklace, emblem of the stars or fruitfulness of the earth, fashioned by the dwarfs in Svartalfheim and given to Freya on the condition that she would be unfaithful to her husband, Odin. Freya wore the necklace day and night but occasionally was persuaded to lend it. Loki tried to steal it by entering Freya's palace as a fly. Heimdall saw the robbery with his eagle eyes and pursued the thief. As he was about to strike off Loki's head, the god transformed himself into a flame. Heimdall changed himself into a cloud and sent down rain; Loki changed himself into a polar bear; Heimdall also became a bear and a fight ensued. Loki, however, fearful of disaster, changed himself into a seal. He was vanquished by Heimdall in the same guise and forced to surrender the necklace.

**broadside ballads** Ballads printed in broadside form and hawked by peddlars in the 17th century. These include both traditional (often in debased versions) and non-traditional ballads.

**Brocken** The highest peak of the Harz mountains, Germany; in North German folklore, the rendezvous for the Sabbat, the festival of witches and the Devil on Walpurgis Night.

**Broomfield Hill** A Scottish ballad (Child #43) in which a maiden keeps tryst with her lover but preserves her virginity by putting a sleep-spell on him. [MEL]

**Broom Goddess** In Chinese folk belief, the Goddess of Fine Weather; "the girl who sweeps the weather clear," named Sao Ch'ing Niang. She has her residence on the Broom Star, Sao Chou. During the great rains little girls cut a human figure representing her out of paper and hang it near the gate. In times of great drought she is also invoked to send the rains. [RDJ]

**Brother Jonathan or Jonathan** Personification of the people of the United States collectively. The origin of the name is uncertain but it is often attributed to Washington's frequent references to Jonathan Trumbull (1710-1785), governor of Connecticut, whose aid and counsel he often sought. Compare JOHN BULL.

**brother-sister incest** Sexual intercourse between persons having the relationship of brother and sister (i.e. in certain societies between cousins considered to be of such consanguinity as to make them brother and sister in that society's rules of relationship, as well as between children of the same parent or parents): a custom usually considered criminal but in special instances highly desirable. The complex systems of relationship obtaining in many cultures, for example matrilineal predominance over patrilineal, makes determining of permissible spouses a matter of almost as much confusion and tracing of genealogies to the member of the society as to the stranger-investigator. The motif of involuntary

incest, brother and sister not knowing of their relationship, met with in widespread folktales, may be a development of this kind of complexity.

The marriage of brother and sister among the royalty and the higher nobility (a custom noted in Egypt, Persia, Peru, Siam, Ceylon, Wales, Burma, Hawaii, Uganda) is not a primitive one, but the result of a highly developed system of caste relationships. So that a member of exalted royalty or aristocracy might find a mate of suitable high estate, it is necessary for the marriage to occur with a brother or sister. In Hawaii, the most sacred of all persons was the child of such parents who in turn were children of a brother-sister marriage. This child was so sacred that a subject might be killed if his shadow crossed the threshold of the hut of the royal child. It is suggested, as well, that marriage of this kind in societies where possessions were inherited in the female line was the only kind calculated to retain the goods of the father in the hands of the brother. The custom of brother-sister marriage is said also to have been a usual one among the people of Egypt, commoners as well as those of higher rank, disappearing only with the appearance of Christianity.

Much more general than the belief that brother-sister marriage is a good thing is the idea that such a relationship is evil or calamitous. From the earlier belief, reflected in *Genesis* xx, where the marriage of Abraham with Sarah, his half-sister, was not frowned upon (in a polygynous patrilineal society where the children of the various wives were brought up separately), Hebrew thought developed to the statements in *Leviticus* xx, 17 and *Deuteronomy* xxvii, 22: "Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother." Death or banishment is often required to allay the wrath of the gods and turn it from the society in which the crime has occurred. The Toradjas of Celebes can raise a rainstorm by causing animals to have incestuous relations. But they refrain from human incest because a storm so induced would be a disaster and because the people performing the act would have to be executed. In addition, droughts and other manifestations of the fertilizing deities are ascribed to such conduct, possibly in the belief that a deed like incest is counter to nature and therefore necessarily infertile. This belief is reflected in folktale, where, as in a Chinese tale, the child of brother-sister incest is misshapen (T550.3).

Mythology and folktale repeat these beliefs and customs. The marriages of Zeus and Hera, of Isis and Osiris, of the moon and the sun—all marriages of brother and sister—are not in any way reprehensible, for these are marriages in the upper strata of beings. But similar incest, when it occurs in nondivine pairs, brings trouble. A Persian tale is climaxed by the loss of Paradise by the unhappy couple; it is possible that Adam and Eve may originally have had something of the same background. In the *Kalevala* (runos 35-36), Kullervo seduces his sister without realizing who she is. When he discovers that she is his sister, he is thunder-struck and cannot prevent her from leaping into a stream and drowning herself. He, returning later to the place of the crime, and discovering the grass and flowers withering on the spot, is overcome with remorse and runs upon his sword. Similarly, in the Scottish ballad

*Babylon* and its Danish parallel *Herr Truels' Daughters*, the death-or-rape of sisters by their brothers is the basis of tragedy.

The motif of brother-sister incest (T415 and its subdivisions) has several variants and embroideries in folktale. In some stories, the lovers renounce their passion when they discover their kinship; in others, a brother and sister discover to their joy that they really are not related. There are tales of the trickster type in which the lecherous brother manages to have intercourse with his sister by one or another subterfuge; others exist where the brother refuses the lecherous sister. Related to the unwitting ravishing of the sister as in the *Kalevala* (T471.1) is the Welsh tale of the brother and sister who commit incest without realizing it (N365.3). The tale of Gregory on the Stone (Type 933; Q541.1) is a European story: The child of incestuous parents becomes pope and receives the confession of his parents. In a Koryak tale, the child is told by the ducks that his parents are brother and sister; in a variant from British Columbia, the son infers the relationship from the fact that the parents look alike. Folktales of brother and sister incest are world-wide, from Germany and Ireland, Persia, Egypt, China, the Philippines, North America.

It is a principal motif of the Philippine myths of the origin of mankind. A brother and a sister are the only people left; they must commit incest if the human race is to survive. The action is condoned. In a Sanpoil story (*JAF* 46:133) brother and sister are found out by their parents. The father kills the boy; the girl commits suicide on his body. When the father wants to restore them to life, the other chiefs refuse. He in turn refuses when their children die, and thus permanent death comes into the world. An incident in this story, the discovery of the deed by paint transferred from the girl to the boy, is important in a widely told myth of the Pacific Coast Indians of the origin of the sun and the moon. To discover who the lover is who visits her at night, the girl paints her hands. She sees the paint on her brother's back and flees to the sky. He chases her. They become the sun and the moon. This motif of the sun sister and the moon brother (A736.1) occurs in Norse, Lapp, Rumanian, and German stories too.

Among the Eskimo, and a few Mackenzie area and southeastern United States North American Indian groups, brother-sister incest is portrayed in the tale known among the Eskimo as *Sun Sister and Moon Brother*. As an incident in other tales, however, brother-sister incest is mentioned in tales from almost all parts of native North America. [ewv]

Brown, Frank Clyde (1870-1943) American educator and folksong scholar: born in Virginia, educated at the University of Nashville and the University of Chicago, from which he received his Ph.D. degree. He began teaching in 1893 and became professor of English at Trinity College, Durham, N. C. He organized the North Carolina Folklore Society in 1913 and became its treasurer. He was a member of the Folklore Societies of the United States and of England. In 1915 he became editor of *North Carolina Folklore*. Among his writings is *Elkanah Dettle—His Life and Works* (1910).

*Brown Girl* An Illinois variant of the ballad, *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet* (Child #73), appearing in a MS. belonging to Mrs. Clara Walpert, Belleville, Ill.

(*JAFL* 52:75). This version has nine stanzas, less than half of the D variant of Child's collection which it most closely resembles. It has changed considerably in transmission, since Elender (Elinor) is now the possessor of house and land, and Lord Thomas is her father.

**brownie** A household spirit of English and Scottish Highland folklore, also of the Shetland and Western Isles, usually thought of as wearing a brown hood and cloak. He attaches himself to families; especially he frequents farmhouses, barns, and byres, and does the chores at night while the people sleep. He helps with the churning or brewing, sweeps the rooms, saves the corn. Some brownies have even been known to assist at childbirth, or to help their masters win at draughts. But if ever they are criticized they will break dishes, spill milk, turn the cows astray, spoil the crops, and work all kinds of small revenges. Special cakes and bowls of milk are set aside for them, but never, never any wages or reward. A kindly woman once made a little cap and coat for the brownie who so faithfully cleaned her pans. He put them on and then was gone forever. In fact to get rid of a troublesome brownie all you have to do is make a new little hood and cloak for him; he will put them on, chanting, "A new cloak, a new hood/ Brownie will do no more good" or "Gie brownie coat, gie brownie sark/ Ye'll get nae mair o' brownie's work." Compare *AITVARAS*; *BOGGART*; *BOGLE*; *DOMOVIK*; *KAUKAS*; *NISSE*; *PARA*.

**Bruġ na Bóinne** The city of the Boyne; the great city of the Dagda of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the round underground fort (*síd*) on the river Boyne near Stackallen Bridge in Leinster, Ireland. This was the dwelling place of Dagda, of Bóann, his queen, and of their people: later taken over by Angus Og, his son. See *SÍDE*.

**Bruin** The bear in *Reynard the Fox*; hence (not capitalized) a bear, in popular allusion.

**Brunhild** In the *Nibelungenlied*, a legendary queen who vows that he who wins her must first defeat her in hurling a spear and other feats. By the magical aid of Siegfried, King Gunther is successful, but, finding her unmanageable, he again appeals to Siegfried, who beats her and, by taking away her ring and girdle, effectually tames her. Discovering the deceit and trickery of her conquest, she persuades Hagen to avenge her by murdering Siegfried.

**Brut, Brute, or Brutus** Legendary king of Britain and founder of the British race; great-grandson of Æneas of Troy. After inadvertently killing his father, Sylvius, Brut led a remnant of the Trojans to England which was inhabited then only by a few giants. He founded New Troy or Trinovantum (now London) and was the progenitor of the legendary line of kings which included Bladud, Gorboduc, Ferrex, Lud, Porrex, Cymbeline, Vortigern, and Arthur. The legend is told in Nennius's *Historia Britonum* (9th century), in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* (c. 1135), in Wace's French *Brut* (c. 1155), and in Layamon's English *Brut* (c. 1200).

**Brynhild** In the *Volsunga Saga*, a Valkyrie who is thrown into an enchanted sleep by Odin because she had given victory to a younger, handsomer king than

the one Odin designated. She is awakened by Sigurd who falls in love with her, but, through the power of a magic drink, he forgets her and marries Gudrun. Later he woos and wins Brynhild for Gunnar, Gudrun's brother. Brynhild learns of the substitution of Sigurd for Gunnar and, enraged, provokes Gunnar to have Sigurd killed, after which she kills herself.

**bucca** A supernatural being of the folklore of Cornwall: related to the Irish *puca*, Welsh *pwca*, English *puck*. See *CELTIC FOLKLORE*.

**Bucephalus** Literally, ox-head; the war-horse of Alexander the Great. Untamed and never before ridden by man, the horse was refused by Philip, Alexander's father, as being too wild; Alexander then mounted, the horse permitted itself to be managed, and an oracle was fulfilled whereby Alexander would inherit the crown of Macedonia.

**Buddha** Literally, the Enlightened; a deified religious teacher; specifically, Gautama Siddhartha (563?-483? B.C.), the founder of the Buddhist faith; Gautama was born in the Lumbini Grove (Nepál) near the ancient town of Kapilavastu. His father was a prince of the Sákya clan who ruled a small kingdom in what is now the northeastern part of the United Provinces and the southern part of Nepál. His mother, Māyā, is said to have conceived him after a dream in which she saw him descending from heaven and entering her womb in the form of a white elephant.

Buddha had many earlier existences which are described in the *Jātaka*. As the time approached for his final birth, earthquakes and miracles occurred and the water of the ocean became sweet. It was prophesied that he would become either a universal monarch (*chakravartin*) or a Buddha enlightened for the salvation of mankind. When the time came, Buddha, while still in the Tūṣita heaven, made the five observations to determine the right family, continent, district, time, and mother in which to be born. At birth his body bore 32 primary and 80 secondary marks; he had a marvelous tongue which could read forth to the world of Brahmā, indicating his greatness; he uttered the shout of victory and took seven steps. At the same moment were born the Bo tree, his future wife, his horse, elephant, and charioteer.

He was raised in luxury and was prevented by his father, who wished him to become a ruler, from seeing the three (or four) sights—a decrepit old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a religious ascetic. Despite his father's guards, Gautama did see the four sights and, realizing the impermanence of earthly things, at 29 he made the "Great Renunciation." He gave up his kingdom, left his wife and child and departed from the city. The gods made his exit possible in the dead of night by preventing his horse's hoofs from touching the ground and by opening the city gates noiselessly.

In the company of five ascetics, Buddha entered upon a course of discipline under a Bel tree near Gayā. After six years, however, he was convinced that asceticism was not the road to truth, and became a beggar. His companions then deserted him. Later, while he was sitting under the tree of knowledge, the prince of evil, Māra, and his daughters, tried to dissuade him from his purpose, but the stones and darts he and his cohorts threw

changed to flowers when they reached Gautama. At sunset the period of temptation was over and Māra was vanquished. The following night Gautama attained Buddhahood, became enlightened, and the serpent-king Mucalinda celebrated his victory by covering him with his hood during the storm which followed.

While Buddha was debating whether or not to teach men the truths he had learned, i.e. that existence involves suffering which is the result of desire, and thus the "suppression of desire will lead to extinction of suffering," Brahmā appeared and reminded him that, unless men were told, they could not obtain salvation. His first converts were two merchants who brought him rice and honey-cakes, and later the five ascetics who had earlier deserted him. He then wandered from place to place for 45 years preaching to all who would listen.

When Buddha realized that he was going to die, he lay down under two Sāla trees which bloomed out of season. He made his last convert, Subhadra, and asked of the assembled monks whether they had any doubts concerning his teaching. Hearing none, he went into a series of trances from which he entered the realm of the infinity of space, then of consciousness, of nothingness, of neither perception or non-perception and non-sensation, finally reaching nirvana. His death was accompanied by signs and portents. His funeral pyre could not be lighted until Kaśyapa had arrived and paid reverence, whereupon the pyre burst into flame spontaneously. Buddha prophesied the decline and disappearance of the religion. When it is no longer honored, the relics will gather under the Bo tree and teach the doctrine to the gods from all the worlds and then will put forth flames and burn up.

There is more than one Buddha and each may have an earthly life, but there is never more than one in the world at any one time. Buddhas come into being at irregular intervals and only when there is a special need for their presence. In the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism there are 300 million Śākyamunis (Buddhas).

Buddha is usually represented in art with cropped curly locks seated on or in a lotus symbolizing the essence of enlightenment. The chief Buddhist symbol is the stūpa which is a relic shrine believed to contain a bone or some relic of the Buddha and thus symbolizes him. His shadow and footsteps (Śrīpada) are found in many parts of Asia. See ADAM'S PEAK.

**Buffalo** An animal character of many Plains, Southwestern, and Central Woodlands North American Indian tales, an animal being for whom many ceremonies, feasts, and dances are given by Plains and Woodlands tribes: often associated with rain. Tales of visits of human beings to a land under the earth where the buffalo live, tales of buffalo-human marriages and the experiences of the offspring of such, are frequent. Among the Kiowa, Apache, and other tribes, Buffalo and Buffalo Old Woman are well-known myth characters. Several Plains and Woodland tribes have Buffalo-head ceremonies; the Hidatsa of North Dakota offer food and prayers to buffalo skulls placed on an altar when they need rain; the Shawnee dip a buffalo tail in water and shake it gently to produce rain. [EWV]

**Buffalo Dance** A North American Indian mimetic group dance addressed to the spirit of the buffalo: danced to procure success in the hunt, or good health.

It is confined to American Indian tribes dependent on the buffalo for sustenance. The performers, ornamented with fantastic body-painting, wear also a horned furry headdress, often also the tail. Among the Plains Indian men's societies, the Mandan Buffalo Dance was the most terrifyingly realistic mime of milling herds, whereas the women's White Buffalo Cow society merely stamped in upright posture. The function of this dance, and of the Blackfoot women's Ma'toki (a realistic drama of the hunt) was to lure the herds. Both were associated with the sun dance. From November to January, Rio Grande pueblos still mime the buffalo; at San Felipe and San Ildefonso the buffalo are lured by Buffalo Maidens. The Fox and Iroquois Buffalo societies effect cures, the Fox partly by fire association and charcoal marking. They jump, whirl, butt, bellow, progressing in a circle, the Fox with the sun, the Iroquois contrary. Plains Buffalo societies are mostly extinct. [GRK]

**Buffalo Gals** One of the favorite American play-party and square-dance songs: a fiddle, fife, and banjo tune, sung in 1844 as a minstrel song, *Lubly Fan*, and changed from town to town to suit the local ladies as *Louisiana Gals*, *Bowery Gals*, *Pittsburgh Gals*, etc. A copyrighted swing version appeared in the 1940's and was popular on the radio and juke boxes.

**bug or bog** The word for "god" in all Slavic languages, occurring in numerous compounds, such as Biel-Bog (white or good god), Chernobog (black or bad god), Stribog (god of winds), etc., and used also for the Christian "God."

**bugah or booger dance** Clowned mimicry of the Cherokee Indians. Seven boogers wear masks of gourd, wood, or pasteboard and shawls and sweaters which are collected from the women. They enact any ludicrous characters they fancy, including white traders, Negroes, or joking relatives; one by one they portray their character with appropriate gestures by a uniform step similar to that of the Iroquois False Face (gagōsā)—a heavy jump on both feet. They do everything in a topsy-turvy manner and tease relatives and scare children. In the end everyone joins in the *yona*, the bear round dance.

The name, booger dance (*tsunagadali* in Cherokee), suggests origin in impersonation of the spirits of the dead. At present its chief function appears an outlet for suppressed aversions. [GRK]

**bugbear** A sort of hobgoblin of English folklore, thought of as being in the form of a bear; literally, a goblin bear: invoked to come and eat naughty children. The meaning has become extended to apply to anything dreaded and feared, especially when needlessly feared. See BOGEY.

**Bugios** Literally monkeys: clowns or demonic buffoon dancers in grotesque animal masks, associated with the Portuguese *Mouriscada* at Sobrado on St. John's Day. The leader rides into town backwards, sowing flax (which he calls maize); he harrows, then plows with an upside-down yoke. He is not masked and wears gorgeous church vestments. The wild, uncouth Bugios do battle with the sedate Mouriscos until the Bugio leader is captured and led off amid lament. With a *serpe*, or dragon, they recapture him and join the Mouriscos in a final Christian *Dança do Santo*. Vestiges of fertility

and vegetation magic are apparent in the preliminary entry and in the symbolic battle between the destructive (winter) powers and the radiant (summer) powers. As in other *Moriscas* this is more significant than the Christian vaneer. [GPK]

**building castle between heaven and earth** A folktale motif (H1036) in which the impossible task of building a castle suspended between heaven and earth is imposed either as an alternative for the death of the hero, to secure tribute from the hero's king, or for some other reason beneficial to the imposer of the task. Probably the most famous compliance with this request was that of Achikar, minister and magician to Sennacherib, king of Assyria. He evidently turned the trick with no trouble at all, thus saving his sovereign from having to pay the enormous tribute demanded in lieu of the castle.

Often throughout European folktale the answer of the victim to such a request is, "I will, indeed, if you will supply the materials." That is what Dom Jean said. Dom Jean (hero of a French folktale) was servitor to a king who had incurred the wrath of a neighboring king. Dom Jean not only countered with the ploy of demanding the materials but went up the mountain and caught four young eagles, which he secretly trained to fly above his head, each holding one corner of a paper house. When the day came for Dom Jean to produce the castle in the air, he threatened to cut off the head of the demander of the miracle, if the king did not produce the materials for building the castle "in the morning." The materials were not forthcoming, and the frightened king offered Dom Jean his daughter in marriage instead. Dom Jean refused the daughter, but let the old king off for a tribute of gold to his own monarch. Once this was given Dom Jean produced the four young eagles bearing the paper castle in the air. Great was the wonderment at the cleverness of young Dom Jean, who of course went home with the tribute of gold and received as reward the hand of his own king's daughter.

**building ceremonies** Usage today in the construction of domestic, civil, or religious buildings has little in common with that in ancient and medieval times throughout the world. Our building rites and ceremonies at present are but "pale and attenuated survivals." Phases of the lore on various steps in building construction through many centuries may here be considered briefly:

1 *Site* Early peoples selected sites favorable to their occupation; in medieval times and among backward people of modern Europe, sites were selected by divination of various types among which animal omens were the most common.

2 *Survey and consecration of the land* Marking off the land was a ceremony with domestic, religious, and agricultural connotations. Dido's ruse for the site of Carthage (cutting a bull's hide into slender thongs wherewith to measure the area) finds similarities in legends for the same purpose in Britain, Scandinavia, Siberia, China, Holland, and elsewhere. The land was consecrated after survey by prayers, blessings, and holy water through the medium of priests, medicine-men, and others.

3 *Laying the foundation* Both the day and the hour had to be lucky; local spirits and the earth spirits

had to be propitiated; evil spirits had to be driven away and witches' spells had to be averted or destroyed. Ancestral spirits must be placated and new guardian spirits arranged for. Omens of luck must be put in the foundations, such as bread, salt, plants and herbs of a health-giving nature, gold and silver and money. The pot of coins used in the foundation stone is explained by J. Rendel Harris as "ransom money" for the "person that ought to be there." (*Folk-Lore* XV: 441).

4 *Foundation sacrifice* Building sacrifice was practiced in Denmark, Germany, Siam, Japan, Australia, and elsewhere. It was generally believed that no edifice could stand firmly unless it was laid in blood, such was the magical virtue ascribed to this vital fluid (See *BLOOD*). Accordingly, there existed in both pagan and Christian times the practice of placing in the wall of a house, castle, fortress, or church a human being, frequently a child sold by its mother for this purpose. There exist many affecting legends about such sacrifices. This belief of mural inhumation for stability existed down to the mid-1800's. An earlier method of gaining the desired blood-bath for foundations was that of crushing victims in a pit, used in Borneo and Siam. These practices, it should be mentioned are not merely legendary but are attested by authentic records. Mass hysteria has prevailed in some cases, recorded in Europe as well as elsewhere, from fear of mural burial.

5 *Substitutions for human sacrifice* There was the actual mural sacrifice of animals and the symbolic sacrifice, whereby a fowl—most generally a cock—or animal was killed and its blood let drip into the foundation pit. In England and on the Continent, workmen have found, when dismantling walls of homes and churches, the bones of animals, dolls, coffins, images, and other items which seem to have acted as substitutes for human sacrifice at the foundation rites.

6 *Other ceremonies and customs* Dances were held in Mexico and Central America after raising a building. During or after the construction workmen in Scotland were sometimes given ale, whiskey, bread, and cheese. In early days it was customary to feast workers or to give them some entertainment to which they looked forward. Building in Africa, Asia Minor, in Georgia (United States) was carried on to the accompaniment of music or song. Some of these customs, especially those of dancing and feasting, have been noted in United States pioneer communities. [GPK]

**bula** The smallest of the trio of vodun ceremonial drums, approximately 18 inches high and 8 inches in diameter. Like the other drums of this group, it must be baptized after it is made. It begins the drum rhythm in the rites, following the ogan and the rattles, and is played with two sticks. Sometimes known also as *bébé* in Haiti, its name in Surinam is *babula*.

**Bulfinch, Thomas** (1796-1867) American compiler of myths. Son of Charles Bulfinch, eminent architect, he was born at Newton, Mass., and educated at Boston Latin School, Phillips Exeter Academy, and Harvard, where he was graduated in 1814. He held a job as clerk in a bank from 1837 until his death, a position which gave him a living and leisure time to study and write. Among his books were *Hebrew Lyrical History* (1853), *The Age of Fable* (1855), *The Age of Chivalry* (1858), *Legends of Charlemagne* (1863), and *Poetry of the Age*



of *Fable* (1863). His best known work is *The Age of Fable*, which attempts with some success to make mythology interesting, and deals with Greek, Roman, Scandinavian, Celtic, and Oriental mythologies. *The Age of Chivalry* tries, but with less success, to do the same thing for Arthurian and early Welsh legends.

**bull** The cult of the bull is best known from references to it in the Near, Middle, and Far East. The ancient Persians worshipped the Supreme Bull who caused grass to grow and was pure and uncreated. In India, Nandi, Siva's bull, was the leader of Siva's attendants. Although ethnographers exaggerate when they assert that there "is not a god in Semitic religions who is not assimilated to, and represented as, a bull," the bull cult competed with Yahweh who at one time was worshipped in the form of a bull. The bull was prominent as an incarnation or attribute of Egyptian gods and kings. In ancient Greece, young men, made temporary kings, sacrificed bulls to Poseidon. The bull is also associated with Dionysus. The Achaian priestesses of earth drank bull's blood before entering their caves to prophesy and Pausanius mentions bull's blood as a test of chastity. The blood and perhaps testicles of bulls were used in the mysteries of Attis and Cybele. Peoples have variously associated the sun, the moon, and the constellation Taurus with the bull; the Hittites associated the bull with thunder, and a similar reference is found in the *Rig-Veda*. The Zulu warriors drank the gall of bulls killed by their warriors with bare hands and the boys ate the flesh.

The use of bulls as draft animals has been associated by ethnographers with the cultural transformation from the stage when women did all the agricultural work to the time when men did it. The best known European references to the sexual prowess of the bull are in the stories of Europa who was seduced by one, and of Pasiphae who herself did the seduction with the help of Dædalus and produced the Minotaur with man's body and bull's head. Attempts have been made to find in this a vestigial sun myth. The ceremonies performed by the king and queen of Cnossus masked as bull and cow, and the crane dance, have been adduced in support of this. As will have been noted most of the evidence—except the Zulu ceremony which belongs to a different order of folk-thinking—comes from a period when professional theologians of the era worked popular belief into some sort of religious system. Consequently conclusions drawn by folklorists who did not distinguish the theology of the "we-group" from the theology of the "they-group" are open to question. The word "bull" in the term "Irish bull" is a linguistic accident as it derives from a word probably related to Old French *boule* meaning to trick or confuse. [RDJ]

**bull dance** An impersonation of the bull: in Europe of the native cattle, in the American Great Plains of the buffalo. In Europe, anciently, from Egypt to Scotland, the blood of the sacrificed bull was believed to imbue the earth with life, and the practice of shedding the bull's blood was preserved in the British Isles as bull-baiting into the 19th century. In Crete the monstrous Minotaur was deified and sacrificed to, and his slaying was reenacted in the Athenian Theseus plays. In Egypt the bull Apis and corn god Osiris, after their

death and dismemberment, were resurrected as Osiris-Apis. Such bullfight and resurrection rites have found their way through Spain to Mexico and New Mexico, in the huehuenches of Villa Alta, Oaxaca, in the torreadores of the Sierra de Puebla, in the toro-abuelo (bull-grandfather) fight connected with the San Ildefonso and San Juan matachina. Of independent origin, the bull dance of the Plains Buffalo societies mimed the hunt to insure success. See BUFFALO DANCE. [GFK]

**Bullkater** Literally, tom-cat: a field spirit of Silesian peasant belief. The reaper who cuts the last sheaf of rye is himself called the Tom-Cat. He is dressed in rye stalks and equipped with a long braided green tail. His function is to chase onlookers with a long stick and beat them when caught. This is to chase away the old Bullkater, by whom they are believed to have become possessed while watching the reaping. Compare CAULEAC; KORNWOLF.

**bull-roarer** A noise-making instrument of almost world-wide distribution, used by primitive peoples as an important element in magic ceremonies, puberty and initiation rites since Paleolithic times, and still significant in certain tribal rituals of Australia and New Guinea. It consists of a flat oval slab of bone, stone, or wood, tapered toward each end, with a cord or thong threaded through a hole near one end, by which it is whirled over the head to produce a harsh roaring or wailing sound. The magic symbolism of the bull-roarer derives partly from its shape and decoration, partly from its weird and terrifying sound, partly from the variations in size of the instruments.

The shape, interpreted in various ways, represents potency, procreation, fertility. When construed as a fish (often further identified as such by serrated edges and painted or incised scale patterns) it bears the double fertility meaning of the teeming roe and of water. Sometimes it is painted red, the blood color, hence the color of life itself, which may be used on instruments for men only. Among the Diegueños of California, it represented an arrow and carried three notches, denoting the three feathers of the arrow and the practice of swinging it three times to the east as a summons to religious rites. In New Guinea, the bull-roarer is often covered with magic symbols of warning.

The sound of the bull-roarer is the voice of a ghost, an ancestor, a monster, or some powerful spirit, who has power to frighten enemies, to summon the gods and the elements, to convey supernatural warnings, to ward off evil, to insure the wielder's own procreative powers. Sometimes the voice is associated with the wind, which may, by its invocation, be forced to bring rain. In any case, the harsh and strident sound is characteristic of instruments sacred to civilizations and ceremonies in which the men are dominant.

The significance of the size of the instrument has to do with the common conception that greater size is a sign of greater importance and is a male attribute, and with the difference in the sound produced by difference in size. The smaller the oval slab the faster the swing of the cord, the higher the pitch. The Bukaua and Yabim (or Jabim) tribes of New Guinea think of the small, shrill-voiced bull-roarers as female, the wives of the larger and deeper-toned ones. Large ones are divided into "ruling" and "serving" categories,

each named for a respected man of the past, according to their standing in the tribe. These are handed down from generation to generation and the names are used as battle cries. Miniature bull-roarers are worn by the chiefs at certain feasts, and all prominent Yabim tribesmen take bull-roarers with them to the grave.

Throughout Australia and New Guinea, the use of the bull-roarer, wherever it is found, is well defined. Its terror-inspiring roar is heard almost exclusively as an accompaniment to puberty and initiation rites. The details of the ceremonies, the regulation of the conduct of women, and the explanation of the noise differ somewhat from tribe to tribe, but the general pattern is this: The boys are led from the village to shelters in the forest where their circumcision, subincision, and other initiation procedures take place. Women must remain at home, where the voices of the swinging bull-roarers carry to them the sense of unimaginable horror of the events they have been told will go on.

The Bibinga tell women and children that what they hear is the voice of Katajalina, a spirit who lives in an anthill, eats up the novices, and then brings them back to life. The story of a monster who swallows and then disgorges the boys is common to many tribes of this area, including the Yabim, Bukaua, Kai, and Tami of New Guinea, and the name of the instrument is either the word for monster or for ghost ("grandfather" among the Kai). One tribe actually builds a monster-hut for the initiates to stay in, and the bull-roarers are swung in its belly to make it roar.

The Urabunna of central Australia tell the uninitiated that the bull-roarer's sound is the voice of a spirit who changes the lads into initiated men by taking them away, replacing their insides with new material, and returning them. If a woman should see the bull-roarers, the boy related to her would die, along with his mother and sisters.

Boys of the Unmatjera (also central Australia) must sound the bull-roarer after circumcision and subincision until they recover from the operation, lest an evil spirit swoop out of the sky upon them and carry them off.

The secret of the bull-roarer, which is ordinarily hidden from women in men's club houses, in stream beds forbidden to women, or other safe hiding places, is revealed to the initiates under strict vows of silence. One ceremony of this kind involves striking each boy on the forehead and under the chin with the bull-roarer. Others threaten him with his own death as well as that of any woman or child to whom he reveals the secret. The might of the bull-roarer is such that if it should break and a chip strike any one, he would be wounded wherever the bull-roarer had touched him in his next fight. Among some tribes, the touch of the bull-roarer, or even the sight of it, brings instant death to the uninitiated.

The Wonghi, or Wonghibon, tribe of New South Wales, explains the sound of the bull-roarers as that of Thuremlin, or Daramulun, a supernatural being who knocks out one tooth of each novice as a part of his initiation. They allow no uninitiated person to see the bull-roarer under pain of death.

Similar customs prevail through Melanesia and even in Africa, among the Ekoi of South Nigeria and the Nandi of East Africa. The Yoruba, however, permit

women to see and handle bull-roarers with impunity, but not to know the source of their sound.

In central Brazil, the Bororo whirl the bull-roarer at mortuary rites, from which women are excluded. The noise is the signal for women to hide to escape the death which would surely overtake them, should they see it.

North American Indian ceremonies making use of the bull-roarer were religious, but most tribes no longer remember the purpose or importance of the instrument, which survives occasionally as a toy. However, the size of the ceremonial bull-roarers indicate that they were used outdoors. Diegueño chiefs used them to summon the people to religious rites and occasionally might use them as a warning in time of danger. The Tusayan Indians used the bull-roarer in their Flute Observance, anointing it with honey; and the Hopi Flute Fraternity whirl it on solemn occasions, from which women are not excluded. The Pomo Indians of California used it during the Thunder Rites at the end of summer rituals.

The origin of the instrument is unknown and it may or may not come from a common source to the widely separated cultures in which it figures. Any device so simple could have been invented many times over. Schoolboys have developed its principle for themselves by slipping a string through the hole in a ruler and swinging it with noisy results. Even infants delight themselves by similar combinations of available objects. The elementary mechanical impulse to put a string through a hole is almost universal.

However that may be, in recent times, like many other magic devices, the bull-roarer has descended in many places, as it has among American Indians of the west coast, to the level of a toy, and in the Malay Peninsula to the practical function of scaring elephants away from plantations.

THERESA C. BRAKELEY

**Bumba** The name for the bush Negro love amulet; also (as Ma Bumba), a deity of the winti cult of Negroes of Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana: probably of Congo origin. [MJH]

**bundling** An old courting custom of Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, etc., which survived in certain parts of the United States, notoriously in New England and especially in Connecticut, and in which lovers or engaged couples, dressed or partly dressed, lay on or in the same bed. It is also said that belated visitors or travelers were sometimes invited to share the bed of the daughter of the house. The custom was naturally the subject of much moralizing and satire; but (to quote *The Rev. Samuel Peters' LL.D. General History of Connecticut*) "I am no advocate of temptation; yet must say, that bundling has prevailed 160 years in New England, and, I verily believe, with ten times more chastity than the sitting on a sofa. I had daughters, and speak from near forty years' experience." Although in theory and practice simply a convenience to save fuel or to keep the courting couple from freezing in the intimacy of their single possible private interviewing place, the girl's bedroom—only the principal rooms of the house being heated—, the practice of bundling led occasionally to "natural consequences." Bundling died out in the United States in the early decades of the 19th century, having attained a peak of notoriety dur-

ing and just before the American Revolution (c. 1750-1780). Bundling probably derived from the older common bed, in which everyone in the household, and the visitors who stayed the night, slept under the same cover. The custom of wife-lending, as for example among the Eskimos, is not the same, despite parallels which have been drawn, but the American traveling-salesman stories are probably related in origin.

**bungling host** A widespread North American Indian tale of the failure by Trickster to imitate magic methods of procuring food: told in many versions in all of North America except the Arctic, and especially popular on the North Pacific Coast. The tale is also known in Siberia. After seeing his host produce food in various ways (host lets oil drip from his hands; birds produce food by song; animal cuts its hand or feet; animals stab or shoot themselves; wood is transformed into meat; host kills his children for food, etc.), Trickster, when he is host, attempts to do likewise, but fails and often barely escapes death. For detailed analysis of this tale see Franz Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology* (RBAE 31, 1916). [LWV]

**Bunyip** A bellowing water monster of Australian native mythology who lives at the bottom of lakes and water holes into which he draws his human victims. [KL]

**al-Buraq or Al-Borak** Literally, the bright one; the white animal on which Mohammed rode during the mi'raj, or night journey to the seven heavens. Some say it was a horse, some say an ass, but Mohammed said "something in-between." Hence al-Buraq is generally mentioned as a mule, although he had wings and is often pictured as a kind of griffin. See MI'RAJ.

**burdock** Burdock leaves are used as a fever remedy in New England: the leaves are bandaged, point down, to the patient's wrists and ankles. They thus absorb the fever, which will run out at the points. Missouri Negroes cure colic by hanging a string of burdock around the baby's neck. In Ireland the roots of the great common burdock (*meacan an talaba*) are pounded, boiled, and made into a poultice for ringworm. The poultice is usually prepared on the opposite side of a river from the patient, lest the worm get a whiff of the root and shift to another place.

**Buri or Bure** In Teutonic mythology, the progenitor of the gods. While Ymir slept, his cow, Audhumla, licking the briny ice, uncovered a head. Buri stepped out and immediately produced a son, Borr. The giants, becoming aware of his existence, started a war which lasted until the marriage of Borr and Bestla.

**burial** From early and primitive efforts to keep the spirit of relative or friend from returning to trouble his survivors the burial customs of mankind show a fairly steady evolution toward the current civilized type of ritual which emphasizes quite the opposite concern—the sorrow of the bereaved that their loved one has left them. It is difficult for modern folk to understand the point of view of the ancients and the remaining primitives, so far have we come from them psychologically and theologically. Yet anthropology and archeology have by now evaluated the evidence of old burial sites and remains, and comparative religion has added its logical inferences, with the result that we

now know that the big idea of burials was to defend the survivors from the very dangerous discontented souls or ghosts of the recently dead.

Suddenly unemployed and quite ill at ease the only partly departed spirits were supposed to sit around, muttering and gibbering, watching the living and wishing they were back among them again. The most unhappy and therefore the most dangerous ghosts are those sulking around because they died young and did not have a chance to enjoy life or because they died childless. These spirits are so envious that they chase the living at night, cause disease and other disturbances, and make it necessary for the medicine man to conduct elaborate and expensive exercises of exorcism.

Some tribes went so far as to anticipate the ghost's release from the living body. Beginning with the moment when it became apparent that a member of the tribe must soon die of his disease or wound, measures were taken to protect the tribe itself from his soon-to-be-released spirit, which, if not properly exorcised by correct burial rites, would come back to wander uneasily about his old "haunts" and trouble the living. So strong and deep-seated was the primitive fear of a corpse and its nearby ghost that the dying person was, among tribes as far apart as Ceylon, Russia, the Philippines, South Africa, and Samaria, removed from the house lest he pollute it by dying within and make necessary its burning.

In certain country parts of Europe where the dying are taken from their beds and laid upon straw or the bare ground, one rationalized explanation is that a man cannot die upon feathers for that is unlucky. Another is that by coming into direct contact with the earth the dying man may more quickly enter the underground realm of the dead. Doubtless, in many cases, he did die sooner, from the exposure. The custom has been defended on that very basis, that by shortening the man's sufferings a favor is done him, a sort of involuntary euthanasia.

But there is no such mercy in the widespread practices of abandonment of the dying and even their burial before death. Tribes in Australia, Central America, Burma, and the Sudan are reliably reported to practice the former, while the latter custom prevails, or did until very recently, in parts of Paraguay, Fiji, and among the Hottentot and Bantu peoples. Among the Yakuts of Siberia, so great was the dread of a corpse in the hut or even in the village that the very old and diseased were given the best seat and the best food at their own funeral feast, then taken out into the forest and buried alive surrounded by food and possessions, including even horses for their trip to the next world—to make sure the ghosts had no excuse for remaining in the vicinity of the village.

Fear of the corpse is reflected in the ceremonial uncleanness acquired by contact with one. The Jews, their scriptures reveal, regarded a corpse as particularly defiling, and whoever touched one was "unclean" for seven days (*Haggai* ii, 13; *Numbers* xix, 11 ff.). On the third and seventh days, purification was required, and on the seventh day, bathing and clothes-washing as well. The purification was an elaborate process and evidently of ancient, perhaps animistic, origin, as the detailed description in *Numbers* xix suggests.

A spotless unblemished red heifer which had never

borne the yoke was killed outside the camp and the blood sprinkled by the priest with his finger before the tabernacle seven times. The heifer was then burned, skin, flesh, blood, and even dung. Cedar wood, hyssop (probably caper bush), and scarlet (cochineal pigment) were flung into the burning. The resultant ash was mixed with running water and then sprinkled from a hyssop switch by a "clean" person upon the defiled one who had touched the corpse. Thus the ghost was driven away by the triply effective combination of fire, water, and aromatic woods and herbs. The hyssop was reckoned a particularly effective agent in exorcising evil spirits and its aspergent properties are recognized even today in the celebration of the mass when the sprinkling of the holy water is accompanied by the Anthem "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean" based on Psalm li, 7 (1, 9 in the Vulgate). The same mixture used to purify ceremonially the person who has touched a corpse must also be sprinkled upon the tent in which the man had died, upon all vessels within it and all persons present at the death.

The aspergent solution was also used to purify anyone who had touched a grave, which is why grave-markers should be white, to warn the living. "Whited sepulchres," to which Jesus compared the Pharisees, "which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness," (*Matthew* xxiii, 27) were whited, not to make them appear beautiful, but to warn passers-by not to touch the grave, lest they too become full of uncleanness and require seven days' purification.

The relatives of the dead man were sometimes considered unclean, and, according to *Hosea* ix, 4, the very food of mourners defiled all who ate it. In fact the custom of wearing distinctive mourning garb probably originated as a warning against contamination by contact with the close relatives of the newly deceased.

The preparation of the body for its final disposition has varied greatly, dependent somewhat upon the method chosen to dispose of it, which in turn depends upon where and how far the soul is supposed to be going. If the journey to the next world is to be long, or if the body is expected to be reanimated after a considerable period of time, or periodically, by the return of the soul or by resurrection to some heaven, it is likely that an attempt at preservation of the body will be made. Oiling, salting, pickling, smoking, drying, stuffing the removed skin, and mummifying by filling the eviscerated body with bitumen and spices, all these methods have been used, the last mentioned with more success than the others, particularly in Egypt, Peru, and the Canary Islands. Howells, in *The Heathens*, in his informative chapter on Souls, Ghosts and Death, reports on several instances of chance mummification, including the accidental tanning of a cellarful of cadavers in the crypt of St. Michan's church in Dublin.

For the preservation of the body for a short period of time, less attention is necessary and is more apt to be expended on beautifying the corpse. Painting the body has occurred frequently, and varies from the masterpieces of the Congo corpse-painters, who are quite uninhibited in their art with rather startling results, to the present-day professional embalmers, who use every cosmetic artifice to restore the bloom of youth to even the elderly face, with results sometimes equally

startling to those who knew the deceased. The murmured admiration by chronic funeral-attenders is in the same class with the louder expressions of the dwellers on the Congo who pay admission to see the art exhibit.

An interesting survival of the ancient anxiety to get rid of the body as soon as possible lest the ghost be encouraged to remain is seen in the quick burials customary among Jews even today—within a few hours if possible, preferably before sundown. Other reasons for the hasty interment are often offered, and few Jews today are aware of the origin of the custom, but the Mosaic code itself is explicit concerning the ceremonial uncleanness of a corpse.

The subject of funerals is covered in another article, but the interment service at the grave falls properly under the subject of burials. And the getting of the body out of the house and safely into the grave or burned has important folklore connotations, for the object is to prevent the ghost from finding the way back to haunt the house. Of course, the safest way is to burn the house, and that was often done in primitive communities. Sometimes the rest of the houses in the village were torn down and the house of the deceased left standing, leaving the ghost in solitary splendor, where he could not hurt anyone. The people of some cultures still take the corpse out of the house through the roof, or a window, or a hole in the wall. The same idea, to fool the ghost, is in mind among the Menominee Indians when the nearest relative sneaks away home from the cemetery "while the soul is still absorbed in its own funeral." (Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 163.) Chinese set off firecrackers on the way back from the grave. In New England, the writer remembers being shocked as a young minister by the race home from the grave which he was assured was an old and honored custom, "no disrespect intended." He thought then that the mourners were in a very unmannerly hurry to get back to the bounteous repast always served at the home after the burying, but he now suspects that, whether they knew it or not, these devout mourners were hastening from as much as to.

The methods of disposing of the body, the act which is after all and from the beginning the main purpose of the burial, have been many. Cremation is treated in another article, but the other ways, not so rapid nor so final, had their reasons for being, and included interment in graves which might be in consecrated ground or not, interment in huts, tombs, vaults, caves, and catacombs, or in canoes, boats, ships, on rafts, or in rivers or the sea itself. Then there is suspension in the air on burial platforms or in trees as practiced by some American Indians. The Parsees of India, who consider both fire and the earth too sacred to be polluted by a corpse, expose their dead inside towers of silence to which come the birds of the air to leave nothing after an hour or two but the bones, which are gathered twice a year and put into a central dry well where they soon crumble from exposure to the elements. Still a different, though related, form of burial is the secondary or bundle burial practiced by North American Indians in Maine and Wisconsin, and also in parts of Polynesia and Asia, and long ago in Bronze Age Europe. This method varies in the way the flesh is removed from the bones, either by scraping or burying

in the earth. The cleaned bones are tied up in a skin, then buried in a pot or in a pile. Frequently when exhumed by scientists they are found to have been smeared with red ochre.

Various incidental practices deserve mention. As to the question of determining who has the right to decide where, when, and how the body shall be buried, the decision was originally left to the tribe through the chief or medicine man. It is now widely accepted in the United States "that the bodies of the dead belong to the surviving relations, in the order of inheritance as property, and that they have the right to dispose of them as such . . ." This would mean that the decisions referred to belong first to husband or wife, children next, and then according to the "nearest relative" order. The wishes of the deceased, if known through a will or otherwise, and the customary practice of the deceased's church or fraternal order, are usually respected. Reburials however are under the court's jurisdiction.

Notice should be taken of the recent great changes in the general attitude of the American public toward burials, which are now commonly conducted with less deep mourning and rather more dignity. Black crape has largely given way to flowers: the mourners are less lugubriously costumed, and the dirt formerly cast at the descending casket to the accompaniment of "Ashes to ashes: dust to dust" has been superseded by flowers. See BARASHNÛM; CREMATION; FUNERAL CUSTOMS; GRAVE; MUMMY. [CFP]

Among most South American Indians, with the exception of those tribes which observe a death vigil, burials take place immediately. The haste shown by most Indians on such occasions is prompted by the fear of the ghost of the deceased. The corpse is usually placed in the grave in a fetal position (i.e. with the arms flexed against the chest and the legs raised against the abdomen).

Many tropical tribes bury their dead in huge jars (Tupinamba, Guarayu, Tucuna, Katawishi, Yumana, Caripuna, etc.), a custom which is also followed by some people of the Andes (northwest of the Argentine, the Manabi, and occasionally by the ancient Peruvians). Among the natives of the Guianas and the Upper Amazon, the corpse is often deposited in a canoe or in an excavated tree-trunk. The Araucanians of Chile placed their dead chiefs in dug-out tree-trunks which rested on heavy forked poles or were wedged in trees.

Funeral chambers in which the corpse was left with his goods are characteristic of the ancient people of Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Crude vaults are also prepared for the dead by some tropical tribes (Guahibo, Aruaca, Achagua, Tupinamba, etc.). Burial under cairns is typical for the ancient populations of the southern tip of the continent, particularly for the Tehuelche and Puelche Indians.

Secondary burial, that is, the transfer of the bones of a dead person after an interval of time to a second place of interment was wide-spread east of the Andes. The bones were either placed in a basket or an urn (Guahibo, Carib, Roucouyenne, Indians of Marajo, Camacan, Caraja, Otomac, Saliva, Ature, etc.), or were exhumed and reburied (Bororo, Apinaye, Nambikuara), or destroyed by fire or thrown into a river (Piapoco, Omagua, Carib of Venezuela).

Most tribes from the West Indies to the Gran Chaco bury the dead in their own huts, which are then abandoned or set on fire. In many tribes (Witoto, Yagua, Coroado, Iquito, etc.) the family continued to live in the funerary hut and deserted it only when it was overcrowded with graves. When a member of a tribe that practiced house burial died on a journey, a miniature hut or shelter was often built over his grave. [AM]

**buried alive** Burying a person alive was an ancient punishment. In some cases it was walling-in; in others, it was actual burial in earth. The walling-in method was reserved for monks, nuns, wives of knights, and girls of noble blood to enable them to avoid the shame of a public execution. In Rome, Vestal Virgins who were convicted of immorality were walled up in a subterranean chamber. In Peru, wives of the Sun were buried alive if they were unfaithful; in Mexico and Central America when a great man died, his best loved wives and sometimes his servants were appointed by him or self-elected to be buried alive with him. In China, the custom was of great antiquity, continuing down to comparatively modern times; it was also common in Germany in the 15th century. The usage gradually died out.

In this connection, mention should be made of the lore clustering about persons buried alive while in a cataleptic trance. The legend of "the living dead" appears in ballad, romance, and drama. (Cf. Henri Hauvette *La Morte Vivante*, Paris, 1933.) Folk stories are common on the European continent of persons buried alive while in the cataleptic state and awakened by robbers attempting to open the coffin to steal gems, and the like. Some of these tales are quite recent. [CRS]

**burkan** Gods or holy ones: an approximate translation of this word of the Gold tribe of the Lower Sungari, Manchuria. It is the collective designation for a number of small human-shaped "god-figures" made of wood and of brass and pewter, strung together on a cord, which shamans of the Gold tribe wear around their necks for specific ceremonies. One of the burkan is called *échihe*, and perhaps means ancestor; other of the figures are designated as *sarka*, *ganki*, *kirinh*, *bukchunh*. (See O. Latimore, *The Gold Tribe*, "Fish-skin Tatars" of the Lower Sungari, *MAAA* 40, 1933.)

**Burr-Woman** An old woman whom the hero of certain North American Indian folktales takes upon his back and who he discovers cannot be dislodged. The motif (G311) turns up among several Plains, Central Woodland, and Iroquois tribes. In a Southern Paiute story told among the Shivvits of southern Utah, the idea takes another turn: Wolf retaliates on Coyote for various tricks and deceptions by causing a load of wood to remain in his arms. Coyote is unable to lay it down; neither can he remove the loaded basket from his back. Compare OLD MAN OF THE SEA.

**burying the dead horse** A shipboard custom of British sailors celebrating the working-out of the first month's pay. See DEAD HORSE CHANTEY.

**bury league** A cooperative savings organization of Negroes of United States, whereby sufficient funds are set aside to assure members (and often members of their families as well) adequate burial. Operating in the lower socio-economic levels of Negro society, the

popularity of these groupings is evidence of the vitality of the African cult of the dead, wherein the need for proper burial is paramount no matter what sacrifices this entails. [1910]

**Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie** An American cowboy song about a dying boy whose last request was not to be buried in the lonely emptiness of the prairie; remade somewhere in the American West from a favorite song of the East written by a Universalist clergyman in 1812, called *The Burial at Sea* or *The Ocean Burial*. This expressed the same wish in connection with the deep, deep sea. The song is also known as *The Dying Cowboy*, and is often sung to the old ballad air of *Hind Hero*.

**Bushido** The way of the samurai, or the way of the ideal warrior: the code of the medieval Japanese samurai, epitomized by the Emperor Meiji as "the perpetual code of human relations." It was a strict code of chivalry and honor, physical training, mental and spiritual discipline, and daily behavior. Its precepts stressed loyalty to country, lord, and parents; personal courage, with the fine line drawn between what is brave or merely foolhardy; self-control and self-discipline, to the point of serene endurance of hardship, privation, or death; honor, a vital sense of personal honor, fair play and truthfulness, and passionate fidelity to a promise. Bushido required rigorous training in the military arts, and simplicity, almost severity, of life. Politeness, kindness, benevolence, sympathy were fostered; nothing brutal or underhand was countenanced. "The tenderness of the warrior" was a common phrase. A kind of gaiety grew from this, gaiety as the symbol of spiritual strength, in that any display of sorrow or discontent was both a sign of weakness and selfish inconsiderateness. Alertness of perception was stressed from many angles, not the least being sensitivity and appreciation. To train the young in sensitivity children were told stories or habituated to pictures of the warrior who halted his army so as not to trample a path strewn with the blown petals of the cherry.

**bush soul** The soul of a human being dwelling in a wild animal in the bush: a West African Negro concept. The *lùk* (southern Nigeria) word for bush soul is *ukpong*. The *ukpong* is both the soul within the man, his life, separable but returnable, the soul of the man within the animal, and also the animal itself: leopard, crocodile, hippopotamus, wild pig, etc. If the animal prospers, is lucky, or sickens or dies, the man will undergo the same fate. And if the man dies, his bush-soul animal becomes insensible to danger and is easily caught and killed. Chiefs sometimes have more than one bush soul.

Bush souls can also be inherited and even purchased. The custom of purchase sometimes leads to community trouble, for any man who envies his neighbor's flocks may acquire by purchase from the magician a leopard bush soul to prey upon the sheep and goats of the lender. A bush soul acquired by purchase is usually considered more powerful than one inherited.

If a man's bush soul has been trapped or wounded, the man falls ill. He goes at once to the magician to discover who the offender is. Anyone suspected of wilfully trapping or harming another's bush soul is put to

a severe test and tried by tribal law. Conjectures about any development of the hereditary bush soul into totemism are not yet substantiated.

**Būshyāstā** In Zoroastrian mythology, the yellow demon of lethargy and sloth; the evil genius which causes men to oversleep and to neglect their religious duties.

**Bushy Bride** Title of a Norse folktale in which the fake or substituted bride is the principal motif (K1911). A king fell in love with the portrait of a beautiful young girl, and sent her brother (possessor of the portrait) to bring the girl to him, intending to make her his wife. The girl's hideous step-sister managed to put herself in the true bride's place, with the result that the king, when he saw her, was so enraged with her ugliness that he had the brother punished. Three times after this the true bride came to the king's palace and reproached the Bushy Bride for usurping her place. The third time she was held and questioned by the king, who, when he learned the truth, killed the impostor, restored the brother, and married the beautiful young girl. Compare FALSE BRIDE.

**busk** The Anglicized name for *pūkita* (fast) of the Creek Indians of the southeastern United States: an annual, 4-8 day religious ceremony, held during July or August when the crops mature, in an open square ground or dance ground near each Creek town. A new fire is kindled in the middle of the square, and during the course of the busk the male participants drink the *pasa* or black drink for ceremonial purification. There is a series of named dances which are performed by men and women on different days of the busk, and a feast is prepared by the women from the newly ripened corn. The women also kindle new fires in their homes, from fire taken from the square ground. Both men and women cleanse themselves during the ceremonies by rubbing ashes on their bodies and plunging into water. Besides the black drink, men also take a decoction made from 15 different plants, which has been prepared by a shaman, and acts as a physic. The busk concludes, on the final night, with the so-called "mad dance." [fww]

**Buso** A class of demons greatly feared by the Bagobo, a Malay people of southeastern Mindanao, P.I. They have long bodies, feet, and necks, curly hair, a flat nose and one big yellow or red eye, and two long, pointed teeth. They live in the branches of graveyard trees, or haunt forests and rocks. They never eat living flesh but dig up the buried dead and devour all but the bones. In the beginning of time the Buso were friendly and helpful to men, but since "the great quarrel" they have been man's deadly enemies. The *Tigbanua* are the worst of the Buso; they crave human flesh all the time, and never rest from trying to change living people into dead ones. The *Tagamaling* are the best, for they are Buso only half the time, month and month about. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the ever-present fear which the Buso inspire, Bagobo folklore is full of stories in which these evil creatures lose or miss their victims through some clever trick. They are always being made fools of, lied to, or embarrassed. Many of the stories involve the family cat. "The cat is the best animal," they say. "She keeps us from the

Buso." One favorite story tells how the cat consented to let the Buso kill and eat her mistress if only first he would count the hairs on her tail. The Buso started to count, but the tail kept twitching so that the Buso had to start over and over again, and could not finish before morning. When daylight came he had to rush off.

**Butcher Boy** An English folk song, probably dating from the 17th century, about a girl who hanged herself for the love of a faithless butcher boy. It is, in its variants, extended with many of the wandering stanzas of folk song and has links to numerous other songs. For example, the final stanza is generally the one about "Dig my grave both wide and deep," and "on my breast inscribe a turtle dove," etc., which is also found in *The Alehouse* (known as a student song in this country under the title of *There Is a Tavern in the Town*) and the stanza about the dance-hall or alehouse, etc., in the town where the true love takes another girl on his knee, which also appears in the song *I Know My Love*. It also is sung with stanzas such as "Now I wear my apron high," which are found in the early blues song *Careless Love*. The town in which the tragedy occurred is named as London town, Dublin City, Jersey City, Boston City, Johnson City, etc., to suit the geographical fancy of the singers. Early versions are known as *The Squire's Daughter*, *The Cruel Father or the Deceived Maid*, *Deep in Love*, *Must I Be Bound or Must I Go Free*, *The Brisk Young Lover* (who may have been a sailor), etc.

**buttercup** One of the various species of crowfoot, (genus *Ranunculus*) with yellow cup-shaped flowers: natives of the north temperate zone in the Old World which have been introduced into America. The common name was given to the flowers either because they were believed to increase the amount of butter given by cows feeding upon them, or because the yellow color of butter was due to them. Irish farmers rub the *cam an ime*, literally, cup of butter, on the udders of their cows on May Day to encourage richness in the milk.

The buttercup, according to the herbalist Culpeper, is an herb of Mars, fiery and hot-spirited, used externally in an ointment to draw a blister. Hung in a linen cloth around the neck of a lunatic, it would cure lunacy. According to Gerard, when mixed with salt and hung on any of the fingers, it would cure toothache. Children hold a buttercup under the chin of a playmate. If the color is reflected, they say, "You like butter."

**butterfly** It is not surprising that a creature as beautiful as the butterfly should become the object of a mass of folklore and superstition. Belief in the butterfly as the soul of man is general in Europe, Japan, many of the Pacific islands, and among many North American Indian tribes. Some peoples, like the Maori, believe that this butterfly soul returns to earth after death, while others, such as the Finno-Ugric peoples, believe the soul can leave the body while the person is asleep, and in this way they account for dreams. The Serbians look on the butterfly as the soul of a witch, and believe that if they can find her body and turn it around while she is asleep, the soul will not be able to find her mouth to reenter, and the witch will die. Probably this concept of the soul explains why many medieval angels have butterfly wings rather than those of a bird.

The early Greeks sometimes portrayed the soul as a diminutive person with butterfly wings, and later as a butterfly. In south Germany some say the dead are reborn as children who fly about as butterflies (hence the belief that they bring children). In the Solomon Islands the dying man has a choice as to what he will become at death and often chooses a butterfly. Among the Nagas of Assam the dead are believed to go through a series of transformations in the underworld, and are finally reborn as butterflies. When the butterfly dies, that is the end of the soul forever. In Burma, rice has a butterfly-soul, and a trail of husks and unthreshed rice is very carefully laid from the field to the granary so that the soul may find the grain, otherwise none will grow the following year.

Among some peoples the butterfly is worshipped as a god, often as Creator. One of the tribes of Sumatra claims to be descended from three brothers hatched from eggs laid by a butterfly (their wives were sent down from above fully grown), and in Madagascar and among the Naga tribes of Manipur, some trace their ancestry to a butterfly. A North American Pima Indian myth says that the creator, Chioiwotmahki, took the form of a butterfly and flew over the world until he found a suitable place for man. Among some tribes of Mexico it is the symbol of the fertility of the earth. The spirit of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king, who led his people into Egypt, appears to his people as a creature of great beauty, often a butterfly. Samoans believe that if they caught one it would strike them dead.

Not all butterflies are looked on as good. In much of Europe they are tabu. In parts of Scotland, Friesland, and Bosnia, moths are regarded as witches; in Serbia and Westphalia, butterflies are so regarded. In the latter place St. Peter's Day, February 22, is set aside for their expulsion. Children go about knocking on the houses with hammers, reciting rimes and incantations to drive them out of the houses. Elsewhere they are thought to be fairies in disguise, who steal butter and milk.

In the matter of capturing and killing butterflies there is a good bit of disagreement. Among the Magyars it is lucky to catch the first one of the season. In Oldenburg the first one should be caught and allowed to fly through your coat sleeve; in Devon it should be killed; but elsewhere in the west of England it is unlucky to kill it. In Essex the first white one should be caught and its head bitten off, but it should be allowed to fly away. In Somerset and Dorset they kill the moths; in the north of England, the red butterflies; in Pitsligo, the tortoise-shell ones; in Llanidloes, the colored ones; and in the Vosges region of France they should all be caught. In Scotland it is unlucky to kill or keep them, while in Suffolk they should be tenderly entreated, and in the west of Scotland the white ones are fed.

There are many superstitions regarding specific butterflies. Among the Bulgarians a dark one presages sickness. In Brunswick if the first one of the season is white it is an omen of death, if yellow, of birth, and if variegated, of marriage. In Ruthenia, the first one, if white, announces sickness, and health if red. Some say that if the first butterfly is white it will be a rainy summer, if dark, a season of thunderstorms, and if yellow, sunny weather. Among the Celts, to see one fly by night

means death, and in North Hampshire to see three together is a bad omen. Some say that if a butterfly is put in a gun it is impossible to miss the target. To get a new dress all a girl need do is to catch a butterfly of the desired color and crush it between her teeth while muttering a magic formula.

**Buttocks watcher.** In nearly all tales of the hood-winked dancers Trickster commands his buttocks to act as watchman for him while he sleeps. His buttocks speak and warn him that his food is being stolen, but Trickster ignores the warning. Closely related incidents to this motif (D1517.1) are those of talking privates, in which a man is given advice by his genitals, talking privates which betray unchastity (H451), and *Mentula loquens* (D228; D1610.5; H451) in which a man's penis speaks and can only be silenced by his mother-in-law. See *notes*. [TWS]

**buzzard.** If you wear a buzzard feather behind your ear, you will never have rheumatism. If you see a lone buzzard, you will soon see someone unexpected. Make a wish before the sailing buzzard moves his wings and it will come true. If you see a buzzard's shadow and not the buzzard, that is an omen of death. In fact, it is dangerous to let a buzzard's shadow touch you. Death, illness, or evil fortune will soon follow.

Kentucky Negroes say that if you look up at a buzzard overhead, or speak to him, he will vomit on you. But Georgia Negroes throw a kiss to him, make a wish, and expect it to come true. If a buzzard catches a child he will pick its eyes out. Georgia Negroes believe that witches sometimes take the form of buzzards. Maryland Negroes say

O, Mr. Buzzard, don't fly so high  
You can't make a livin' allyin' in de sky.

Many southern Negroes also believe that the buzzard is a thief-finder. This is the folklore of fact, stemming from slavery days when a Negro would sometimes cache a piece of pig meat in his loft. Pork plus heat makes for such rapid putrefaction that it would be a poor buzzard who couldn't detect it. Thus the presence of a buzzard on the roof was a sure giveaway.

Buzzards, because they eat carrion, are associated with the dead, and are regarded with particular awe by the Negroes of the southern United States, and vested with unknowable mystery and power. Buzzard's grease will cure smallpox, for instance. A little bag containing buzzard feathers is sometimes tied around a baby's neck to ease the pains of teething. For fainting or an epileptic fit two wingfeathers from a buzzard are burned under the nose of the patient. Buzzard feathers are also effective in charms. To drive someone crazy, Mississippi Negroes pick up the victim's footprints, put them in a gourd along with two buzzard feathers, and throw the gourd into running water at midnight. The person will go insane the next day.

Among many of the North American Pueblo Indians Buzzard, because he is a scavenger, is regarded as a purifying and cleansing power. Buzzard feathers are used in exorcism by all the curers. (See *BATON MISTON*.) In a Hopi ritual performed to induce the clouds to send water to the people, a buzzard feather is used to dip the water from the six directions from the sacred

spring into the gourd which is to be carried to the altar. Buzzard is the cleanser. Whenever the word "cleanser" occurs in the ritual songs accompanying the Hopi cleansing rite, the exorciser scatters the purifying ashes with his buzzard feather. In the various Pueblo brushing rites, the shaman brushes away the evil with a buzzard feather. Buzzard droppings are burned at Taos to smoke one who has fainted.

The Hopi myth of raising the sun explains how Buzzard got his bald head. At first when the sun stopped half-way up the sky, two children were sacrificed, whose spirits helped it along its way somewhat. But it was still too near and the earth was too hot. Turkey flew up to raise the sun. The heat burned his head red and all the feathers fell off; so he came back. Then Buzzard tried. Buzzard pushed the sun up a little farther. The sun burned all the feathers off his head but he kept on trying. Now Buzzard is bald. In southern U.S. Negro folktale, Brer Rabbit gave a feast. During grace, while all eyes were shut, he suddenly reached out and ducked Buzzard's head into a dish of hot hominy. Since then Buzzard is bald.

**Bwebweso.** In Dobu (Melanesian) belief, the afterworld; the hill of the dead on neighboring Normandy Island; literally, extinguished. Some spirits do not go to Bwebweso; for example, the spirits of those slain in war go to another afterworld, bodies disfigured by disease live in a swamp at the foot of the mountain as fish with human heads, and some spirits wander off to the hill of lice, Koiakutu. The spirit leaves the body after a few days and arrives at Bwebweso carrying the betel-nut fee for the wanderer, *Sinebomatu*, the Woman of the Northeast Wind, or *Kekekage*, her husband. The fee is paid and, if free from disease scars and sufficiently rotted (a "fresh" spirit cannot pass), the spirit goes to Bwebweso. The spirits of children whose parents still are living are cared for by *Sinebomatu* and *Kekekage* until one of the parents dies, else the child will have no guardian in the afterworld. Sometimes, in sleep or voluntarily (some magicians can do this), the spirit of a living person visits Bwebweso and talks with the spirits of the dead. But the visiting spirit must not eat of the *Dokanikani* banana in Bwebweso, for if it does it can never get back to the living world. (Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*.) Compare *ROOF TABU IN THE LAND OF THE DEAD*.

**byliny** (singular *bylina*) The narrative poems of Russian oral tradition; also called *staryi* or old songs. The term *bylina* probably means "past happenings," and since about 1860 has been applied to the special genre. *Byliny* are slow-moving, descriptive, free in their verse-forms, unrhymed, unstanzed, the rhythm of the chant determining the length of line which, though irregular, tends to even out. They are chanted without accompaniment, but seem at one time to have been sung to the music of the *gusli*, a one-stringed, bowed instrument. Prose versions of some of the *byliny* exist, recited rather than sung, preserving the language and figures of the poems, but without their meter. The subject-matter is secular; religious poems in similar style are called *stikhi*. There has been some influence on the *byliny* from the West and from the Balkans, but the *byliny* remain apart from the general stream of European ballads.

The matter of the Russian *byliny* is both historical



and legendary, often, and usually, so confused that it is impossible to differentiate between fact and invention. For, rather than being the comparatively bald narrative of the Western ballad, the byliny permit elaboration by the reciter with stock phrases and situations, motifs being transferred from one setting to another regardless of the person or event under discussion. The matter groups itself into cycles (e.g. the Older Heroes, the Kiev cycle, the Novgorod cycle) more or

less related to the epic poetry of the Russians; the borderline between the two types is not clear.

The byliny seem to have reached their peak in about the 16th or 17th century after a period of dormancy under the rule of the Tatars (12th-16th centuries). In the time since then the older ballads have gradually disappeared from the centers of their origin in Great Russia and are found today for the most part in the northern fringes of Russia, the Urals, and the Caucasus.

**Cabeiri or Cabiri** In Greek mythology, mysterious deities, worshipped in many parts of the ancient world, of whom little is definitely known. They were perhaps Phœnician in origin, and were worshipped particularly in Samothrace, but also in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and northern and central Greece. The cult became early identified with that of Demeter and Cora, and with Hermes (Cadmilus) and Hephestus or Hades. The Cabeiri seem to have been guardians against peril, especially that of the sea (like the Dioscuri), and also fertility deities of some kind. Little of the mythology connected with them has survived, although their cult enjoyed its greatest expansion in the period from the peak of the Athenian hegemony to some time after the death of Alexander (5th and 4th centuries B.C.). Cabeiros and his son Casmilos are the principal Cabeiri; the names Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa were noted as belonging to the Cabeiri by Mnaseas in the 3rd century B.C.

**cabodo** In the northeastern part of Brazil, this term is applied to cult-groups that worship both African and autochthonous Indian deities, principally Tupi and Guarani. The African worship tends to be preponderantly of the Congo-Angola type, with African deities predominating, but also including certain categories of deified ancestral dead. These cabodo sects may be regarded as related to that aspect of non-Christian New World Negro religion which pays respect to the spirits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land in which the group lives. In this category of religious life would be the *Ingi winti* of Dutch Guiana, and the *loa créole* of Haiti. [MJH]

**Cachimé** A deity of the Arecuna and other Indian tribes of the Venezuelan Alto Orinoco: the focus of a strange dance orgy for the well-being of the tribe. His image is kept in a cave and held in fearful veneration. At certain seasons men and women prepare themselves in retreats by complete inebriation. Four priests disguise themselves in animal pelts, feathers, and face paint, and bring the image from the cave. The people perform a circular dance around them. After the ritual return of the image, the priests remove the disguise and bathe ritually. The dance and its deity resemble the more spectacular Mauari of the Maipure Indians which celebrates puberty rites. [CRK]

**cachucha** A lively dance of Cadiz and Jerez, Andalusia, characterized by acceleration and intensified ex-

citement. The rapid  $\frac{3}{4}$  time is accented by castanets. Leg-swings embellish the footwork. Strictly speaking, it is a couple dance, but can be danced by a woman alone, as on the stage by the once famous Fanny Elssler. This apparently completely secular dance has nevertheless been included as part of the ball de gitanes, a dramatic Carnival dance of Catalonia. Literally, a cachucha is a kind of cap. [CRK]

**cactus** Any plant of the family *Cactaceæ*, green, fleshy, with typically leafless joints, very spiny and remarkably drought-resisting. There are more than 100 genera and some 1300 species, including the edible prickly pear, night-blooming cereus, the mescal, etc. Certain ones are usable as forage; some contain powerful narcotics used as stimulants and for ceremonial intoxication among certain Mexican Indians. Cactus in China is called the fairy's hand and is considered unlucky for pregnant women.

The cactus is of special religious significance among American Pueblo Indians. It is one of the plants that "give of themselves" to the people. The Zuñi Cactus Society is a war society functioning also for the control of game and the curing of wounds; it approaches the cactus with a special beaded prayer feather. In the ritual whipping of chiefs being installed, the Cactus Societies of Zuñi and Jemez both use cacti. This gives those who are whipped great power and luck in hunting and gambling. Members of the Hano Cactus Society also whipped each other with cacti to induce bravery and endurance, and to make the ground freeze so their warriors would leave no tracks. At Tewa, Cactus Grandmother is passed from hand to hand with song within the Winter kiva. If she is dropped it portends bad luck. During this "journey" thrice round the circle she becomes smaller and smaller and in the fourth round she finally vanishes and has returned to her own people. When the people go to look, there she is growing in her own place as fresh as ever.

Pieces of cactus are put in the corners of each new Hopi house "to give the house roots." At Acoma during certain kachina activities, men rub themselves against the cactus (carried by others) to attain manliness.

Among the exploits of the Lipan Apache culture hero Killer-of-Enemies and his brother is the incident of making the prickly pear cactus safe to approach and gather. The Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Jicarilla Apache, and also the Navaho, have stories describing the sexual use of cactus.

**Cacus** A robber giant, son of Vulcan, three-headed and flame-breathing, who lived in a cave on the Aventine where Rome now stands. When Hercules passed that way with the cattle of Geryon, Cacus stole several, dragging them into his cave by their tails backwards. Hercules, thus unable to trace the cattle, was about to go on his way when the lowing of cattle in the cave before which he was driving the remainder of the herd caused him to realize what had happened. He entered the cave and slew Cacus. The legend was an important local story of Rome, Hercules being reputed to have established, with the consent of the then ruler Evander, the *ara maxims*, or ox market. The *Scala Caci*, however, are on the Palatine. It is thought that Cacus, with his sister Caca, who was worshipped somewhat like Vesta, form a pair of very ancient Roman deities to whom has become attached an originally Greek story. Because Vergil calls Cacus *semi-homo*, Dante made him a centaur, though he placed him apart from the Greek Centaurs.

**Cacy taperere or Sasy-perere** A popular supernatural being in the folklore of the Indians and mestizos of southern Brazil. He is a one-legged dwarf with fiery eyes, a red cap, and a pipe. He enjoys playing tricks on people, such as disturbing, misplacing, or hiding their belongings. [AM]

**Cadmus** One of the famous culture heroes of ancient Greece; the founder of Boeotian Thebes; introducer of the alphabet from Phœnicia to Greece; inventor of agriculture and bronze work. He was the son of Agenor, king of Phœnicia, and Telephassa, and brother of Europa. When Zeus abducted his sister, Cadmus went in search of her, with instructions from Agenor not to return without her. His quest was futile, and at last he went to the oracle at Delphi, where he was told to abandon the search, to follow a cow marked with a crescent on each side, and to found the city Thebes wherever the cow stopped. When in Boeotia the cow lay down, Cadmus built the Cadmea, later the citadel of Thebes. Preparing to sacrifice the animal, he sent his companions to a spring for water. There they were attacked and slain by a guardian dragon, a son of Ares. Cadmus killed the creature and on Athena's advice sowed the dragon's teeth in the ground. Fully armed warriors sprang up, and Cadmus either threw stones among them to cause them to fight or was warned away by one of them. In any event, they fought until only five were left alive. Because he had slain the dragon, Cadmus had to serve Ares for a long year (eight years) in expiation, at the end of which time he was given the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, Harmonia, as wife. All the gods of Olympus came to the wedding, and Harmonia received as gifts a peplos worked by Athena and the fatal necklace made by Hephaestus. The children of Cadmus and Harmonia were Semele, Ino, Autonoe, Agave, and Polydorus (Illyrius was born much later); the vengeance of Ares followed these children and their descendants down to the destruction of the line after Œdipus. The ill fortune they met with in Thebes caused Cadmus and Harmonia to leave. He later served as general and king of the Enchelians. At last he and Harmonia were changed into serpents and taken by Zeus to Elysium. Cadmus is reported to have cast mother and child adrift in a chest when he discov-

ered the birth of Dionysus to his daughter Semele. The entire legend of Cadmus has been overlaid with later explanatory incidents and characters, such as Cadmus' brothers Phœnix and Cilix, the founders of Phœnicia and Cilicia when they gave up the search for Europa, herself a similar ancestral character. Cadmus was worshipped in several parts of Greece. Compare CECROPS.

**caduceus** The magic herald's wand, a sacred rod having power over wealth, prosperity, happiness, and dreams, carried by the messengers of the Greek gods, especially by Hermes in his role as psychopomp. In its earliest form the caduceus appears as a forked rod, the prongs knotted or crossing to form a loop; later, the rod is twined about by two serpents with their heads meeting at the top. The legend states that Hermes discovered two serpents fighting and thrust his rod between them. The caduceus was thus a sign of the settlement of quarrels, carried by heralds and ambassadors (who were immune to attack). It became the symbol of commerce much later. Another legend states that Hermes and Apollo exchanged lyre for wand. Sometimes the caduceus appears winged as the symbol of Hermes. A modified drawing of the caduceus was used in alchemy for the metal mercury, and the same symbol is still used for the planet. The winged caduceus is the insignia of the U.S. Army Medical Corps. Compare ÆSCULAPIUS.

**Cæneus** In Greek mythology, a Lapith slain by the Centaurs. Originally Cæneus was a woman called Cænis, and was raped by Poseidon. As recompense, she asked that she be changed into a man, for in that form such indignity might not occur, and that she be made invulnerable to wounds: these requests the god granted. The man Cæneus took part in the Argonautic expedition and in the Calydonian boar hunt. Cæneus however set up his spear as a god, would worship only the spear, and ordered the people to worship it. Zeus became angered, and in the fight between the Lapithæ and Centaurs, when Cæneus daringly fought in the open, unafraid of wounds, Zeus caused the Centaurs to drive him into the earth and bury him with fir trees. When he died, he was changed back into a woman, although, in Ovid, Mopsus, the seer, declared a yellow-winged bird seen on the heap of logs to be Cæneus. Compare CHANGE OF SEX.

**Cæsarean birth** The delivery of a child by section of the abdominal wall and womb of the mother when natural delivery is impossible: so called because Julius Cæsar is said to have been born in this way. The child of a Cæsarean birth is said to possess great strength, and the power to find hidden treasure, and to see spirits. Miraculous birth from a slit under the arm, in the side, or in the thigh is a concept as ancient as the mythologies of the world. See BABY TAKEN FROM MURDERED MOTHER'S WOMB.

**Cagn or Kang** The Creator of Bushman mythology: believed to be manifested sometimes in the form of the mantis (*!haggen*), sometimes in the form of the caterpillar (*ngo*). He is called Cagn or Kang by the northern Bushmen, Thora by the southern Bushmen. All Bushmen reverence the mantis; all are loath to kill it. Cagn created all things, but he met with so much opposition in this world that he went away. Now the people pray

to him for food, saying, "O Cagn, O Cagn, do you not see the hunger of your children?"

Cagn had a wife named Coti, and two sons named Cogaz and Gcwi, who became chiefs and made digging-sticks with sharp stone points and showed the people how to dig with them for roots. But how Cagn himself came into the world no one knows, except the initiated. Cagn had a tooth in which his powers and vital force resided; sometimes he would lend it to a friend who needed extra strength for some exploit. Birds were Cagn's messengers. His daughter married a snake, and the snakes henceforth were called Cagn's people. Cagn himself could take animal form at will, usually that of an eland bull. His wife once gave birth to an eland fawn. Anyone who displeased him had bad luck: baboons were once men, for instance, but were doomed to their present shape for once sneering at Cagn's cleverness. Once the thorns killed Cagn and the ants ate him, but he came to life again. Today no man knows where he is; only the elands know. When Cagn calls in the forest, all the elands run to him. Men have seen this happen.

**cailleac** Literally, old woman, hag; in Celtic folklore, the last sheaf of harvest regarded as the embodiment of the corn or field spirit. Personification of the last sheaf as the spirit of the growing grain itself is world-wide, and the treatment of this material representation everywhere testifies to the deep human belief that its safekeeping insures fertility for the following harvest, provided that some portion of it is given to the cattle and horses to eat, and some portion of it strewn in the field or mixed with the seeds for the next crop.

In the neighborhood of Belfast, Ireland, the last sheaf is called the Granny and its personification is achieved not only by thus naming it, but by a special ceremony of cutting it. In certain sections of Scotland it is called the carlin (old woman). In the Scottish Isle of Lewis the old hag or cailleac is dressed up in clothes, her apron turned and tied up and filled with bread, cheese, and a sickle. In Pembrokeshire in Wales, she is carried home by one of the reapers, whose fellows noisily accompany him, drench him with water, and endeavor to snatch the cailleac away. If he gets home safe, he keeps the hag on his farm till the following year. On the day of the first spring plowing, he takes whatever grain remains intact on the hag and feeds it to his plow horse or mixes it with the seed to be planted, both acts serving to insure fertility. In some Scottish districts the reapers hold reaping races; the man who finishes first calls his last sheaf the corn maiden; he who finishes last makes his last sheaf into the cailleac, the hag, or "old corn wife." In some localities, however, the cailleac is passed from farm to farm. The man who finishes his reaping first makes the cailleac and passes her on to his neighbor, who hastens to finish and pass her on to the next. The cailleac thus automatically remains for the year with the farmer who was last to finish his harvesting. Nobody wants the old hag, who in this aspect takes on an added symbolism of reproach for procrastination. In the Hebrides the cailleac is still taken at night and placed in the fields of dilatory or lazy farmers.

**Cain** The first-born son of Adam and Eve; the first murderer; builder of the first city, whose evil offspring invented boundaries, measures, and walls and destroyed

the freedom of men: thought to be a later Hebrew addition to the Biblical narrative to explain the more primitive way of life of the Kenites of the Sinai peninsula. The Biblical story is incomplete (e.g. in what way did God accept and reject the offerings of the brothers) and contradictory (e.g. Cain is condemned to wander, yet founds a city). The essence of the tale seems to be blood: Cain's was not an acceptable sacrifice because it was bloodless; the earth becomes infertile because Abel's blood is spilled upon it. There are two principal versions of the story: one, following the Biblical tale, explains the jealousy as that of land-tiller for shepherd. This ancient argument appears in several Mesopotamian tales—Kramer (*Sumerian Mythology*) discusses three. The other, an apocryphal story of Jewish and Moslem lore, bases the quarrel in sexual jealousy. Cain and Abel each had a twin sister, and Adam planned to marry the boys to each other's sister. But Cain's was the prettier and he objected. Not knowing how to kill Abel, he threw stones at him until he hit a vital spot. Then, ignorant of what to do with the body, he watched two ravens fight and saw the victor scratch a hole in the earth to bury the other. God cursed the earth for permitting Abel's body to be hidden. Cain and his sister then were banished to the land of Nod. But first, because of Cain's spoken repentance, God marked the sinner to protect him. What mark it was, and whether it was a warning sign or a protective one, etc., are subjects of speculation: some authorities hold that the tribe of Kenites wore a distinguishing mark. Cain was killed by Lamech, whose son, Tubal-Cain, saw Cain from afar, thought that the horned being (the horn was either the mark, or a natural consequence of Cain's father being Samael-Satan) was an animal, and told his blind father to shoot. The Dioscuric implications of the story of Cain and Abel have been remarked upon by Krappe. Compare the founding of Rome by Romulus and the building of the first city by Cain.

**Cain and Abel** Title of an American Negro song relating the story of the first murder. "Some folks say that Cain killed Abel/ Yes, my Lord!/ He hit him in the head with the leg of a table/ Yes, my Lord!" Similar words are found in the tall-tale song *I Was Born Ten Thousand Years Ago*.

**cairn** A mound or heap of stones as a marker or memorial. Cairns are used in many parts of the world as place markers. In the passes of the Himalayas, a cairn marks the top of the pass, and offerings are put on the pile by travelers. In Tibet, the traveler adds another stone. The herms, or road-marking busts of Hermes, of Greece probably developed from a similar cairn-as-marker custom. Stones, said to have been placed there by Hermes, protector of travelers, when he cleared the roads, stood at the roadside. The custom was to mark roads by such stones and piles of stone. Offerings of food were placed on these cairns (or later on the herms), ostensibly for the use of travelers, but probably as sacrifices. In medieval Lithuania, scattered among the towns, cairns, or perhaps groups of larger stones, were sacrificial places, altars at which offerings were made and sacrificial blood sprinkled, and the sacrifices distributed among the people.

The use of cairns as burial places is very ancient and world-wide. It is, for example, the typical form of burial

of the southernmost Indian tribes of South America. The stones protect both the dead and the living; they guard the corpse against mutilation or desecration, they prevent the spirit from rising and exercising its malignancy against the living. Cairns are thus associated with barrows, dolmens, cromlechs, and the like, as early graves. At such cairns, too, the universal practice is to place another stone on the heap. The custom is still carried on by several peoples, even where the cairn has disappeared and the gravestone has taken its place.

**cake customs** Certain acts of propitiation, sacrifice, divination, etc.: frequently associated with the annual cycle and taking into account phases of the solar year. Cakes are used in critical aspects of the life cycle and thus are intimately connected with baptisms, weddings, funerals, and rituals for the dead. Often cakes molded into the shape of human beings or animals are conceived of as substitutes for their prototypes. In extreme cases artificial objects may take the place of the food offering.

In ancient Greece, cakes of dough were thrown into a chasm as an offering to Demeter and Persephone, the deities of the harvest. Some of the cakes were eaten by serpents who lived in the abyss. The remnants were removed by women who had been purified ritually, and what was left were taken to the altars of the goddesses. In Egypt often there were images made of dough, in the shape of pigs and other animals, which were sacrificed to Osiris and to the moon. For the dead, often those who were poor used real cakes or those made of stoneware, to be placed in the tomb as food for the dead. In Rome, matrons sacrificed millet cakes to Liber, to Ceres, and to Mater Matruta. To feed the dead, the Hindus placed cakes beside the corpses upon which were piled boiled rice, sugar, and ghi (melted butter). In order to avoid taking life, these people also made models of the persons to be sacrificed in the shape of cakes made of meal and butter. The Veddas of Ceylon also fed the deity Śiva by means of rice cakes, while in Japan, on New Year's Day, two flattened spherical cakes were laid on the shrine—a male cake to the sun, and a female cake to the moon.

Cakes of various shapes were used in Greece as sacrificial and propitiatory offerings, such as those offered to Helios at Delos and Delphi, in the form of arrows or of girls; to Artemis cakes and honey were placed as an offering, while to Zeus in Athens they used barley cakes in the Eleusinian mysteries. In Athens a twelve-knobbed cake was offered to Cronus every spring (compare BELTANE CAKES), and in a ritual called the "Supper of Hecate," circular cakes, topped with candles were placed at crossroads by the rich at the time of the new or the full moon. In Sweden a cake in the form of a woman was made from the last sheaf to be harvested which was shared by all members of the family. In Estonia, Sweden, and Denmark, the meal from the first sheaf was made into a cake in the form of a boar.

Cakes were given away at the New Year, or used as magical means to drive evil away. In Scotland, on Hogmanay (last day of year), children sang carols from house to house and were given oat cakes. In France, pancakes were made, tossed on a griddle, on New Year's Day to assure good luck and riches. On Candlemas Day, in France, pancakes were also made to assure the rising of the dough in the oven during the rest of the year.

The Lenten season was ushered in by feasting. In Hungary, before King Fat was chased out by King Lean, fat foods and well-shortened cakes were eaten, for King Lean began to reign on Ash Wednesday. On Collop Monday, the day before Shrove Tuesday, in England, one feasted on meats, fats, eggs, and rich cakes. Boys would beg for food on this day and, if refused by a stingy housewife, they could pelt her with broken crockery.

Shrove Tuesday or Mardi Gras is celebrated by eating pancakes, throughout the Christian world. In France, it was said that eating pancakes would preserve the grain from rot. In Bulgaria, on Plow Monday, the day preceding Shrove Tuesday, there was a special ceremony: a man, clad in a goatskin, baked a cake with a coin; he then divided up the cake, and he who received the coin, would prosper—only then could the plowing begin. In Russia, bread or cake, which had been blessed in the church, was placed near or mixed with the seed corn to assure a prosperous harvest.

Begging for materials for Easter cakes takes place during the latter weeks of Lent. In Czechoslovakia, on Caroling Sunday, the Sunday preceding Palm Sunday, the girls would beg for eggs, flour, and spices to be baked into Easter cakes, while in Bulgaria on Palm Sunday a cake called "kula" or "kolack" was made: this cake was decorated with flowers and human features. Bits of these were cast into the water, and she whose morsel floated the furthest would be luckiest during the year. After this all would feast on the loaves.

On Good Friday, Hot Cross buns, a bun which was marked with a cross cut into the dough, or more recently marked with a cross of icing, would be eaten. Eating of these brings good fortune.

In Russia and Poland, a tall cake, rich with eggs, butter, spices and fruit is made. In Russia it is a tall cylinder, called kulich, while in Poland it is ring-shaped and called babka. In Russia this was topped with a mixture of sweetened cheese and sour cream, which was blessed in the church by the priest. The Rumanian Easter cake was studded with cloves to represent the nails of the cross. In Kent, cakes with the figures of twins stamped on them were given to the poor.

Beltane, the Celtic May Day, was celebrated with Beltane cakes, which are considered by some to have been used in selecting a human sacrifice.

Cakes were offered to the dead, or to beggars in the name of the dead. Arval cakes were given to the poor at a wake or a funeral. Halloween cakes often contained a ring and a coin—he who got the coin would prosper. On All Saints' Day, children begged for cakes in the name of the dead or for souls in Purgatory. In Shropshire such cakes were leavened flat buns, while in the Tyrol, godparents would give cakes shaped like animals to their godchildren. These were in the form of horses and hares for the boys, and hens for the girls. They were left overnight on the table for the souls to eat. In Belgium, soul cakes were eaten hot, while saying a prayer for the departed. In Antwerp, this cake was decorated with saffron to symbolize the flames. In St. Kilda, the soul cake was triangular. In Ireland and Scotland they made griddle cakes. The Scottish "dumb bannock" was made by a group of girls: each one traced her initials on the dough, and it was baked

before the fire between eleven and midnight on Halloween. While it was baking each girl kept complete silence, and turned the cakes once. At midnight a man was supposed to appear and lay his hands upon the initials of the chosen one.

Cakes used at Christmas time are varied. In Shropshire they ate cakes embellished with caraway seeds which were dipped in ale. In Yorkshire, spice cakes or plum cakes or gingerbread and cheese were served at this season: "For every Yuletide cake and every cheese tasted at a neighbor's house, a happy month will be added to one's life." In Serbia a special cake was broken over the Yule log; these cakes were theriomorphic, in the shape of lambs, pigs, and hens. For all members of the extended family, a cake was baked by a girl, which had a coin in it for luck. Everybody partook of this at the Christmas dinner, and portions were kept for absent members. In Estonia a cake was baked on Christmas Eve, which stood on the table on New Year's Day, when some of it was given to the cattle, and the rest kept for them until spring. In other Slavic countries, on the dawn of Christmas Day, the maidens go to the river to get water for *chernitza*, a loaf which is flat and wheel-shaped. Good luck tokens are placed in it. At noon it is cut by the head of the house, or tossed over the horn of the oldest ox, and if it breaks, it means good luck. In some parts of France it is believed that Christmas cakes will cure illness throughout the year.

In many places the Christmas season was celebrated until the 6th of January (Epiphany). In Hertfordshire, a ring-shaped cake was tossed over the horn of the oldest ox; then he was toasted in ale, and tickled so that he would toss the cake for luck. In Silesia, there is a guardian of spinning, called Frau Perchta. On the eve of Epiphany she goes about inspecting the distaffs and spinning wheels and, if she finds flax, she splits open the bellies of the lazy girls and stuffs them with flax. In order to have the knife glance off the bellies, the girls eat pancakes at the evening meal.

In France and in Germany Twelfth Night was celebrated by a feast in which a cake was featured. This cake contained a bean or a kernel of corn, and he who got it was the king. Each member present got a slice, and a part, usually the first slice was dedicated to God, to the Virgin, or to charity.

Cakes were also used in exterminating fiends for, in Macedonia, they were scalded by the frizzling fat in which pancakes were cooked.

NATALIE F. JOFFE

**cakewalk** A form of social entertainment, originating among the Negroes of the southern United States, at which a cake is given as prize for the very best walking. Originally, the walk was performed stiff and erect, with a bucket of water on the head. Whoever walked "straightest and proudest" and spilled not a drop got the cake. Later, various fancy and original variations were introduced. The dance which developed from these expressive grotesqueries of walking consists usually of a high prance performed with the arms folded across the chest, the head thrown well back, and sometimes the whole body arched back.

**Calabar bean** The ordeal bean of Calabar, Africa: the highly poisonous seed of an African twining climber (*Physostigma venenosum*) of the bean family. An

extract from it is used for contracting the pupil of the eye, occasionally for tetanus, epilepsy, and other nervous disorders. Among the people of Calabar it was used in a poison ordeal to test for crime, witchcraft, etc. It contains certain poisonous alkaloids. An infusion of the bean was made, called ordeal water, and given to the accused to drink. Sometimes the uncooked bean was given to him to be swallowed. If he vomited and survived the ordeal unharmed, he was innocent; if he was poisoned, he was guilty. The Calabar bean was also used in what was termed "wager law"; each of the litigants ate half a bean. Whichever one survived, or was the least affected, was in the right.

**calabash tree** A tall tropical American tree (*Crescentia cujute*) the hard rind of whose gourdlike fruit is used for dishes, bowls, drinking vessels, containers, and other utensils, and also musical instruments. Many of these artifacts are painted both inside and out; many are gorgeously and elaborately decorated with plant and animal and symbolic patterns. The Indians of Matto Grosso, Brazil, use dried calabashes for keeping records; incidents are inscribed on them in pictographs. Even demons flee from the unmistakable pictographic charms inscribed thereon against them. In Hawaii sorcerers use calabashes to confine the wandering souls of living people which they have caught. In regions where Catholicism has superimposed its saints' days observations upon earlier indigenous practices, the calabash tree itself must be planted on St. John's Day, June 24. If this precaution is not taken the fruit will fall off before it ripens. If the tree fails to bear, it is beaten, also on St. John's Day.

**caldron of regeneration** In the *Mabinogion*, the wonderful caldron given to Bran by a monstrous man and woman who came out of a lake in Ireland. This pair lived first with Matholwch, a king of Ireland, for a year, but were hated by the people because of their outrages and molestings. An attempt was made to roast them alive in an iron house, but they escaped and fled to Britain, where Bran received them. They gave to Bran this caldron which restored the slain to life; and it was this caldron that Bran gave in turn to Matholwch as a gift of atonement for an insult. It parallels the miraculous healing spring of the Irish physician, Diancécht, which also restored the mortally wounded. It is numbered with the numerous magic caldrons of Celtic myth and legend: Dagda's (inexhaustible), the caldron of Annwn which would not boil a coward's food, the caldron of inspiration prepared by Ceridwen for her son, and others. See **BRAN**; **MAGIC CALDRON**.

**calinda, calenda, caleinda, etc.** The stick dance or mock-battle dance of the New World Negroes: adopted to some extent by the whites of the area. The calenda songs of Trinidad are also sung at communal labor, with improvised, topical verses, often sharply and personally satirical, often more seemingly innocent than they are. There are a variety of traditional refrains. Lafcadio Hearn, reporting the calenda from Martinique, stressed the improvisational character of the verse. Imported into Louisiana from the Antilles, the calinda originally was a battle dance, performed by men only, armed with sticks. Stripped to the waist, the dancers performed their mock fight with bottles of

water balanced on their heads; as soon as the water spilled the dancer was disqualified. The development of the calinda in Louisiana became so orgiastic that it was banned by state law in 1843. Compare CAKEWALK.

**Calling the Deer** Title of a story in the Coyote cycle of the Coeur d'Alene Indian mythology. Coyote lay starving and wished for food. Suddenly he saw a deer foot lying by the fire. He ate it. This happened four times: first a deer foot appeared, then a shoulder, half a deer, etc. Coyote wondered where this meat came from. The next morning he watched with the blanket half over his eyes. Half a deer dropped beside him. And he saw Woodtick. She begged him not to look; but Coyote said "So it's you—without even a neck!" Woodtick was insulted and went away.

After a while Coyote was starving again. He went to look for Woodtick. After a while he found her, old woman Woodtick in her house. She set the table for two but did not bid Coyote eat; so Coyote could not break the code and eat. Woodtick had wanted him for her husband until he said she had no neck. Finally she let him stay there, so Coyote lived with Woodtick. Woodtick would call out "Deer, come!" and the deer would come running into the house. Woodtick would take two and pierce their ears and the rest would run out. This happened often and they had plenty of meat.

Coyote thought he would be the one to call the deer. So he killed Woodtick. Then Coyote called the deer, and the deer came. But when he tried to pierce their ears, as Woodtick had done, he hurt himself instead. Woodtick's spirit called to the deer to run away. So the deer ran away. The meat that was laid on the rock turned into a deer and ran away; the meat in Coyote's quiver turned into a deer and ran away; the meat he was cooking on the fire ran away; and even the bones he was saving in an old sack ran away in the shape of living deer. Then Coyote threw Woodtick out of the house, because it was all her fault. She went far off and her spirit called away all the deer, and Coyote starved.

This story, especially well known to the Coeur d'Alene, is also of very wide distribution over other areas. It is of especial interest in that it points up Coyote's characteristic greediness, ingratitude, and discourtesy, and develops the unsuccessful imitation motif found also in the widespread bungling host tales.

**calling the wind** A singing call of the American Negroes of slave times: "Co' win'," repeated three times, followed by a long whistle. This call was used when rice was to be fanned, when a sail hung idle, or when a field was to be burned. It closely resembles a rain invocation of Togoland.

**Callisto** In Greek mythology, the Arcadian nymph, companion of Artemis, who became the constellation Ursa Major. In the oldest extant version, Callisto was seduced by Zeus masquerading as Artemis. The goddess, discovering Callisto's pregnancy, changed her into a bear. Later, Arcas, Callisto's son, hunted her for violating a place sacred to Zeus, and mother and son were transformed into the asterisms Ursa Major and either Boötes or Ursa Minor. In various other tellings of the myth, it was Zeus himself who changed Callisto into a bear to avoid Hera's suspicions, or Hera caused the change as punishment; Artemis shot Callisto; Zeus disguised himself as Apollo and not as Artemis, etc.

The myth appears to have developed from an Arcadian aspect of Artemis Calliste (Fairest) whose symbolic animal was a she-bear. See URSA MAJOR.

**calumet dance** A widespread North American Indian ceremony focused in elaborate smoke-offering to the Great Spirit. The particular sacredness of tobacco and the pipe to the American Indian becomes evident in the light of native symbolism. Fire, ashes, smoke are endowed with purifying and life-giving powers; furthermore, the smoke in its ascent may communicate with the Creator and carry messages to Him. By inhaling and then exhaling this smoke, the breath of life, the soul of the smoker arises with it. Similar qualities of communication are attributed to the soaring eagle, who has power over weather, the sun, lightning, rain, and thus over the earth and its bounty. These natural associations must be born in mind in the following summary of the various forms of the calumet dance.

Its cult was most intensive and variegated in the Great Plains, became attenuated in its travel eastward, and is absent in the Southwest. The stem of the calumet is commonly of ashwood, the bowl of Dakota catlinite. The tobacco was originally cultivated as *palani* among the agricultural Pawnee, who also developed the most elaborate ceremonial, the *hako*.

1) The calumet functions most commonly in ceremonial invocations to the six directions, in introducing peace and friendship pacts, welcoming important personages, rejoicing over a victory. Many tribes, as the Iowa and Plains Cree, featured a smoking ceremony for peace, a circulation of the pipe from warrior to warrior, and a petition for success in war, abundance of fruit and buffalo, and long life. This ceremony often culminated in a dance. Ordinarily there were two pipes, decorated with feathers and hair. These were handed to the dancers by the greatest warrior, who boasted of his great deeds (Iowa, Illinois). Most Plains Military Societies had two special pipe-bearers, who also danced exclusively with the pipes, thus the Oglala *tokala*, *hagi-yuha*, *ihoka*, *sohka*, *wie'ska*, the Blackfoot *Catchers* with their black-covered pipes, the Pawnee *Two Lance Society* with their black-banded pipe representing the trachea.

2) The highly sacred and elaborate *hako* type of ceremony originated among the Pawnee, and was accepted practically in its original form by the Omaha and Kansas (as *mocu watci*), in somewhat altered form by the Ponca (as *wawa watci*), and by the Crow as their Medicine Pipe dance. *Hakkow* means a breathing mouth of wood, and applies collectively to the sacred paraphernalia used in the *hako*: the two calumet stems, *raha'katittu*, with dark eagle feathers, representing the female principle, and *raha'k'akaru* with white feathers representing the male principle, also a blue-painted ear of corn with eagle down, two squash rattles representing the gift of the earth mother, an oriole nest, etc. The perforated stems were tipped with duck bills and decorated with owl and woodpecker feathers, uniting the birds of the day, night, water, and trees. The *hako*, which could take place at any season except winter, was a prayer for offspring, plentiful crops, and long life. In the 13th ritual the ceremonial leader, or *ku'arakus*, attached a bowl to the female stem and sent up a smoke invocation for peace and plenty. A child

was painted and anointed: a symbolic connection between the ceremonial groups of "fathers" and "children" and a symbol of progeny. In the 19th ritual two dancers simulated bird flight in concentric circles, waving the calumet in their left hands and the rattle in their right. Thereupon followed gifts and thanksgiving. In the similar ritual of the Iowa the pipes are both considered as male.

3) Eastern derivatives—the Cherokee calumet and Iroquois eagle dance (*gané'gua'e*) combine, in highly condensed version, elements of the peace pipe ceremony, the hako, and Grass Dance. The pipe stem is simply a wand with an attached eagle-feather fan. Pairs of dancers vibrate these in the left hand and shake a rattle in the right hand, then hop, as eagles feeding on the ground. The dance is for well-being and cure. As in the Grass Dance, the dance is interrupted by interludes of boasting. Give-away features, the gifts, common to all of these dances, have shrunk from horses to small cakes. Possibly the Iroquois received the dance from the Cherokee, who used catlinite pipe-bowls, or directly from the Plains, or possibly by way of the Meskwakie (Fox). The Meskwakie pipe dance is a challenge dance for pairs of dancers with similar choreography to that of the Iroquois. The Iroquois claim its bestowal from a giant eagle, *Ha'guks*, with power over wilting things. Possibly we have here an amalgamation of an aboriginal eagle dance with the hako concept.

All forms of the calumet dance are doubtless of great antiquity. It was well established in the Great Lakes in the 17th century, as testified by Father Marquette, and in a form then already declined from the great hako. This most complex Pawnee ritual was probably the high point in the development of the calumet dance, rather than its original form, for the obvious function of a pipe, the smoking of it, had already become subsidiary. The Plains smoking ceremonies would appear the most logical inception, with a purpose transcending sociability and brotherhood, a symbolism akin to the incense offering of the Orient. [GPK]

**calușar** The Rumanian hobby-horse dance, so pagan that the hobby is excluded from the church. He associates with an assembly resembling the English Morris dancers: a fool, a man-woman, a goat, and a troop of dancers. These are a sworn brotherhood and precede the dance with an initiation which features a horse's head and the sacred number nine. Their round dance and their battle is fiercer than the Morris, formerly even bloody: a realistic enactment of the battle of the seasons. The dance takes place in the midwinter season and on All Souls' Day. [GPK]

**Calydonian boar hunt** A famous tale of Greek antiquity in which the names of Meleager and Atalanta are most prominent. Ceneus of Calydon having omitted a sacrifice to Artemis, the goddess sent a huge boar to ravage his country. His son Meleager invited the great heroes of Greece to join him in hunting the animal—Idas, Castor and Pollux, Admetus, Theseus, Jason, Pel-eus, Telamon, Nestor, and Atalanta, among others. Atalanta was the first to wound the boar; Meleager killed it and presented the head and hide to Atalanta, with whom he was in love. Traditions vary as to the sequel. According to some, Althea, Meleager's mother,

revenged the slaying of her brothers (killed by Meleager when they tried to take the spoils from Atalanta) by throwing Meleager's life token, an unconsumed brand, on the fire, thus killing him. Another version tells of a battle between the Calydonians and the Curetes over the spoils, with Meleager sulking apart because he was cursed by his mother for killing her brother.

**calypso** The best-known of the Negro song types of Trinidad, a witty, improvised song in English, dealing with social criticism, personal comment and ridicule, topical subject-matter, etc., sung to tunes derived from European folk or popular sources. Developed originally in connection with carnival dancing (*calipso* or *caliso*) and preserving the African pattern of songs of personal allusion and comment, calypso singing sometimes takes on the aspect of a duel or contest, or "calypso war," with an exchange of such improvised jokes and derisive musical remarks. Titles well-known through recordings are: *Bad Woman*, *Matilda*, and *Hitler Demands*. Two Tin-Pan-Alley versions of songs of the calypso type which achieved wide popularity in the United States through radio, records, night-club singers, and juke boxes were *Stone Cold Dead in the Market*, first composed about a murder in Port-of-Spain in 1939, and *Rum and Coca Cola*. A distinctive element of the type is the false accent given to the words to make them fit the meter.

**Camazotz** The Ruler of the Bats or the Death Bat: a Mayan deity greatly feared, powerful and malignant, and worshipped in vampire form. In the *Popol Vuh*, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, on a quest for flowers for the Xibalbans, stop for the night at the house of Camazotz. They are forced to lie prone, and when, during the long night, Hunahpu raises his head, Camazotz tears it off. A turtle takes the place of the head, the real head being stuck up on the ball court by the Xibalbans. The twins however beat the Xibalbans in the last part of the game and recover Hunahpu's head.

**Cambric Shirt** One of the American ballad versions of *The Elfin Knight* (Child #2), collected both in New England and in the southern mountains, and showing linguistic characteristics of the 17th century. It embodies the theme of the test of love, in which the suitor sets impossible tasks for his true love and she answers with equally impossible tasks for him to fulfil. The refrain, "Parsley, sage, rosemary and thyme," is almost the same as that of an English version, *Scarborough Fair*.

**camel** Among caravan men the slyness, stubbornness, salacity, and wrong-mindedness of camels are accepted facts. In the German language the word is used to designate a large, lumbering, stupid person. In Arabia, however, racing camels are so highly valued that the word "camel" is a term of endearment. The most valued sacrifices the Bedawi can make are camels. Camels with ten offspring were thought of as sacred, could not be mounted or milked, and the tenth offspring was sacrificed and eaten at a feast from which women were excluded. When given to a sanctuary in recognition of success, camels were sacred. Camels were sacrificial animals among the Iranians and were considered unclean by the Hebrews. In India a Vid-

yádhara, having attempted to rape a beautiful maiden, was punished by being changed into an "ugly" camel. In the animal fables the camel is tricked and eaten by other beasts: crow, lion, panther, jackal. Ghosts in India will not cross the threshold of a house if camel bones are buried under it. [arj]

Camelot In Arthurian legend, the seat of Arthur's court and Round Table; variously identified with Caerleon-upon-Usk, Monmouthshire; with Queen's Camel, Somersetshire; Camelford in Cornwall; and said by Malory to be Winchester.

cám kham In Annam, the prohibition post, made of bamboo, placed before the door of a house in which a woman has just borne a child. On top of the post is placed a lighted coal with the burning side turned outward if the child is a girl, inward if it is a boy. The cák kham is put up to prevent women who have borne Con lón or who have had accidents after a confinement from entering and bringing evil to mother or child.

Camlan In Arthurian legend, the battlefield where King Arthur was killed. The *Annales Cambriae* for the year 537 mention a battle of Camlan where Arthur and Mordred both were killed. It is thought to be situated perhaps near Camelford in Cornwall; Malory puts it "upon a down beside Salisbury, and not far from the seaside."

camomile A strongly scented bitter herb (genus *Anthemis*) especially the European perennial (*A. nobilis*) whose bitter, aromatic flowers and leaves are used in medicine. The Egyptians so revered the camomile as a remedy that they consecrated it to their gods. The Greeks called it *chamasmeilon* or earth-apple because of its smell. The Romans used it to cure snake bites. Culpeper says a decoction of camomile will remove pains and stitches in the side. The flowers, if boiled and drunk, will help to expel aches, pains, and colds. It is still used in many parts of Europe and North America in the form of a tea for a weak stomach or to stop vomiting. In Germany the flowers are called *Heermännchen* and are said to have been soldiers who died accused for their sins. In Germany camomile is widely used for toothache: roasted and administered in small cloth bags, brewed in vinegar and used as a mouthwash, or the flowers are boiled in milk which is then filtered through saltpeper in a towel, and the liquid held in the mouth so as to submerge the tooth. In Bohemia hot oil of camomile is dropped into the ear beside the painful tooth. In Ireland a tonic tea is made from camomile leaves which is regarded as a remedy for pleurisy.

caña A Spanish couple dance considered to be of Arabic origin; named from the Arabic *gaunfa*, song. In Andalusia it has been traditionally accompanied by songs of Moorish quality. In Argentina, the gauchos dance it under the name of *media caña*. An alternate interpretation of this name is the formation of a half circle (called *caña* by Argentine natives) at the end of the dance. [ark]

canario An exotic couple dance introduced from the Canary Islands to Spain and Portugal, thence to the French court. In the early 16th century it had the reputation of lascivious vitality, and was at times per-

formed at funerals—a function retained from the island of its origin. As a court dance it was still characterized by difficult and rapid footwork, alternating heel-and-toe stamps as in the zapateados. Each couple enacted a pantomime of courtship: after dancing together, the lady stood still while the gentleman retreated from her, approached and retreated again; the same was repeated by the lady. The music was in dotted 3/8 time. The dance continued in fashion until late in the 18th century. [ark]

cancellation A mild form of youthful fortune-telling whereby a boy will cross out letters in a girl's name identical with those in his own and apply the "she loves me—she loves me not" formula to the remaining letters, to discover if his affection is returned. [err]

Cancer The Crab, Lobster, Crayfish, Scarab, etc.: a faint ecliptical constellation, having no star brighter than the fourth magnitude, yet important from ancient times as one of the signs of the zodiac. It contains a nebulous cluster, the Beehive (Manger, Crib, Praesepe), which the Chaldeans called the Gate of Men, the entrance-way for souls coming from Heaven to inhabit their human bodies (the exit lay in Capricorn, the opposite sign in the zodiac). Cancer was the name given to the constellation because it was here that the summer solstice formerly occurred (now in Gemini), the sun seemingly stopping and then beginning a backwards skidding motion downward through the sky towards the south.

In Greek mythology, the crab nipped Hercules as he fought the Lernean Hydra; Hercules paused only long enough to crush his annoyer and then resumed his fight. Hera, Hercules' enemy, rewarded the crab by placing it among the stars, but it remained crushed and inconspicuous. Another name given the region in the heavens is the Axxes: these were the animals which Bacchus and Silenus rode and which frightened the giants away with their braying.

The Beehive, several other stars in Cancer, and one of the stars in Gemini make up the Chinese Shun Show, a zodiacal sign, the Quail's Head, Pheasant, Phoenix, or Red Bird (modern Keu Hea, the Crab), which with Leo and Virgo is the residence of the Southern (Red) Emperor. In astrology, Cancer is one of the watery signs, the House in which the moon was at the creation, the sign governing the breast and stomach and unlucky as such. When the sun is in Cancer, storms are catastrophic and bring famine and locusts. According to Berossus, the end of the world by water will occur when all the planets are in Cancer.

candle Candles have been used from ancient times in rituals, ceremonies, festivals, and processions in both domestic and religious life. In the family, they were used on such occasions as weddings and funerals; in the Church—Roman, Greek, and Anglican—in various ceremonies, especially in those designed to celebrate a particular day. Wax lights had to be used in the Church, for it was the tradition that bees came from Paradise.

There was and is now much figurative and symbolic thought connected with candle usage in the Church. Among the folk, candles and their ways are ominous: they may presage a happy or unhappy marriage by the way they burn; death in the family is forecast if they



gutter. Candles are used in divination and in charms, by girls to determine their future husband, and in very many other customs and beliefs current today as well as in the past in the British Isles and various sections of the Continent. [GRS]

✍ If a candle burns blue there is a ghost in the house. If a candle burns dim there is a ghost in the house. If a candle burns blue there will be frost. When the candle flames irregularly, melts a lot of tallow, and burns up too fast, there is said to be a thief in the candle. When a candle gives forth a spark into the air, it means a letter is coming to the one sitting nearest it. It is a general European folk belief that it is unlucky to burn three candles in the same room at once. If a candlewick divides and burns with two flames, it is taken as an omen of death in Germany, but as the sign of a letter in Austria. To dream of a bright-burning candle means you will receive a letter from your love. In Arkansas, a lighted candle placed under a person's house is an aid to the conjurer; likewise a lighted candle is regarded as a protection against spells. In Ireland it is customary to keep twelve candles burning around a dead body before burial. This keeps evil spirits, who cannot enter a circle of fire, from carrying away the dead man's soul.

**candle dance** A dance in which the performers bear lighted candles. The ball del ciri of Catalonia and the baile de la candela of the Venezuelan Guayuncomo tribe both involve a group of men and women; in the former, the group performs in couples in a consecratory Christian ceremony; in the latter, in separate groups in an orgasmic jumping and circling. The candles are shrunken descendants of the great beeswax candles and torches of the pagan (and contemporary) torch processions. These were (and are) commonly performed for three occasions: most anciently, in a torchlight circling of the fields, when the vitality of the flame was believed to be communicated to the crops; secondly, in candle-bearing wedding processions (reminiscent of the flame-bearing Eros); thirdly, in honorific processions. The Catalan ball de la teya exemplifies the first function, the Hungarian gyertyás tánc, the second. The Philippine candle dance serves as a dance of selection: a girl chooses a mate while waltzing and manipulating a candle. The Christian Candlemas processions on February 2 now honor the Virgin, but actually date back to pre-Christian worship. [GRS]

**Candlemas** A Church festival celebrated on February 2: in the Eastern Church, commemorating the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, in the Western, the Purification of the Virgin Mary. The Armenian Church calls it the Coming of the Son of God into the Temple. The blessing of candles for the altar, for which the day is named, was not an observance associated with this feast until the 11th century A.D.

✍ It is observed generally with candlelight processions. In Europe the custom probably goes back to the ancient torchlight processions for purifying and invigorating fields previous to the sowing season, and to honor or propitiate the various associated spirits, beneficent or harmful. In Mexico, February 2 corresponds to the Aztec New Year, observed with renewed fires and celebration, especially at the end of the periodic *nemoutemi*, the five days of inactivity and sorrow-

ing terminating a cycle of 52 years. The largest festivals are those celebrated at San Juan de los Lagos, Jalisco, for the Virgin, and in Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, featuring the *moros* and *semebradoras*, or sowers. Both festivals retain features of agricultural spring ritual. See CANDLE DANCE. [GRS]

**candomblés** Religious societies of the Negroes of Bahia, Brazil, originating in Africa, especially among the Yoruba and Ewe peoples. The candomblés still reflect the old mythologies and the original African dances, music, and ritual. They are identified by "nation" and the members speak the old language of the tribe they represent. The *candomblés de caboclo* are the "new" societies, characterized by indigenous Indian gods, dances, and magic. Each candomblé is headed either by a *pae-de-santo* or *mãe-de-santo*, i.e. a father or mother in sainthood. Women predominate in the cults, in that the functions of the cult belong to the women, such as preparing the sacred foods, making ritual garments, tending altars, etc. The men have more often certain honorary or temporary authorities, such as for instance the *alabé*, who directs the drummers. Edson Carneiro's discussion of the candomblés (*JAF* 53: 217 ff.) reports, however, 37 fathers and 30 mothers in sainthood in Bahia, 1933-39. These fathers and mothers in sainthood are the spiritual parents of those initiated into the specific groups, each of whom has "made" his saint, i.e. has learned to receive (become possessed by) a specific deity. The drumming is important; it is a means of communication between the gods and the people. See CANOALO.

**cane of breath and spittle** In the Mohave Indian cosmogonic "dream tale" about the beginning of the world, the cane belonging to Mastamho, the younger of two brothers born to Sky and Earth. The cane consisted of Mastamho's own breath and spittle. He thrust the cane into the earth and a great river flowed out of that place. Mastamho then entered into a boat with mankind and traveled from there to the sea. The way Mastamho twisted and tilted and turned the boat or let it go straight caused the shape of the bottom lands and canyons along the river. Then he turned and took the people up the river to the northern part of what became the Mohave country.

**cannibalism** Man-eating, also known as anthropophagy; the eating of the human body or parts of it, or the drinking of human blood, by human beings. The emotions which cannibalism arouses are powerful. Consequently the cannibal feast needs to be examined both as a social event and as a fact of the imagination. Although no census of the number of persons who are currently cannibals is available; reports from casual observers who are not always disinterested indicate that Christianity and Mother Hubbards are not considered appropriate to cannibal feasts. The social and psychological mechanisms involved in apostasy among the fringe cultures are unexplored areas in a very rich field. Though a large number of people in many parts of the world know of cannibalism as a social event, many more people know of it as a fact of the imagination.

Because it is difficult to observe this custom over a long period of time under controlled circumstances, field studies leave many questions unanswered. People

who accept cannibalism as part of their normal way of life are not inclined to discuss it frankly with white ethnographers who disapprove of it and are, or think they are, in hazard. Experience has shown cannibals that outsiders are likely to make more trouble about this dietary habit than about any other tribal or religious custom. Even when cannibals are persuaded that they can speak without fear of reprisal or ridicule, they tend to regard this as part of their own way of life which they have no need to make clear to outsiders, and the outsiders themselves conduct their interviews with a notable and understandable delicacy. Cannibals who have been converted formally or wholly or partly to other customs introduce into the discussion of their past errors, tones and attitudes which distort history and motive. (Discussions between monogamists and polygamists, homo- and heterosexuals, and accounts by reformed drunkards recently returned to respectability display both types of distortion.) Observers who make use of the direct question, however carefully prepared for, and ask "Why do you eat human flesh?" receive a variety of answers of more interest in illuminating the mental processes of the cannibal than in explaining the custom. When, as is frequently the case, they have no clear idea of why they eat human flesh or why the subject should be of any interest to anybody, they courteously present specimen answers, tell the outsider whatever comes into their heads, or give free play to a sly sense of humor which, when it appears in the field notes, is difficult to identify. Consequently attempts during the last half century to organize travelers' tales into a systematic account of cannibalism must be taken with reserve: many of the reports are inadequately documented; reports which are otherwise acceptable are insufficient in number and distribution to permit general conclusions; others are distorted by the reporters' own views about primitive society, evolution of culture, totemism, and the like, which, invaluable in their place, have been expanded with imprudent generosity.

Cannibalism has been reported as an accepted or as an occasional custom from all parts of the world. Attempts to confine it to 10° north or south of the equator are misleading. Arctic travelers, ship wrecked sailors, hunters, and immigrant pioneers, forced to choose between eating a starved comrade and starvation themselves, have preferred to eat the comrade. Human flesh often appears on the markets of famine areas of China. One British merchant was unable to decide whether or not in a famine area he had unwittingly eaten human flesh disguised as stew, though under the circumstances it was possible that he did. This occasional cannibalism must be distinguished from the cannibalism in Chinese *exempla* of filial piety in which children serve their own flesh to starving parents to keep the parents from death. In these instances the starving sailor and the filial son both violate rigid social prohibitions but both find social justification for their transgression.

This occasional cannibalism is not centrally part of folklore. The literature on customary cannibalism is ably reviewed in J. A. MacCulloch's article, "Cannibalism," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Because the explanations which MacCulloch's sources reported cover most of the reasons imaginable

for eating anything, together with some that are hard to grasp, the article may be taken as comprehensive, though before the conclusions can be accepted the sources need reexamination in the light of more recent reports. In his discussion of prehistoric cannibalism, MacCulloch, at times influenced by the views of the cultural evolutionists, was trapped by a premise. He assumed that as hominids became omnivorous they included meat on their diet and that meat human flesh. He therefore concluded, in opposition to H. Schurtz, that cannibalism was not pathological, a "disease of childhood," but was once universal. He was unwilling to distinguish in primitive society, despite the appeal of the word "omnivorous," between endo- and exo-cannibalism, that is, the eating of relatives as opposed to the eating of outsiders; but because of the inconveniences which would appear if the family systematically ate itself up, MacCulloch concluded that endo-cannibalism might have occurred after the individual was dead anyway or had outlived his usefulness. Anthropologists are not in agreement about the cannibalistic significance of the bones found in the early caves. Openings in the skulls of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* together with some evidence of formal burial, may indicate that these anthropoid brutes liked the taste of human brains, or that they removed the brains for magical purposes, or that they wanted to quiet a ghost, etc. Similarly the custom which is occasionally reported of eating the aged and useless members of the community may or may not be a "survival" from prehuman cultures.

Accounts of cannibalism among prehistoric men are speculative. Accounts of cannibalism in societies which are assumed to be similar to those of prehistoric man are frequently infused with the technical folklore created by the anthropologists themselves. Some students reasonably aver that the prohibition against eating kinsmen, when it occurs, could come only with a growing sense of kinship, on the ground that if the person eaten was not, according to local law or custom, accepted as a "relative" he was obviously not a "relative." Evidence is insufficient to justify the conclusion that a sense of kinship grew from a time when prehistoric men were rugged and lonely individuals. Recent studies in the sociology of contemporary apes are ambiguous and analogous between apes and almost-human brutes are dangerous. Ethnographers commonly accept totemism as a type of social organization which defines, among other things, exact lines of kinship. The former objection in western Europe to marriage with the deceased brother's wife on the grounds of "incest" is an example of the complexity of kinship. MacCulloch observed that "one result of totemism was the tabu against eating the totem animal." Brenda Seligman's discussion of endogamy and exogamy did much to clarify ideas about totemic and other forms of kinship and raised new questions; but the fact about cannibalism which normally had to be accounted for is that some totemic groups do eat their totem animal, which is variously regarded as father or creator of the clan or as part of it, and some do eat their own kin. The reports show great variety in custom. Some tribes eat only enemies, and never eat their totem or kinsmen; others do eat only relatives (Dieri) or fathers do not eat their own children but mothers do. Ethnographers

meet the problem with an ingenuity which is refreshing and plausible. For example an exogamic husband can eat his wife without violating the totemic prohibition, because the wife is of a different totem. His daughter who is of his totem is prohibited food. Other relatives, brothers- and sisters-in-law, for example, may be eaten when, according to the complex rules of the particular totemic organization, they are not totem-kin, that is for dietary purposes are not regarded as members of the clan and therefore related. The assumption that all members of the social group are equally subject to its privileges and prohibitions is here dangerous. A final and convenient explanation is that relatives are eaten when the totemic prohibitions have lost their force and totemism is in decline.

The distinction between killing for food (the term "gluttony" sometimes used of this situation has implications which are somewhat more than descriptive) and eating men for other reasons is useful. Cannibal hunts and cannibal murder are reported from Australia, New Caledonia, the Marquesas, Samoa, Luzon, among the Ostyaks and Samoyeds, from northern Japan, Burma, Africa, and North and South America, though reports are vague about the conditions of social tension and need which precede the hunts. Scattered tribes have reported that they began eating human flesh during famines and later developed the taste. Others (New Guinea) have said that their women introduced them to cannibalism. Still other reports indicate that cannibalism occurs when, as after a battle, large quantities of human meat are available which might otherwise spoil or when the group works itself into the mood for eating human flesh. The mood of battle which is known to relax other social prohibitions might well be conducive. Two still unpublished reports (Luzon and New Guinea) indicate that the proposed victims were able to divert the mood of the group into other objectives. That singing was in both cases the device used may not have been incidental. Even when cannibalism for food purposes is customary, it is not entirely casual. Communities which are normally undernourished or have a very monotonous diet regard any unusual food as a feast and meat as a special treat to be consumed with ceremony. Thus the etiquette of a cannibal feast is as worthy of study as the etiquette of a British or American Christmas dinner, though the relevance is to the customs of the banquet rather than the proper way of carving and serving a human carcass.

Other explanations of cannibalism may be listed briefly. Thus because food gives strength one can assimilate the strength of a person or animal by eating it or by eating only parts of it: heart, liver, lips, etc. Or one can assimilate the qualities of the person eaten: his courage, skill, or "magical" powers. We still feed red meat to athletes to develop "stamina." These personal qualities, according to some reports, can be acquired by eating only a part of the carcass as symbolic of the whole. The complex symbolism of the Eucharist is here relevant. Another motive favored by those who are impressed by "animism" is that the cannibal acquires power over the soul of the person eaten. The soul of the person consumed becomes bound to the consumer and thus subservient to him and his clan. Some of the ritual connected with blood covenants which involve the drinking of blood—before battle, at times of ethnic

crisis, or in initiation ceremonies—have the object of assimilating the individual by consuming part of him. Chinese physicians of the old school teach that each of the parts of the human body has specific therapeutic values (human blood, gall); human semen has been prescribed as a tonic for old men as animal ovarian extract has been prescribed in the Occident.

A philanthropic explanation of cannibalism appears too frequently in literature to be ignored. In this group of explanations, mentioned in Herodotus and reported from all continents, the bodies of the aged are eaten to keep their souls from becoming weak or to be sure that they have proper burial. Other related reasons are to keep the souls and qualities of the aged in the clan or to keep their remains from being desecrated by enemies who might use them for magical purposes. Somewhat similar to this is the cannibalism which derives from what MacCulloch calls morbid affection. When a female member of one of the coast tribes of north-central Australia died, her body was eaten by the male "kin" and by all the other males who had had sexual intercourse with her. Some of the South Australian tribes are said to have eaten the body of the dear departed in order to assuage their grief. At moments when they were overwhelmed by sorrow they comforted themselves by chewing on a juicy piece of the dead body. Deirdre lapped the blood of Naoise after he was slain. The cannibalistic phrases used to children ("Good enough to eat," "I'm going to eat you") and similar phrases used among lovers lead into the unexplored obscurities of oral erotism.

Religious cannibalism, which involves the eating of human beings who were sacrificed to the god, involves another set of explanations which is supported by evidence and logic of sufficient force to be examined with care. One of these is that human beings are sacrificed to the god because human flesh is the best possible food and therefore suitable for the feast of a god. Another motif (ancient Greece, Crete, and elsewhere) is that the human sacrifice is eaten as a representative of the god in order that the congregation might become literally "one with god." Accounts of gods who consume their own worshippers have been devised by theologians and need not be examined at this point.

The eating of criminals is and has been customary in a number of societies, though here the word "criminal" needs careful definition. When the criminal as a member of the "they-group" is potentially dangerous, his spirit is absorbed when his body is eaten. The qualities required to become an enemy of society awaken in some clansmen a deplorable admiration. These qualities can be made a part of the group if the person having them is eaten. Religious motifs are involved when the stranger, who is possibly an enemy or a god in disguise, is sacrificed and eaten in order to assure the prosperity or salvation of the group.

Social and political cannibalism appeared in the coronation ceremonies in Africa and the Sandwich Islands or in the blood-drinking ceremonies of initiation and brotherhood rites. This sort of cannibalism may be total or symbolic in that only a part of the body may be eaten as a symbol of the whole, or only a part may be eaten to acquire desired characteristics. The breakfast of champions in the Sandwich Islands was the eye of an enemy, which the king ate on the morning of his coro-

nation. Several of the motifs already cited are involved in social and political cannibalism.

Cannibalistic magic is part of the witch cult in many parts of the world: India, Africa, South Australia, Christian Europe, and elsewhere. The eating of human flesh is part of the initiation of witches, who after eating are thrown into frenzy and are incapable of normal human emotions. Participants in the Greek mysteries became "enthused," in the sense of infused with divinity, when they ate the body of Dionysus. The theological accounts of the Christian Eucharist deserve special study in this connection. The generally reliable account of the Cambridge expedition to the Torres Straits reported that sorcerers ate the flesh of corpses or mixed the flesh of corpses with their food when they were about to practice their art. The consequence was that they became violent and, when angered, committed murder. Too little is known of the steps taken to induce the shamanistic trance except to note that cannibalism in this instance promoted the consumer to an unhuman or superhuman state.

Cannibalism is a motif in many myths, legends, and folktales: Odysseus and the Cyclops, Tantalus and Pelops. In such folktales as *Hänsel und Gretel* and *Jack the Giant-Killer* and their many analogs, the hero outwits a cannibalistic witch or ogre. In *Van den Machandelboom* and *Die Kinder in Hungersnot*, a parent either eats the children or threatens to. Other tales are about a parent who sent the child to be killed, but must have the heart or liver returned, or about the mother who sent a child prepared as a stew to its father, or about husbands and wives who trick each other into eating their lovers similarly disguised. Students who sought to find in folktales remnants of forgotten history and custom saw in these cannibalistic motifs "survivals" from early stages of culture.

A few other aspects of cannibalism need to be mentioned. In some Australian tribes only special parts of the body were served to the women, either because these were the least tasty or because women and men were not supposed to eat the same foods. In 1920 Detzner reported that among the inland tribes of New Guinea, women left alone with prisoners whom the men had decided to spare often killed and ate them, and a less trustworthy source reported that Fiji women during battle rushed upon fallen enemies and drank their blood. The elements of sexual distrust and satire found in folktales and folk belief about cannibal wives, dentate vagina, poison damsel are not entirely unknown in the fantasies of the modern Occidentals.

If the available literature on cannibalism makes anything clear, it is that the evidence is insufficient to support a single and simple explanation of a custom, which is known either by direct experience or through imagination to the peoples of all parts of the world. If one could demonstrate the major premise it would be logical to concur that cannibalism became universal when the later hominids became omnivorous. The further assumption that an early cannibalistic *Homo sapiens* evolved from cannibalism into dietary specialization is weak, particularly in view of the comment by a cultural evolutionist that the "worst forms of cannibalism do not occur among the lowest races." When evolutionists, survivalists, and originists assert that cannibalism in folktales and märchen is a survival from primitive

times, one may well inquire whether the grave historians in the nursery are interested in these episodes because of their interest in the past of the race, or whether they interpret the episodes in terms of other interests. When better field studies are available and when our knowledge of the processes of human imagination has been greatly extended, the place of cannibalism as an event in society and an event in the mind will be better understood. For the present, although no explanation can be accepted as entirely satisfactory, all must be examined as suggestive, partial, or possible. R. D. JAMESON

**Cannibals** Cannibal deities, monsters, giants, human beings, birds, or animals are frequently characters in North American Indian and Eskimo mythology and belief. Tales of the Cannibal Bird occur throughout the Basin. The giant with a basket who packs off children to eat is well known in the Southwest (see *BIG OWL*), as are other cannibal monsters and deities—giant eagles, buffalo, and the antelope who kills with his eyes. In the Northeast persons who eat human flesh become cannibal giants (windigo); in the Central Woodlands cannibal boys are associated with the Shawnee female creator. The Eskimo have many tales of weird cannibal monsters. Among the Southern Okanagon of Washington a cannibal is the guardian of flint. On the North Pacific Coast the belief in cannibals still persists; although the world was rid of many of them soon after it was formed, some still survive. The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island had a cannibal society (see *BLACK TAMANOUS*) which met each year during the winter ceremonial season. Initiates and members of the society were required to eat human flesh as part of the rites. Tales of man-eating cannibals are also prevalent among the northeastern North American Indian tribes. In an Ojibwa myth, Trickster is captured by a cannibal, but saved by a weasel whom he persuades to jump into the cannibal's body and bite the heart string. In other cannibal tales of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, Montagnais-Nascepi, Cree, Ojibwa and Menomini, cannibal giants are tamed by a woman who calls the giant "father" and treats him with kindness; they are beguiled by shamans; or they are easily overcome by reason of their stupidity, by any one of several actors.

[EWV]

**cante fable** A narrative form in which a story is told partly in song: common in folktales of many languages and many countries. The song sections, usually in dialogue, are the most important or emotionally charged elements of the story, containing magical utterances, witty or wise replies to questions, riddles, sayings of poets, musicians, birds, or animals, wishes or calls, etc. The prose narrative explains or sets the scene for the song, which may be repeated, with or without change, in the course of the tale. Examples are found in the Grimm collections, in *The Thousand and One Nights*, in the *Panchatantra*, in old Irish romances and Scandinavian sagas, in British folktales, among the Negroes of Africa, the West Indies, and the United States, in scattered and fragmentary form among the white population of the United States, etc.

Traditional English ballads, as found among Negroes of the West Indies and the United States, tend to fall into the cante fable form. Several such versions of *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* (Child #95) and *Little*

*Musgrave* (Child #81) are known. Occasionally the English material has been so reworked as to fit into the pattern of Anansi stories. American Negro singers, such as Leadbelly, will even cast a fairly recent Negro ballad, *Frankie and Albert*, or an early jazz piece, *The Rock Island Line*, in the form of a running narrative with snatches of song interwoven.

Survivals among white singers of the United States show a special fondness for the humorous tale, especially of the deceived husband variety, *Our Goodman* (Child #274) having been preserved in cante fable style among soldiers, sailors, hillbilly singers, etc.

Some scholars have put forth the hypothesis that the cante fable is the ancient forerunner of both the ballad and the folktale, pointing out the elliptical quality of the narrative thread in ballads as possibly resulting from the omission of the spoken part of the story. This controversial suggestion has not met with wide acceptance. However, the survival of many puzzling bits of song and of many tales with interspersed rimes is noted as the vestige of cante fables whose stories or tunes have been forgotten.

**cante hondo or jondo** Literally, deep song: a type of sorrow song of Andalusia, preserved and developed by Gipsy singers and somewhat similar in mood and subject matter to the blues. It includes tragic love songs and complaints, prison songs, and forge songs, sung in long undulating notes, possibly related to the cantillation of Sephardic Jews, and is accompanied by guitar-playing of a dramatic and intense character. See FLAMENCO.

**Canute or Cnut (994?-1035)** A Danish king; king also of England from 1017. Holinshed's *Chronicles* tells the story of his sitting on the shore and commanding the rising tide to come no farther. The tide continued to roll in and the king was soaked. He did this, it is said, to reproach certain flattering adherents, to whom he pointed out that Canute, the Great, could not even prevent the little waves from advancing up the beach.

**Cá ông or Cá voi** (feminine *bà ngư*) The Annamese name for the dolphin, which is revered especially by the maritime population: literally, Monsieur the fish. The Cá ông is believed to rescue shipwrecked sailors by carrying them on his back and the discovery of the body of a dolphin at sea is considered good luck. The body is hauled ashore and buried with a special ceremony. After three months and ten days the body is exhumed and the bones are laid in a sanctuary, thus ensuring the prosperity of the village. The dolphin has a real cult among these fishing villages, and communities without a dolphin tomb are considered unfortunate. Sometimes they are given one by a village possessing several. Usually, after a dolphin has been buried, there is a supernatural manifestation in the village. The spirit of the dolphin declares, through a possessed inhabitant, whether it is male or female, so that it may be properly addressed.

**Capac raini** The initiation ceremony of adolescents belonging to the royal lineages of the Inca. This feast was held every year in December near Huanacauri. It combined magico-religious features and virility tests. Dances and sacrifices were accompanied by ritual flagellations and races. The young men were given their first weapons and breechclouts. The climax of the feast

was the perforation of their ears to receive the heavy earplugs distinctive of the Inca family. Some of the rites observed, such as the eating of sacred bread, were directly connected with worship of the Sun God. [AM]

**Capella** The Little She-Goat; a white star, Alpha in the constellation Auriga. The three small stars just beneath it are called the Kids, usually pictured as two kids resting on the arm of the Charioteer. Capella and the Kids are called the Shepherd's Stars alike by the early Arabs and the South American Quechua Indians. In fact Arabian shepherds prayed to this "rainy star" to fertilize their pastures. The Arabs also called it Al Rākib, the Driver, because it was conspicuous in their northern sky and followed the rising of the Pleiades, which they thought of as herds being driven ahead of it. Temples of Ptah in ancient Egypt were oriented to the setting of this star, named Ptah, for this god. To the Akkadians Capella was the Messenger of Light, herald of spring and a new year. In Assyria it was called I-ku, the Leader, for the same reason. In India it was named Brahmā Ridaya, the Heart of Brahmā. Capella was sometimes also designated by Latin writers as Amalthea, for the she-goat who fostered the infant Zeus in Crete, and sometimes Cornu copie, the Horn of Plenty, which the child broke off. In astrology Capella is the bringer of wealth or military fame to one born under it.

**caper** A dance term suggested by the grotesque, playful leap of the goat or *cabra*. It is a term used for the hitchcock in morris dancing. In the 16th century this jump was called *capriol*. The fictitious pupil of Arbeau's *Orchésographie* goes by that name. In ballet terminology it is a *cabriole*. [GRK]

**cap of invisibility** One of the magic objects of folktale, conferring upon its wearer the power of seeing and not being seen: a motif found in myth and folktale in many parts of the world. In Greek legend, it is the cap of Hades forged for him by Cyclops, and worn by Hermes and Perseus. In the mythology of northern Europe, it is the Tarnhut, confounded to some degree with the Tarnkappe or cloak of invisibility, which belonged to Alberich and was worn by Siegfried. The cap of invisibility, in märchen, is often stolen or "borrowed" by the hero from giants, or brothers who have inherited it, who are quarreling over the division of a group of magic objects: the hat of invisibility, the seven-league boots, the inexhaustible pot, or other similar things. The motif is found in North American Indian tales of the Plains, Woodlands, and Southwest.

**Cap o' Rushes** Title of an English version of a very widespread European folktale in which the heroine, banished by her father for protesting that she loves him as dearly as bread (or meat) loves salt, goes through a series of hardships, serves as a nameless scullion clad in a cloak and hood of rushes, attends a dance three times in her own fine clothes and escapes unrecognized, finally reveals herself to the young son of her master (pining for love of her since the dance) by means of a ring which she drops in his gruel, marries him, and serves a wedding feast at which every dish is unsalted. The father is present at this feast and recognizes at last the true value of his daughter's love.

This story is known in Europe from Greece, Italy, and Spain to Germany, Belgium, Scandinavia, and the British Isles. *Loving Like Salt*, *Value of Salt*, and *Blear-Eye* are variant Italian titles, the last from the heroine's disguise as an old woman. It is known as *Ass-Skin* in Corsica, as *Little Dirty-Skin* and *Slut-Sweeps-the-Oven* in Belgium; in France it appears as *The Turkey Girl* (from the heroine's menial task); it is called *Salt and Bread* in Sweden. There are innumerable others. There are also Arabian and Indian variants.

*Cap o' Rushes* belongs to a large group of folktales based on the value of salt. The love like salt motif (H592.1), the humble (or rough) disguise (K1815), the disguise as menial (K1816) motifs are usually prominent. The flight of the heroine in humble or rough disguise and her menial position link the *Cap o' Rushes* story with the Catskin cycle; the motif involving the three-fold flight from the ball (R221) links it with the Cinderella cycle. The identification by ring (H94) or other token is fairly frequent. Grimm #179, entitled *The Goose-Girl at the Well*, is a well-known German version.

**Capricorn** The Horned Goat or Ibex, the Sea Goat: a zodiacal constellation recognized at least as early as the 2nd millennium B.C. and probably much earlier, although it is second in faintness only to Cancer among the constellations of the zodiac. The Persian, Turkish, Syrian, Arabic, Hindu names all mean goat. Chaldean astronomy placed it in the "Sea," that group of constellations said to represent the warriors of Tiamat; the goat has the tail of a fish. In Greek myth, this is explained as the result of the fright of either Pan or Bacchus at the appearance of Typhon: he leaped into the water as he transformed himself into animal shape; the upper part of the body became a goat, the lower a fish. The Egyptians connected the constellation with the yearly Nile inundation, and figured it as a fish or a mirror. The Aztecs pictured it as a horned fish, connected with Cipactli.

It was the Chaldean Gate of the Gods, the entrance through which souls passed into heaven, as they had come to earth through the Gate of Men in Cancer. In astrology, Capricorn is part of the earthly triad; it is the place of the creation of Saturn (with Aquarius); it governed the thighs and knees; it was generally unpropitious but, under certain conditions, sometimes of good influence. The sun enters the astrological sign on December 22. Roman legend said that Numa Pompilius began the calendar when the sun was midway in Capricorn after the winter solstice.

**Captain Kidd** A long forecastle song of the come-all-ye type, relating in the first person the misdeeds of William Kidd of piratical fame, known to sailor singers for unknown reasons as Robert. There is a homiletic turn to the narrative, with a warning to all those who see him die not to follow his example and fall in with bad companions. In style and form the song closely resembles the drinking song *Samuel Hall*, the confession of a more unregenerate sinner.

**Captain Wedderburn's Courtship** A Scottish popular ballad (Child #46) in which the suitor test of out-riddling the maiden is the main motif. Captain Wedderburn, "a servant to the king," meets the laird of Bristol's (or Earl of Rosslyn's) daughter walking alone

in the woods. The minute he lays eyes on her he is determined to take her "to his ain bed and lay her next the wall." He lifts her to his horse and takes her home. But the lady will not consent to get into the bed until the ardent suitor has answered first three, then six, then four more riddles. Among these are the famous cherry without a stone, chicken without a bone riddles, the sparrow's horn riddle, and "the priest unborn" to marry them. Captain Wedderburn answers all 13 posers without batting an eye. The cherry in blossom has no stone, the chicken in the shell has no bone, the sparrow has a horn in every claw and two for his beak, the priest waiting at the door was never born "for a wild boar bored his mother's side, he out of it did fa'." So the maiden "maun lye in his bed" but she refused to lie next the wall in one version, while another indicates that she did. Compare ALVÍSS.

**capturing the moon** An observance performed at midnight during the Chinese Moon Festival, Chung Chiu. It consists in catching the full moon's reflection in a basin of water.

**Caragabi** The culture hero of the Choco Indians of western Colombia, born from the saliva of the high god Tatizete. He created the ancestors of the Choco and established sibs and families to prevent incest. He placed the sun, the moon, the light and stars in the sky and caused the tree of life to be felled. He wandered through the world giving food plants to mankind; and after transforming many men into animals he retired to the sky. But he is expected to return after the destruction of the world by fire. Many stories deal with the continuous mutual challenge and conflict between Caragabi and his powerful rival Tutruica to prove their power. [AM]

**carbuncle** A red garnet cut *en cabochon* (i.e. convex but not faceted); anciently, any gem of brilliant fire and deep red color, usually a garnet or ruby. The Bible mentions it among the stones of the High Priest's breastplate and in Christian tradition it was symbolic of Christ's sacrifice. According to the Koran it illuminates the fourth heaven. An early tale claims it also lighted Noah's Ark. In early Spanish astrology it represented the sun. Among the Arabs and Indians it was believed to protect a soldier in battle, and in Greece it guarded children from drowning. As an amulet it is a potent force against poison, plague, bad dreams, evil thoughts, and incontinence. It stimulates the heart, but care must be exercised lest it arouse anger or passion and cause apoplexy, and while it cures melancholy and sadness, it leads to sleeplessness. Loss of luster is a sign of impending disaster. See RUBY.

**Cardea** The ancient Roman goddess of the door-hinges, protectress of little children against the attacks of vampire-witches. She obtained the office from Janus in exchange for her personal favors.

**careado** A longways couple dance of the Spanish province of Asturias. During the first part the torso sways from side to side, while the arms are relaxed at the sides; during the second part the arms are raised to play castanets and the feet execute simple cross-steps. *The dancers accompany themselves by song. Carear* means to place face to face. [GPK]

**Careless Love** One of the earliest of the blues songs, a lonesome tune set to a favorite blues theme, tragic love. Perhaps originated by white singers of the American south, but equally popular among Negroes, it has acquired many stanzas and developed many variants. See **BLUES**; **BUTCHER BOY**.

**Carmenta or Carmentis** The ancient Italian goddess of prophecy, singing the future and the past, and of healing; protectress of women in childbirth: said to have been called originally, in Arcadia, Nicostrate, but also named as chief of the Camenæ. By Hermes she became the mother of Evander, and following him to Italy changed the Greek alphabet into that used by the Romans. Her Roman temple stood between Tiber and the Capitoline. The Carmentalia, in her honor, was celebrated on January 11th and 15th, at which time her protection was asked for children born during the year. One of the gates of Rome bore her name.

**Carna or Carnea** The ancient Roman goddess of physical health: sometimes confused, as by Ovid, with Cardea. She presided over the vital internal organs. Her festival on June 1st was instituted by Brutus and was called *fabriaræ calendæ* from the beans and bacon then offered to the goddess. Carnea seems to have been an underworld goddess originally.

**carnation** The perennial, herbaceous, fragrant flower of any of the many cultivated varieties of the pink family (genus *Dianthus*), especially the clove pink or scarlet carnation (*D. caryophyllus*). The carnation has been cultivated for more than 2000 years and is mentioned frequently in folktale and legends. It first appeared on earth when Christ was born, or it sprang from the tears of Mary, the mother of Jesus, shed on her way to Calvary.

The carnation was used as a substitute for the expensive cloves of India to spice wine and ale in Elizabethan times, hence its name Sop-in-wine. The early name Gilliflower (Gyllofer, Gilofre) is a corruption of the Latin *Caryophyllum* or clove. The flower, which is under the dominion of Jupiter, was said to have medicinal properties, especially effective against pestilential fevers. A well-known remedy for toothache all over Europe and the United States is oil of cloves (*oleum caryophylli*). It is reported that the seeds are used to fill cavities in Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slovakia.

In Korea the *Dianthus sinensis* is used in divination. A cluster of three flowers on a single stem is worn in the hair. If the top flower dries first the last years of one's life will be difficult. If the bottom pink dries, the wearer will have misfortunes in youth. If all dry together the wearer's lot will be sad indeed.

**Carnea** One of the important festivals of ancient Sparta, observed in many parts of the Peloponnesus, in Cyrene, Magna Græcia, etc.: held in honor of Apollo Carneus, the ram god of flocks and herds and of fertility in general. It was also a military festival. The ceremony may have been an older festival in honor of a supposed Carneus, taken over and identified with Apollo by the Dorians. It was held in the month of Carneus (August), and traditionally was instituted in 676 B.C. No military operations were held during the period, and it is said that the main army of the Spartans would have been at Thermopylæ rather than the small guard

of Leonidas' men had not the festival prevented their movement.

**carnelian** A transparent red chalcedony, known since early times, and often used for seals because it left a clean impression. In Egypt it was called "blood of Isis" and was placed on the throats of the dead as a buckle or tie. It is also found in Iron Age burial mounds in Japan. In Burma it parallels the Chinese use of jade. Mohammed wore a carnelian ring, and among Moslems it preserves tranquillity in the midst of turmoil and keeps the wearer happy and blessed. Among the Arabs it is a remedy for loose teeth. In Australia it is a potent charm of the medicine man against all disease. It cures tumors and respiratory diseases, strengthens the voice, and stops bleeding. It restrains anger and imparts dignity, but also gives courage in battle. It counteracts the effects of sorcery and drives away evil spirits and dreams. It is even proof against injury from falling houses and walls. It was probably one of the stones in the High Priest's breastplate mentioned in *Exodus* and was formerly much used as a birthstone for August. It was sometimes confused with the ruby.

**Carnival** A boisterous communal celebration dating back to the Middle Ages and still observed in most of Europe and in the Americas. It features masquerades, floats, torch processions, dances, fireworks, noise-making, and tomfoolery which often reaches a point of nuisance and licentiousness. The festival season formerly began at the winter solstice or on Twelfth Night, that is (in far northern countries) at the first signs of returning spring; it now comes to a climax on the last three days before Ash Wednesday.

The etymology is uncertain. Carnival is explained as being derived from *carne vale*, or flesh farewell (Latin *caro*, *carnis*, flesh, and *vale*, farewell), a name befitting the last days of fleshly unrestraint before Lent; or as derived from *carrus navalis*, cart of the sea, a boat-shaped vehicle on wheels used in the processions of Dionysus (later in other festival processions) and from which all kinds of satirical songs were sung.

Carnival may have had its source in the Roman *Bacchanalia*, *Lupercalia*, or *Saturnalia*, or in the ship-cart pageant for the Germanic Nerthus or Hertha, earth mother and goddess of fertility. Often the cart carried a plow instead of an image of the Earth Mother. In the 14th and 15th centuries the Carnival attained its full glory in Europe, especially in the Nürnberg *Fastnacht* and *Fastnachtspiele*, and in Italy, in Nice, Venice, Naples, Florence. Obscene songs, *cante carnascialeschi*, were developed into an art by Lorenzo de Medici.

Carnival is identified with the primitive ceremonies for the expulsion of death, winter, and demons harmful to the coming crops. That was the purpose of the noise-making, the *Lärmumzüge*, noisy processions with songs, bull-roarers, drums, bells, fools' whips. The fool's whip or slapstick is the direct descendant of the *Lebensrute* (life-rod), the rod of life, which transfers fertility. Vegetation magic also lies behind the ducking, sprinkling, fire-throwing, charcoal-blackening, leaping, in the obscenities above all, and in all the special disguises and enactments. Elaborate medieval ceremonies married the shaggy wild men to the wild women, who were accompanied by a train of animal masks, the *maînéfê herlekin* (originally troop of the dead), the *HolJeut*,

wood folk, dressed in foliage or moss, and the old woman of the corn with baby and basket. The *Metsgersprung* of Nürnberg was a leaping serpentine dance of the butchers' guild, perhaps dating back to animal sacrifice. Their associated *Schembartläufer* (runners with bearded masks), with lances and male and female masks, also ran in a serpentine and threw fire and ashes. *Scheme* is a Middle High German word for mask or apparition.

The Schemen still run in Innsbruck during *Fasching* or Carnival: a mad train of *Scheller*, female *Roller Spritzer* (sprinklers), *Kübele Maieri* (water squirts), *Hexen* (witches), and other demons. In Switzerland the *Rautschegetten* cavort in black sheepskins. These demons have their counterpart in the *kalogheroi* of the Thracian Carnival, which obviously dates back to the *orgia* of Dionysus Dithyrambus. The elegant faction had its counterpart in the Munich *Schäfflertanz*, a traditional longways dance with hoops, discontinued in 1928. The battle of the forces of summer and winter, preserved in its original meaning in the Isle of Man, became confused with Christian symbols in the battles of the Moors and Christians elsewhere. Matrimonial and resurrection dramas were enacted by the Morris groups, the English Mummers, the Basque *masacaradas*, the Majorcan *cociés*. Later on these performances were frequently advanced from their original pre-Lenten date to May Day, Corpus Christi, or other festivals.

However, in Spain and its colonies, particularly in Mexico, these battle mimes remain a gala feature of Carnival. In Spain was added the interment of the King of Evil (*el entierro del Rey del Mal Humor*), also quadrilles or solos performed by *diablos* and *muerter* (impersonations of death). Catalonians have a Maypole dance for both sexes.

In Mexico the Carnival flourishes with a dazzling array of dances: not only *moros*, *diablos*, and *muerter* taken over from Spanish Carnival, and dances transferred from Corpus Christi and Saint's Days, such as the *arcos* and *pastoras*, danced with flowered arches, but above all innumerable native dance survivals and native post-Columbian inventions. In the pueblos of central Mexico, Carnival is a religious fiesta, an objective for votive pilgrimages. The European importations, so interwoven with native qualities, suggest amalgamation with existing rites. Carnival corresponds to the second month of the Aztec calendar, *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, dedicated to the worship of Xipe Totec, god of agriculture. The costumes, whether embroidered silk or shabby cottons, the masks, whether of wood or buckram, are always distinctive and original. The *teponaztli* (Aztec drum) accompanies a European type of flute and tabor. Native and European steps, Christian and pagan verbal allusions all blend. Dialog usually accompanies the *moros y cristianos* plays and their related *Santigos* of Mexico, Guerrero, Puebla, and Vera Cruz Sierras, and the similar *tastoanes* of Jalisco. Medieval morality plays live on in a new form in *Las Tres Potencias* of Guerrero. An original drama is enacted for five days in Huexotzingo, Puebla, showing how the bandit, Augustin Lorenzo, was captured by magnificent bands of soldiers — *zapadores*, Apaches, *zacapoaxtles*, Zouavos, and *serranos* (clowns). The Tlaxcalans and distant Huichols each enact a bull fight; the natives of Zaachila, Oaxaca, put on a burlesque battle between the priests and devils.

The Tlaxcalans have invented *los catrines*, *los paraguas* (a quadrille of French type), *los casquetes* (helmets) — all dances in medieval garb — and *los cihuames* (from Aztec *cihuatl*, woman), the only woman's dance, which uses a kerchief for mask.

Native survivals are the *huchuenches* of Mexico, *chinelos* of Morelos, *tecuanes* of Guerrero. The great concheros dances, though not confined to Carnival, are most numerous at that time.

Carnival has not found its way into the more primitive northern tribes. But elsewhere, on the two coasts to the south, the big cities celebrate Carnival sometimes for weeks in advance, with fantastic masked parades and with *carros alegóricos* (fancy balls with a queen or *reina*), notably in Oaxaca City, Vera Cruz, Guadalajara, Tepic, Mazatlán, Cuicatlán. Here the ceremonials are replaced by *zapateados* and *jarabes*, ballroom dances, and the flute and tabor by *marachi*, *marimba*, and brass band.

Yucatan's capital, Mérida, celebrates Carnival with a certain ceremonialism, in *cintas*, *paulitos*, *negritos*, and native *xtoles*. Trinidad combines ostentation with *moros* dances, and native calypso singing. A semicerebral longways dance is called *carneavalesca* in Argentina.

The famous Carnival of Rio de Janeiro, the Mardi-Gras of New Orleans, and the Cuban *comparsas* are modernized, in subject matter for the floats, in the dances (*frevco*, *maxixe*, *conga*, etc.), and are more rowdy and meaningless than the corresponding survivals in large cities of Europe. See FASTNIGHT; ROBS OF LIFE. [GFK]

carol A traditional song type in English, originally unrestricted in subject matter, composed in a fixed stanza form throughout, and having a burden, but for centuries associated with the Christian celebration of Christmas and including almost any kind of Christmas song. To a lesser extent it also includes songs to the Virgin and various saints, stories of the Epiphany, the Annunciation, the baptism of Christ, the Eucharist, the Passion, and the round of the seasons. In the popular sense, the carol corresponds approximately to the French *noël*, the German *Weihnachtslied*, the Greek *kalanta*, the Rumanian *calinde*, certain examples of the Spanish *villancico*, etc., though the international influences are obscure. Like *ballad*, the word has its source in dancing (Old French *carole*, Latin *choraula*, Greek *choraules*, *choros*) and in its earliest forms the song probably accompanied a round dance, the burden being sung by the dancers as they circled, the stanzas by a leader.

Developing contemporaneously with the dramatic spectacles of the mystery plays, the religious carol marks the passage of devotional observance from the formality of the Church and the Latin tongue into the marketplace and the vernacular. This change, however, was not, in all likelihood "by popular request," nor because of any desire on the part of the masses to usurp the functions of the churchmen, but the result of a deliberate popularization by the clergy to combat the "licentiousness" of the pre-Christian song-and-dance festivals that had survived to upset the decorum of their parishes. The mendicant friars all over Europe, and particularly the Franciscans, campaigned with religious songs in the vernacular and humanized the stories of the saints, turning to their own uses the tunes that pleased the public ear. Their success is demon-



strated by the way in which carol-singing took hold and went its way among the people.

Carols, in the popular acceptance of the term, are cast in many forms: ballads (*The Cherry Tree Carol*, for example); lullabies to the Child in the manger (*The Coventry Carol*); macaronics, with lines of Latin interwoven (*In Dulce Jubilo*); cumulative and numeral songs (*The Twelve Days of Christmas* and *The Joys of Mary*); wassails, or toasts, and feasting songs (*The Boar's Head*); question-and-answer songs (*The Seven Virgins*); celebrations of nature, etc.

One type common all over Europe is the call to the neighbors to wake and visit the lovely baby born in a cow's stall. In these carols the Holy Family have been made in the image of the people who sang—Mary crying out in labor, the Infant shivering on his pallet of straw, old Joseph, tired, anxious, bewildered, and a bit grumpy. Overflowing with solicitude and neighborly good-will, each visitor, according to his trade and his lot, brings the gift most suitable to the situation of the three destitute strangers stranded in a barn. Shepherds in a Besançon bagpipe carol offer sheep-milk and water heated in a pan and a lambskin to wrap the baby. A carol from Holland, the dairy land, provides new milk, butter, and junket. A Czech contribution is a fur coat for the baby to cut the chill of a December night. Others list a lamb to play with, a ball, a shepherd's pipe, cheese, eggs, stumps of vines to warm and soften the makeshift cradle. The spirit of all such carols is caught in an American Negro lament, *Po' Little Jesus*: "Didn't have no cradle./ Wasn't that a pity and a shame!"

Many of the songs detail the hardships of the pilgrimage to visit the Child, and, in doing so, reveal the people who sang almost as clearly as their selection of gifts. *The Gouty Carol*, from Provence, for instance, tells of an old man with the gout who hobbles painfully in the rear of the train of visitors. A Burgundian song mentions among the pilgrims, taxers and lenders and poor men in the rich men's grip.

As compared with the number of these poems of peasant interest, there are few carols bearing the marks of royal and courtly tradition, though here and there the images and symbols of chivalry appear. Mary is likened to a rose, a queen, a bird. She and Joseph are titled "Sir Joseph and his fair lady." The absence of the trappings appropriate for a newborn king and god is carefully explained.

The ballad group of carols draws its narrative material from a number of sources outside of Holy Writ, notably the Apocrypha. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* furnishes the story of the crop sown and reaped the same day in *King Pharaoh*, a carol widely spread by Gypsies, in which also appears the legend of the cooked cock that crowed. This cock crows also in *The Carol of St. Stephen* and *The Carnal and the Crane*. *The Cherry Tree Carol*, in which the tree bows to allow Mary to pick cherries, is also drawn from *Pseudo-Matthew*; though it also bears a near relationship to a story in the *Kalevala*.

The wassails are of pre-Christian origin, taking their name from the words of the toast (Old English *waes hael*, be whole) and preserving a secular, if not pagan character. One of them carries a line which may refer to the Danish invasions of England. Another is said to have been sung not only during the Christmas and New

Year's festivities, but also in the custom of "wassailing the apple trees" on Epiphany Eve to assure good crops. This procedure was ended with a lusty blast on a cow's horn. Traditionally the wassail songs were sung by merry-makers carrying a huge bowl bedecked with wreaths and ribbons, or by waits begging for a handout from the holiday feasts at the great houses. Generally they closed with good luck wishes for the house, the master thereof, and all his herds and crops in the coming year.

The Greek *kálanta* (compare Latin *kalenda*, and Rumanian *colinde*) have been sung into the 20th century in much the same way on New Year's Eve. Caroling children carried lanterns and a paper ship in a house-to-house procession singing good wishes for the New Year and begging for money. The ship custom seems to be connected with a ship full of fruitful objects traditionally carried through Athens and Smyrna on the feast of Dionysus.

The subject of a large group of Greek carols is St. Basil, especially in relation to four themes: 1) the staff that budded, an Apocryphal story of the saint's boyhood; 2) love songs interwoven with the above; 3) the golden tree, the legend that where Christ trod a tree of gold grows (an idea ancient in Greek literature), and 4) the miraculous crop, in which the saint's oxen were blessed by Christ and his land brought forth an amazing abundance. The Greek equivalent of waits cry the blessings of St. Basil on the wheat, barley, and children of the house, saying, "May your kids and lambs be female, your children, boys."

The nature carols in English, though many took on various Christian aspects, also preserved pagan greetings to the change of seasons and pre-Christian symbolism. The numerous "holly and ivy" carols, possibly first sung to dancing by men and women, embody ancient fertility rites, holly representing the male and dominant principle, ivy, the female. Yet some versions of these songs mingle the Christian and pagan elements in such carefree style as this: "The holly bears a prickles/ As sharp as any thorn/ and Mary bore sweet Jesus Christ/ On Christmas Day in the morn."

The characteristic burden of strict English carol form stands at the head of the song and is repeated after each stanza, though it is usually completely separate from the sense of the song as conveyed by the stanzas, a fact which explains why many carols have lost their original burdens and why some burdens serve for several carols. The most common type of burden is a couplet, though quatrains and even longer forms occur. The link with the stanza is generally a rime with the tail rime of the stanza. Most of the burdens are older than the verses they accompany, having been adopted without change from the old folk-dance carols and applied to the religious songs, even when the clergy composed the latter. Some are Latin maxims and tags from various church services. The lullabies have a string of soothing sounds, such as "lully, lullay," as burdens. Some burdens exhort the singers, as formerly the round dancers, to sing, rejoice, be merry. Some (though few in English) imitate instrumental sounds, as "tyrlly, tyrlow." Others are moralizing proverbs.

The great period of folk-carol composition in England was the 15th century, coinciding to a great extent with ballad-making, but carol-singing flourished until

the Puritan Parliament abolished Christmas observance in 1647 and forbade any form of celebration. English carols went underground to be preserved only in folk memory, in manuscripts such as the *Commonplace Book* of Richard Hill (a grocer's apprentice whose jottings of records, recipes, poems, and romances from the early 16th century proved a gold mine to later researchers) and by the fly-by-night printers of broadsides. When new carols were composed after this hiatus, the beef and pudding and groaning board provided a good deal of the inspiration. Many of the early carols were not recovered until 19th century research, coupled with the uninterrupted popularity of similar songs on the continent of Europe, restored them to sufficient respectability for church use. Some of the early ones, infrequently recovered in England, have been found in the woods of New England and the mountains of the American South. See individual titles and song types.

THIRISA C. BRADLEY

**carole** or **carola** (from *carolla*, crown or wreath) A round dance and song for couples, which spread in the 12th century from Spain to Norway. It was a kind of processional march, turning right to left and beating one foot against the other. Originally it was a dance-song particular to May; later it was a feature of fairs, saints' day festivals, midnight vigils, Christmas. The symbol of fertility was retained in the object carried by the choral leader: a May branch, a bunch of flowers, a torch. The term is now associated specifically with choral Christmas songs. Compare **CAROL**. [CRK]

**carrizo** A social couple dance of the Maipure Indians of Venezuela. Three musicians play six-reed pan-pipes of native timbre, but the quasi-waltz step suggests mestizo origin. The couples, arms entwined, circle the musicians two by two. They follow the changes in the music, plaintive or vivacious. In the end the circle breaks up into a confusion equal to that of ballroom dances. [CRK]

**carrot** A long reddish-yellow edible root of the plant *Daucus carota*. In New Hampshire it is said that if a carrot is allowed to go to seed, someone in the family will die before the year is over. Formerly it was a common saying in England and the United States that carrots would relieve asthma if eaten in large enough quantities. This fact and the belief that carrots aid eyesight has now been substantiated by the discovery that certain forms of carotene, the pigment principle of carrots (and certain other plant and animal substances) promote the formation in the body of vitamin A, beneficial in cases of night blindness and lowered resistance to infections.

**carrying water in a sieve** A folktale motif (H1023.2), used as task, punishment, or means of escape: found in folktales of ancient Greece, modern Africa, Polynesia, Indonesia, Europe, and North America. The classical example is the story of the Danaides' punishment. They were doomed in the afterworld to attempt to fill a leaky vessel with broken jars. Similar is the incident in *Master Pfreim* (Grimm #178; Type 801) in which the complaining cobbler sees the angels drawing water into a leaky bucket and causing the rain. *The Grave-Mound* (Grimm #195) tells how the Devil fails to fill the sole-less shoe of the soldier, a task very similar to

that of filling the sieve. Not everyone entrusted with the task fails, however; in ballad this is one of the things a chaste woman does; a pious child can accomplish the same thing. Sometimes the intended victim thinks a bit: the vessel is repaired or the holes in the sieve are stopped—with moss, with gum, with clay.

Monkey, in an Angola tale, refuses to try to dip water with a fish-trap and thus gets the better of Leopard. He is therefore able to avenge the death of Antelope, who was tricked by Leopard into trying. In an Indonesian tale from Ialmahera, the husband of Sunrise sends his sister-in-law to bring water in a punctured bamboo. While she is delayed at the stream, he and Sunrise escape from her unwanted company. The delaying action occurs also in a Tahitian story; Tuture runs away from his cannibal mother while she tries to fill the pierced gourds. Compare **BEAD-SPITTER AND THROWN-AWAY**.

**cartomancy** Divination, or fortune-telling, by means of cards, especially playing cards: popularly one of the methods preferred by the Gipsy fortune-tellers, and the basis of the belief that the Gipsies imported playing cards into Europe. The suits and individual cards have traditional meanings and values, e.g. the ace of spades means death. Special cards and packs of cards are occasionally used.

**Casey Jones** John Luther Jones, American railroad hero, engineer of the Illinois Central's famous "Cannonball," noted for his skill, daring, and resourcefulness. He died in a train wreck in 1900, and was found with one hand still on the whistle and the other on the airbrake lever. Wallace Saunders, his Negro engineer and close friend, created the original of the famous American ballad, *Casey Jones*. Later, the words and music, given a chorus and framed in the style of a vaudeville song by Siebert and Newton, attained wide popularity.

**Cassandra** (1) or **Alexandra** The most beautiful of the daughters of Priam and Hecuba; the prophetess of the Trojan legend whose foresight was doomed to go unheeded. She and her brother Helenus slept as children in the temple of Apollo; they were found there in the morning, wound about with snakes which by licking their ears gave them the gift of prophecy and of understanding the languages of the animals. Cassandra again slept in the temple when she was a young woman. Apollo tried to ravish her and was repulsed. Unable to revoke his gift of prophecy, he caused her sayings to go unbelieved. According to another story she reneged on the bargain she had made with him and he thus punished her. It was Cassandra who recognized in the shepherd Paris the princely son of Priam; she recognized the wooden horse for what it was: again and again she predicted what later happened, yet no one believed her. She was in fact considered demented by the Trojans, Priam even confining her for a time. At the fall of Troy, she was torn from the sanctuary of Athena by Ajax the Lesser, perhaps even raped on the spot, and in the division of prisoners fell to the lot of Agamemnon. She was killed with him by Clytemnestra, and their children, Teledamus and Pelops, were slain by Ægisthus. Her tomb was either at Amyclæ or at Mycenæ. Compare **ANIMAL LANGUAGES**.

(2) The daughter of Iobates. See **BELLEROPHON**.

**cassava or manioc** An edible tuber from which bread is made by the Indians of South America. See **MANIOC**.

**cassia** A bark similar to cinnamon, and thought by the ancients to be an inferior grade. Chinese religious legend describes a cassia tree as the world-tree or tree of life, growing to incredible height in Paradise, far up the Hoang-Ho river. Whoever ate of its fruit lived forever. Compare **MOON TREE**; **PEACH**.

**Cassiopeia, Cassiope, or Cassiopeia** (1) In Greek mythology, the wife of Cepheus, mother of Andromeda. She praised her own or her daughter's beauty as being greater than that of the Nereids and brought upon her country the sea monster slain by Perseus. A constellation in the northern sky is named for her. See **ANDROMEDA**.

(2) A W-shaped, five-star constellation lying in the Milky Way exactly opposite the Great Bear, the north star lying equidistant between them. It is often called Cassiopeia's Chair and sometimes the Celestial W. Greek astronomers of the 5th century B.C. spoke of this constellation as She of the Throne. The ancient Egyptian *Book of the Dead* calls it the Leg. To the Arabians it looked like a *Hand, each of the five stars representing a bright finger-tip stained with henna*. They also called it *Al Dhāt al Kursiyy*, the Lady in the Chair. Latin writers knew it both as Cassiopeia and as *Mulier Sedis*, Woman of the Chair. To the early Celts it was *Llys Dôn*, Don's House. Religious astronomers of the 17th century identified the constellation with Mary Magdalene or with Bathsheba on her throne.

**castanets** Paired hollow clappers of wood clicked together rhythmically between thumb and forefinger of dancers. Known in ancient Egypt, but probably Greek imports there, in Rome, and in Greece, where they were used by Dionysian dancers, castanets may be a Phœnician contribution, for they are still used in the sections colonized by Phœnicians in Spain, southern Italy, and the Balearic Islands. Castanets have been used to provide rhythm for many dances of strong excitation—the tarantella dance mania of the 18th century, the moresque choral dance, the sarabande, and the fandango. The term is derived from Latin *castanea*, chestnut, from the appearance of the instrument.

**cast down** A country dance term: the dancer or dancers turn outward and move backward along the set. [GRK]

**cast off** A country dance term: the dancer or dancers turn outward and dance outside the set. [GRK]

**Castores** Roman name of the Dioscuri: from Castor, who seems to have been the first of the twins to be worshipped by the Romans.

**Castrén, Matthias Alexander (1813-1852?)** Swedish-Finnish ethnologist and philologist, and collector of Finnish ballads and legends. He was born in Finland, but all his books are in Swedish. In 1838 he and a fellow student, Dr. Ehrström, traveled in Lapland; then he alone traveled in Karelia; in 1841, with Elias Lönnrot he made a three-year journey to Obdorsk, Siberia; later he explored the entire Government of Siberia adding to the store of folklore knowledge. In 1850 he was appointed to the new chair of Finnish Language and Literature at the University of Helsing-

fors and the following year became the chancellor of the University. The first outline of a Finno-Ugrian mythology was made by Castrén in a lecture in Finnish and published in Swedish and German (the latter called *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, 1853). Castrén is considered to be the founder of Ural-Altaic philology. Among his books are *Reseminnen från åren 1845-44* (sic), *Föreläsningar i Finsk mytologi, Reserättelser och bref åren 1845-49*, *Ethnologiska föreläsningar över allaiska folken*, and *Smärre avhandlingar och akademiska dissertationer*. He translated the great Finnish epic *Kalevala* into Swedish.

**cast up** A country dance term: the dancer or dancers turn outward and move forward along the set. [GRK]

**Caswallan** In the *Mabinogion*, a son of Beli. He conquered Britain while Bran was in Ireland righting the wrongs of Branwen. Caswallan threw around Caradawc, Bran's son, the Veil of Illusion, so that all Caradawc could see was the sword slaying his people right and left, but never the wielder of the sword. In the *Triads* Caswallan is mentioned as a war king, and historically he is uncertainly associated with a certain chief named Cassivellaunus, who opposed Caesar. J. A. MacCulloch's study of their legends reports them confusedly mingled.

**catching a man's breath** A folktale motif (H1023.13; Type 1176) occurring in a huge group of stories centering around the impossible or absurd task: especially popular in Baltic countries. Catching a man's breath and tying a knot in it belongs specifically in the category of tasks contrary to the nature of the objects involved (H1023). These often occur in that widespread group of tales about the man who sells his soul to the devil but eventually saves himself by some ruse, such as imposing the impossible task on the devil. Bringing berries in winter, carrying water in a sieve, mending the jug, skinning the stone, etc., all belong to the group.

**catch tale** A story told in such a manner as to trick the listener into asking a certain question or making a certain remark to which the teller gives such a ridiculous or obvious answer as to make the listener the butt of the joke. The "Just Like Me" formula is a fair example. The story-teller enjoins the listener to say "Just like me" after every statement of his story. The story ends with the words, "And I saw a little monkey," to which the listener either inadvertently says, "Just like me" or is quick-witted enough to reply, "Just like you." Most catch tales and catch rimes are primarily children's joke pastimes. But no complete study of the type and no extensive collection has yet been made. See **ADAM AND EVE AND PINCH ME**; **TONGUE TWISTERS**.

**caterpillar** The larva of the butterfly or moth: of widespread occurrence. The caterpillar's origin, in Rumania, is thought to be from the Devil's tears; the Bantu believe the souls of the dead take this form. In Switzerland and elsewhere, it is said tree spirits are responsible for the caterpillar and that they send them to creep into man's brain to make him mad or ill-humored, or that they send them to the fields to annoy the folk. The appearance of these wormlike creatures may well have suggested the superstition that they were made by witches with the Devil's help. One name applied to them in Germany and thereabouts is *Teufelskatze* (Devil's cat). In Pennsylvania, a black cater-

pillar indicates a hard winter; in France, the temperature is judged by its ways. Folk medicine attributes some virtue to the caterpillar: in antiquity, the cabbage caterpillar was used with oil for rubbing after the bite of a venomous serpent; in England, to carry a caterpillar about was an aid in fevers; it was also prescribed for toothache, [etc.]

**Cathbad.** In Old Irish legend, the chief druid of Ulster in the reign of Conchobair. In some legends the father of Conchobair, Cathbad was one of the tutors of Cuchulain. It was Cathbad who prophesied at the birth of Bruidre that because of her "more blood will be shed than ever was shed in Ireland since time began. Great heroes will lose their lives because of her."

**St. Catherine's Day.** November 25, anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria about 307. From medieval times to the 18th century it was observed in England and Europe as a holiday for schoolgirls, haberdashers, and lace makers, of whom she is the patron saint; still observed by spinners, milliners, and dressmakers especially in France.

One of the ancient trade guilds of London, the Guild of Haberdashers, was referred to as the guild of St. Catherine the Virgin. The members of this guild celebrated the day by doing up shop and matching in procession.

Girls were wont to fast on St. Catherine's Day, hoping thus to obtain a good husband. On this day virgins went to church to offer up a special prayer:

A husband, St. Catherine;  
A handsome husband, St. Catherine;  
A rich one, St. Catherine;  
A nice one, St. Catherine;  
And soon, St. Catherine.

Merrymaking was engaged in on this day, particularly in the textile districts. This included procession and begging for apples and beer, chiefly by roasting children. Such merrymaking was called *Catherining* or *Catting*, and the boy used for begging was called a *Catherine boy*. Children employed at spinning in the workhouses of Northampton and elsewhere paraded in the streets, dressed in white, headed by one of the tallest girls designated in them as *Queen* and wearing a crown.

In Paris and throughout France, St. Catherine's Day is still observed by unmarried women under 25 years old, especially by those employed in the millinery and dressmaking establishments, which close for the day. The merrymaking takes the form of gas processions in the streets, the girls walking arm in arm, wearing "Catherine bonnets"—fantastic confections of paper and ribbon which they themselves have made. Before the merrymaking, they have attended church, and have renewed the crown on the head of the saint's statue there.

"*Gouffier Sainte Catherine*," to wear St. Catherine's bonnet, is a common saying in France, and signifies, for a woman, to live and die in celibacy. The saying is that at 25 an unmarried girl puts the first pin into her St. Catherine bonnet; at 30 she puts in the second; at 35 the bonnet is finished.

Miraculous wells exist in the environs of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, called St. Catherine's wells, to which resort people afflicted with tumors, skin trouble, and

stone in the bladder, which illureses the waters are reputed to cure.

The Catalans have a weather time for Catherine's Day:

Santa Catarina	Saint Catherine's Day
o molt freda	expect much cold
o molt humida	or much dampness

The olive growers have another time:

Avant del Santa Catarina	Before St. Catherine's,
no cullos la oliva	don't harvest olives

An old English euphemism refers to the menopause as "turning St. Catherine's corner."

**Los Catrines.** A burlesque on the bourgeois *catrines* during Carnival festivities at Santa Ana Chilantempan, Tlaxcala, Mexico. Some of the men dress as women, covering their faces with a kerchief. Others wear double-breasted or swallowtail suits, neckties, and grotesque pink masks. They carry umbrellas throughout their cavortings. [etc.]

**cats.** Never lick a cat, or you'll get rheumatism. Never drown one or the Devil will get you. Cats have nine lives, but if you take even one, the cat will haunt you, send bad luck, or work some other vengeance. Three other adjectives, gleaned by N. S. Puckett (*Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, Chapel Hill, 1929) represent in Negro belief the very widespread European and African belief that it is bad luck to kill or mistreat a cat. The concept is rooted perhaps in those ancient religions in which the cat was a sacred animal; retribution always befalls anyone who harms the sacred animal. Belief in the benefits to be acquired from eating the sacred animal survive in such oldwives' remedies (Alabama Negro) as black-cat broth to cure consumption.

Seeing a black cat is usually a bad omen in Germany, the British Isles, and the United States. It is especially bad for a black cat to cross one's path. But it is lucky to own one. Southern U. S. Negroes believe that black cats are powerful hoodoo; they cause bad luck, misery, disease, and death. A black cat is a witch; it is a witch's familiar; it is the Devil; it is a "haunt" from the dead; all beliefs of European origin enhanced with Negro intensity and flavor. Cats can see ghosts, Cats' eyes are used in certain southern Negro voodoo charms; so is cat hair, especially the whiskers.

When the cat washes her face, it is a sign of rain, or a sign of good weather, or that company is coming; especially if she washes her face in the parlor, company is coming. That cats always wash themselves facing the wind is keen folk observation, not necessarily a wind-direction omen. In Maine they say if a cat looks out the window it is looking for rain. A common New England saying is that you can tell the time of day from the size of a cat's pupils. In the Maritimes a cat's pupils are nearly closed at low tide, wide open at high tide.

Welsh sailors say if the ship's cat mews constantly it portends a difficult voyage. If the ship's cat is playful, sailors expect a gale of wind astern. Any uncooperative person can raise adverse winds by confining the ship's cat under a pot. In rural England they say that a kitten born in May will never make a mouner; instead it is apt to bring home glow-worms! In Sussex they

say a May Kitten is apt to grow up melancholy. Some people say it is good luck to sleep with a cat; others that cats suck the breath of sleepers. In some parts of Europe it is thought that cats prey on corpses. If a cat jumps over a corpse, that corpse will become a vampire, and the funeral is stopped until the cat is caught and killed. In some parts of France where the cat was believed to be the Devil, cats were burned in Shrove Tuesday and Easter bonfires.

Beliefs in the cat as fertility charm are indicated in such practices as those of Transylvania farmers: about a month after a wedding a cat is brought into the house in a cradle and rocked in the presence of the newlyweds. In Bohemia a cat is sometimes buried in a field of grain: a practice related to the belief in the cat as field spirit. See BULLKATER.

In Indonesia and among various Malay peoples it is believed that bathing a cat will bring rain. See ATAPAIC; BAST; BELLING THE CAT; COCA; KING OF THE CATS; PESS IN BOOTS.

**cat's cradle.** The European and American form of string figures: a two-player, four-handed game, played with a loop of string, and consisting of a very few figures which evolve one from the other: perhaps a slim remainder of a once greater number. Cat's cradle has none of the ritual connotations of string figures elsewhere, as for example among the Eskimos, and compared with the elaborate and varied figures reported from some peoples, e.g. the Australian aborigines, it is simply a childish diversion with a meager repertoire of figures. See STRING FIGURES.

**catseye.** A gemstone, usually chrysoberyl or quartz, which shows a line of light across the dome when cut *en cabochon*. On the theory that like affects like, it was universally used for diseases of the eyes and to ward off the evil eye. The Assyrians carried this theory a step further and claimed that it made the wearer invisible to his enemies. In Ceylon it is a charm against witchcraft and considered to be the abode of geni. It is reputed to relieve croup and asthma, to cure chronic diseases and to put color into the cheeks. It gives pleasure to the mind, relieves the soul of melancholy, and protects its wearer from financial ruin. It is held in high esteem in China and India.

**Catskin.** Designation of a cycle of European folktales partaking of many Cinderella and Cap o' Rushes elements. The story usually begins with the flight of the heroine from marriage with an incestuous father. She wanders in disguise in a mantle made of many kinds of fur (*Allerleirauh*, Grimm 265), or a cloak of mouse-skin or louse-skin (Russian, Slavonic), of catskin (Irish, English), pigskin (Italian, Sicilian, Finnish), ass-skin (French, Spanish, Basque), wooden dress or sheath, (Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Swedish), crow skin (Swedish), old-woman skin, boy's clothes, rags and tatters (various), bear transformation (in the *Pentamerone*) etc., etc. She takes a menial position in the ménage of a king: goose-girl, turkey-girl, kitchen or scullery maid, swineherd, shepherdess, stable-boy. She is always discovered by the young prince, sometimes at a ball which she attends (dressed in her own original (or magic) garments. But she escapes unrecognized, only to reveal herself, when he succens with love for the unknown one, by a recognition token in his food (her ring, or

prevents which he has given her at the ball). The story ends with a happy marriage, and sometimes with the punishment of the father.

This story is known everywhere in Europe and in Asia Minor. It turns up in Dixon's *Ancient Fairy Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England* (1857) entitled "The Wandering Young Gentlewoman, or Catskin."

**cat's only trick.** Climbing a tree: a folktale motif (J1662; Type 105). Aesop's fable about the cat and the fox (Jacobs 285) tells the story. The Fox remarked to the Cat that no matter what the danger, he had no tricks by which to save himself. The Cat said she had only one; if that should fail she would be lost. Just then a pack of hounds burst upon them. The Cat dashed up a tree. The Fox tried one after another of his tricks but was caught by the hounds at last.

This story is well known all over Europe from Greece and Sicily to Lapland. There are Arabian variants. There is an analogous Angola folktale about Partridge and Turtle who were discussing how to escape when fire should come across the land. Partridge said Turtle would be burnt because he could not fly away. When the fire was coming Turtle crawled into a big anthill. Partridge ran and began to fly; but the fire was faster and Partridge was burnt. When the fire passed on Turtle crawled out of the anthill. "Partridge is burnt," said Turtle.

**cattle.** The veneration of cattle belongs to a pastoral stage of society. In ancient times they were revered in Egypt as well as in India and this attitude toward cattle is characteristic of the modern Hindu and most of the pastoral tribes of Africa. Wherever people depended upon cattle to furnish them sustenance, the animals were carefully guarded to promote their health and fertility. In sickness they were well tended, and great grief was expressed at the death or theft of one. Not only was the herd as a group venerated, but individual cattle were treated in some cases like divinities. In early times, special attention was bestowed on the leader of the herd.

In comparatively modern times—in Germany, Spain, central and eastern Europe, Greece, Scotland, and elsewhere—special customs were carried out to make the cattle fruitful: they were frequently driven through fire, sometimes beaten for health and good luck as well as to promote fertility and the multiplication of the herd.

Various means have been used to protect cattle from disease (sprigs of mullein), from wolves, witches, evil spirits, and the like (charms, such as boughs of mountain ash hung in the cow-house or at the stable door). Zulus use charms to recover strayed cattle.

Portions of the body of cattle were early used in folk medicine, a practice not yet outmoded. Cattle figure in sagas, folktales, and sayings of Rome, Finland, Russia, Greece, and other countries. One of the most interesting beliefs about cattle is that they acquire the gift of speech on Christmas Eve. Cattle "calls" are of interest. None appear to be recorded from early pastoral society, but modern ones may be mentioned, viz: "Sukey, Sukey!" "Co-hoss, Co-hoss!" (common in the United States) and "Co-o-o-p!" (Come up!) in dialectal English. There are many others. [198]

**Cattle Raid of Cooley** The War for the Brown Bull of Cuailgne: Táin Bó Cuailgne.

**cat washes face before eating** A European folktale motif (K562; Type 122B), existing usually as a single anecdote. A captured rat persuades the cat to wash her face before eating. While she is busily washing it, the rat escapes. This anecdote, especially familiar in the Baltic regions is known to have five variants in African Negro folktale. It belongs to a vast group of stories in which escape by subterfuge is the main motif (K500-699); and explains why today the cat eats first and washes afterwards. The sheep who persuades the wolf to sing, thus summoning the dogs is a type parallel (Type 122C).

**caul** A covering or membrane; specifically, the membrane sometimes enveloping the head and face of a newly born child, or, occasionally, the fatty tissues around the liver.

In Biblical usage, the word means most often, in connection with sacrificial regulations, "the caul that is above the liver" (*Ex.* xxix, 13), i.e. the diaphragm. Compare *Lev.* iii, iv, vii, viii, ix.

Generally, in folklore, the caul or "veil" is part of the amnion which, for any of several reasons, remains attached to the child when it is born. This is distinctly an omen of good luck, and has been so considered since at least the time of the Romans. The caul, preserved as a talisman, is a protective against drowning. The French proverbial expression "être né coiffé" is used to characterize those having persistent good fortune. The possessor of a caul obtains from it several magical and medicinal virtues. He can see ghosts and talk to them; even if deaf, he can hear the spirits talk. The caul itself is an amulet partaking of the ideas of the genius and life token. Among the Negroes of Louisiana, it is believed that the owner dies if the caul is torn. As a corollary, a limp caul indicates that the owner is ill, while a firm, crisp caul means that he is in good health. Another American Negro belief, adopted from the English, is that the person born with a caul can tell fortunes. The caul itself is a magic instrument quite apart from its connection with the original possessor. It is widely believed to be a protection against demons, particularly (in Jewish tradition) against storm demons. Hence, the caul is among sailors a valuable protection against drowning. Cauls could be and were bought and sold for high prices. "I was born with a caul, which was advertised for sale, in the newspapers, at the low price," says David Copperfield, ch. i, "of fifteen guineas." Compare AMNIONMANCY.

**cave painting** Painting on the walls of caves: a term used primarily in reference to the prehistoric mural art found in the caves of southern France (Dordogne), and northern and western Spain (in the Pyrenees), although paintings are found in caves and rock shelters in other parts of the world, notably Australia and North Africa. Rock pictures, both painted and engraved, have a world-wide distribution.

Probably the most exciting moment in art history occurred in 1879 when a lawyer, Marcelino de Sautuola, exploring a little-known cave near Santander, Spain, came upon the first prehistoric paintings known to modern man: a magnificent panorama of animals of 20,000 years ago, some long extinct. Other explora-


tions and discoveries followed, but the Altamira cave remained the outstanding example, until two school-boys hunting rabbits stumbled upon the French cave of Lascaux near Montignac in 1940.

This art began in Upper Paleolithic times and extended presumably over several thousand years, later work often being superimposed on that which preceded. (Two epochs, Aurignacian and Magdalenian, are distinguished.) It is remarkable for its portrayal of animals (bison, mammoth, rhinoceros, deer, wild boar, ancient cow, horse, ibex, bear, elephant) vividly realized with regard to both line, bulk, and movement. Some are as much as 18 feet long. The colors, in some cases perfectly preserved in the dry sealed caves, include earth red and yellow, a green from oxide of manganese, black from charred bone or carbon. Incised line is used, or sometimes later imposed. Human figures occur, but less frequently and with far less realism or conviction. The sticklike male with conspicuous penis appears, as in other rock pictures.

The artists were hunters and the scenes depicted are those of the hunt; to what extent they were real scenes and to what extent designed to bring good hunting is a matter of conjecture. One figure in the Cave of the Three Brothers is interpreted as a sorcerer in a dance, wearing a mask. In a scene from the Lascaux cave showing a fallen hunter and wounded bison, the hunter has the head of a bird, a similar bird on a stick beside him might have totemic significance. The animals are so accurate as to be readily identifiable. One however—a spotted beast with two rectilinear horns like the single horn of the mythical unicorn—is the only candidate, so far, for the category of "mythical beast."

Cave art includes some sculpture, though not so much. Two clay bisons from a cavern in the Arière, the Tuc d'Audoubert, are beautiful examples. [MH]

**Ccoa** The evil cat spirit of the Quechua Indians of South America who fear him intensely. The Ccoa is the servant of the aukis, perhaps following their orders, perhaps acting on his own initiative. He is cat-like in form, about two feet long with a foot-long tail, and gray with darker stripes lengthwise on his body. The head is larger in proportion than an ordinary cat's head; the eyes are phosphorescent, and from eyes and ears there runs a stream of hail.

 He is responsible for hail and lightning, which he uses to ruin crops and kill people. Sorcerers derive their power from him and are his devoted servants. This cat demon must be propitiated with offerings of magical products to keep his anger from constantly being aroused. Many of the attributes of Ccoa are those of Santiago, who in modern folklore has taken the place of the ancient thunder and lightning god, Illapa. [AM]

**Cecrops** The snake-tailed, autochthonous founder of Athens: a misty figure about whom little is known, whose cult centered on the Acropolis and was early replaced by that of Erechtheus. He may have been of Thracian origin. When Poseidon and Athena disputed for possession of Attica, the sea god made a well but Athena called Cecrops to witness her planting of an olive tree. Cecrops could give evidence only of what he had seen done and the verdict was for Athena. He is a culture hero, having instituted marriage, a new form of bloodless sacrifice, the burial of the dead, the division

of Attica into twelve communities, writing, etc. Later tradition gave him three daughters—Agrauros, Herse, Pandrosus—the goddesses of the Acropolis, but originally he had neither parents nor offspring.

**Celtic folklore** The regions which for the purposes of this article are called Celtic may be divided into three groups: 1) The Goidelic, including Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the western highlands and islands of Scotland. In language, race, and tradition these form a homogeneous block. 2) The insular Brythonic, including Wales and Cornwall, where also we find kindred peoples with a somewhat similar history. 3) The Continental Brythonic, that is, Brittany. Though racially akin to the Welsh and Cornish, the Bretons have had a very different history and enjoy a distinct culture.

In all these regions the collecting of folktales and the recording of customs and beliefs have been carried on from the second half of the 19th century down to the present day. Far and away the most scientific work has been done in Ireland under the guidance of the Folklore of Ireland Society, the Irish Folklore Institute, and the Irish Folklore Commission. In Wales the beginnings of an exhaustive study have been undertaken by the Commission on Welsh Calendar Customs of the National Museum of Wales.

It was natural that among the peoples of the so-called Celtic fringe, remote from great urban centers and also remote (except in the South Wales coal fields and in the neighborhood of Belfast) from industrial concentrations, the lore of the folk should have persisted from generation to generation with great tenacity. In regions where urban forms of entertainment were unavailable, scientific agriculture was unknown, scientific knowledge unattainable, and books were scarce, the people inevitably retained their old seasonal festivals, explained the phenomena of nature as did their ancestors of a millennium ago, retold the timeless stories, and lived and died by a creed which blended relics of paganism with Christianity. Needless to say, much of Celtic folklore is of a piece with the folklore of the rest of Europe.

The most remarkable distinction to be found in the study of this body of material is the amazing abundance and variety of Irish folktales. Over half a million pages of story taken down from the lips of peasants and their entertainers in the last two decades or so are in the files of the Irish Folklore Commission. This peculiar state of affairs is attributable to two factors: first, the bringing down of the culture of the Irish noble and scholarly classes to the common people as a result of the confiscation of estates by the English; and second, the persistence of the professional story-teller, the shanachie (*seancaide*, *seanchaidhthe*), to this very day in western Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Sagas which had been told in medieval times in the palaces of kings were now heard in whitewashed cottages; and hedge schoolmasters passed on what they had read in books. The shanachie of the present day preserves and embellishes this traditional lore; he may have a stock of fifty to two hundred tales; he takes a pride in his art, and has a social position of prestige. These conditions have not been matched elsewhere in the Celtic fringe, though in Cornwall as late

and fiddled, sang ballads, purveyed news, and related brief tales of hauntings, piskies, giants, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> It may justly be claimed that Ireland has the finest body of folklore in the world.

The subject of Celtic folklore will be treated under two main heads: 1) Folktales; 2) Beliefs and Customs.

#### FOLKTALES

**Goidelic** Several of the tales still current in Ireland are descended from the oldest strata of mythological and heroic fiction. The story of Balor and his prophesied death at the hands of his grandson Lug (essentially the same as that of Acrisius and Perseus) must go back to a pagan Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Another saga of undoubted antiquity tells of the rivalry of Curoi and Cuchulain over the captive maiden Blathnat, Curoi's abduction of the maiden, her betrayal of Curoi, either by revealing the secret of his external soul to Cuchulain, or by giving the latter the sword by which alone Curoi could be slain. Both methods are combined in *The Bare-stripping Hangman* from Argyllshire,<sup>4</sup> but simpler variants have been recorded in Mayo as the tale of Donald Doolwee and his Delilah,<sup>5</sup> in Donegal as *The Hung-up Naked Man*,<sup>6</sup> and in South Uist (Hebrides) as *The Lay of Melodious Sorrow*.<sup>7</sup> Old sagas relating how Cuchulain got his name (Hound of Culann), was trained by the woman warrior Scathach, killed his own son incognito in combat, and surpassed his rivals Connall and Loegaire for the champion's portion, are (or were recently) reflected in oral tradition, though one may suspect some bookish influence. The tragic story of Deirdre and the sons of Usnach, and the uncanny adventures of Nera in the Cave of Cruachan<sup>8</sup> also survive to this day.

More common than these narratives of the Mythological and Ulster cycles throughout Ireland and Gaelic Scotland are tales of the Fenian or Ossianic cycle. Noteworthy are versions of the birth and boyhood of Finn, his thumb of knowledge, the elopement of his wife Grainne with Diarmaid, the love of Oisín (Ossian), Finn's son, for the fairy princess from the Land of Youth, and of his Rip Van Winkle return. There are also many conglomerate tales, made of stock motifs, which have been attached to Finn and his heroes. Moreover, in the course of centuries the old native traditions have been contaminated. For instance, the Great Fool story, repeatedly collected in Goidelic territory since the early 18th century, is evidently based on the ancient sagas of Finn and the Clan Morna, but the episode of the *gruagach* (wizard-warrior) and his white, red-eared hound seems to have been caught up from an Arthurian romance.<sup>9</sup>

Definitely medieval in origin but not indigenous to Ireland are certain tales: an analog to Chaucer's *Friar's Tale* of the Devil and the summoner; the hermit and the angel; the wolf's tail frozen in the ice; the cooked cock's crowing as a token of Christ's resurrection.<sup>10</sup> Of still later derivation are stories inspired by the witch mania of the 17th century, and in modern times a number of international plots, such as Puss in Boots and Rumpelstiltskin, seem to have passed from print into oral circulation.

There are a vast quantity of long yarns of which no account can be given except that they are strung together out of familiar motifs: the male Cinderella; the widow's youngest son; the grateful dead; the quest

<sup>29</sup> there were professional "droll-tellers," who the hospitality of the cottages and taverns,

for magic swords or inexhaustible vessels or the giant's daughter; impossible tasks; helpful animals and skilful companions; journeys to lands under springs and lakes, or beyond the seas, and so forth. There are also shorter anecdotic narratives, related usually of specific persons and places. An inebriate peasant finds himself in a palace of the fairies; a husband rescues his lost wife from a cavalcade of the dead.<sup>11</sup> In many places throughout the British Isles we find a local legend of a chief and his warriors, sleeping in a cave or hollow hill and awaiting the day when they will wake and come forth in the hour of need. In Ireland it is Earl Gerald who sleeps with his troopers in a cavern under the castle of Mullaghmast; in Argyllshire it is Finn and his men; in Wales it is either King Arthur, as at Craig-y-Ddinas in Glamorgan, or Owen Lawgoch, one of the last chieftains to fight the English, as in Cardiganshire.<sup>12</sup> In several instances this theme is combined with that of the robbery from fairyland, the visitor to the cave attempting to carry off treasure and being badly beaten.

*Insular Brythonic* Wales, though possessing a rich fairy-lore (of which more will be said under the heading of Beliefs and Customs), has preserved few elaborate stories. One, a special form of the fairy mistress theme is found in Map's *De Nugis Curialium* (1182 A.D.) and is still attached to many lakes throughout the principality.<sup>13</sup> A peasant lad woos a coy lake-maiden and induces her to wed him, but she imposes the condition that he must never strike her with iron. She brings with her many cattle from her watery home, and her husband prospers exceedingly, until by accident he breaks the tabu. She promptly returns to the lake, calling her cows after her. A number of Welsh families claim descent from one or another of these Undines. The most famous version of the romance localizes it at Llyn y Fan Fach in Brecknockshire, and says that the fairy after her departure used to revisit her sons and teach them the lore of healing herbs, so that they and their descendants achieved renown as physicians. Moreover, the belief persisted well into the 19th century that the water fay herself used to appear on the first Sunday in August, and thousands of country folk used to flock up to the mountain on that day to see what they could see.

Cornwall possesses little but the anecdotic tale of belated travelers who find themselves in fairy palaces, see there departed friends or sweethearts, are warned not to eat the food, and so forth. Stories of changelings and of human midwives who attend on fairy mothers are also known. We learn of a farmer's boy who joined a throng of tiny men one night, and was whisked with them through the air successively to Portallow Green, to Seaton Beach, to the King of France's cellar, and back again. When the boy's story was challenged, he was able to produce a rich silver goblet from the King of France's cellar as proof of his veracity.

*Continental Brythonic* Brittany has its share of these anecdotic types of fairy tale, but also a rich body of more ancient and varied narratives. An analog of the Irish story of Blathnat's betraying the secret of her husband's external soul is attached to the Breton Bluebeard, Comorre. In other tales we find motifs familiar to the Arthurian scholar: the serpent maiden disenchanted by a kiss; the black and white sails; an empty castle where a table is spread with viands, or

where the hero is served by invisible attendants; taking a piece of a shroud from a cemetery; a hermit uncle who counsels the hero; the dragon-slayer and the false claimant. The precise significance of these Arthurian parallels, though some are doubtless fortuitous, has been recently studied.<sup>14</sup> Certain traditions regarding the amorous sirens known as Morgan or Morganes or the cave fairies called Margot la Fée seem quite definitely to be survivals of medieval legends of Morgain la Fée. To the same early period must go back a not uncommon tale of a peasant girl wedded to a splendid stranger, who was both the Sun and Death personified, and taken by him through a cavern to his shining castle; for the same concepts and roughly the same pattern are found (contaminated by the Orpheus myth) in the Breton lai of *Sir Orfeo*.<sup>15</sup>

A legend circulating as early as the 16th century and variously localized is that of the submerged city of Ker-Ys. The beautiful and lascivious daughter of King Gralon, named Ahes or Dahut, stole from her father the keys of the sluice-gates and gave them to her lover, who let in the waters of the sea. Her father then sought to escape the flood on horseback, with Ahes on the crupper behind him. St. Guénolé, the king's confessor accompanied them, and finally, when the waters threatened to engulf them, bade the king cast off the she-devil who had caused the mischief. At these words Ahes fell with a shriek into the waves and disappeared. Her father reached dry land, but Ahes still haunts the seas in the form of a lovely siren, luring fishermen to their doom.

A people as piously Catholic as the Bretons recount many legends of the saints. St. Anne was a Breton duchess who, turned out of doors by a cruel husband, was wafted in an angel-guided vessel to Jerusalem, there gave birth to the Virgin Mary, brought her up in the ways of piety, and then returned to her native soil. Of St. Eloi the widespread legend is told that he was working at his forge when a stranger, seemingly a blacksmith, entered. The saint grew suddenly weary and gladly accepted the stranger's offer to shoe a horse. One after another the substitute smith cut off the horses' legs, affixed a horseshoe to each, and replaced the legs, while the animal stood quietly during the operation. Astounded at this miracle, St. Eloi questioned the stranger and learned that He was Christ himself. Another familiar hagiological pattern occurs in the story of the wolf which devoured the ox used by St. Hervé in plowing. The saint preached so eloquent a sermon that the wild beast, in atonement for its crime, begged to be allowed to serve in the ox's stead and thereafter faithfully drew the plow.

#### FOLK BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

*Goidelic* Until modern times Ireland kept many practices which were rooted in heathenism. In the 5th century St. Patrick alluded to the adoration of the sun as prevalent among his contemporaries, and as late as 1844 flowers used to be deposited at the altar of the sun on Mount Callan (County Clare) the first Sunday in August. In the 18th century it appears that bulls and rams were slaughtered on this spot.<sup>16</sup> The date was called Crom Dubh's Sunday, and was observed not only here but in many parts of the country with pilgrimages and games. In 1844 Crom was said to be a god, and later tradition from Mayo declared that "bad as he was,



it was he that was giving the people the light of day, the darkness of night, and the change of seasons." Presumably then Crom Dubh, venerated in the 19th century, is identical with Crom Cruach, the chief idol of Erin, which was overthrown by St. Patrick 1400 years before.<sup>17</sup>

The pagan festival of Lughnasadh, which seems to mean the wedding of Lug, the sun god, and to commemorate his marriage with Eriu, the incarnation of Ireland, was held also on the first Sunday in August.<sup>18</sup> The place was Teltown in Meath, and even in modern times young men and women used to resort thither to arrange trial marriages, which, if they turned out badly, could be broken by the pair's resorting to the same spot a year later, turning back to back, and walking away from each other. The ceremonies were brought to an end by the clergy, but the phrase, "a Teltown marriage," is still applied to irregular unions.

The celebration of May Day or May Eve with bonfires in which a horse's skull was burned or by the decoration of a May bush with candles seems to be a relic of the pagan feast of Beltaine, which ushered in the summer. Six months later on November Eve, the beginning of winter (Samhain) was the occasion for the lighting of bonfires and for processions from house to house to solicit contributions of coin and food. In County Cork the procession was led by a man called the "White Mare" (*Lair Bhan*), wearing a white robe and carrying a rude representation of a horse's head.<sup>19</sup> On this same eve the peat fires in the cottages were put out, to be lighted afresh the following morning. The fairies and the spirits of the dead were supposed to be abroad, food was set out to propitiate them, and churchyards were carefully avoided.

Another practice linked to the immemorial past is the cult of springs throughout Ireland. In many places the peasants still resort to these holy wells, pass round them sunwise (deiseal) on their hands and knees, and leave pins or buttons in the water or hang rags on thornbushes nearby. Doubtless these rites and offerings reflect an ancient cult of the divinities of the spring, but they have been adapted to the Christian faith by naming the wells after the saints and addressing prayers to them. The waters are generally credited with healing virtues.

The belief in fairies is by no means extinct. They dwell under the hills, in prehistoric barrows or earthen forts, or near some solitary thornbush. To cut down such a bush was sure to bring some calamity. The association with barrows (*side*) has given the fairies the name of *daoine side* or in English "shee folk," and their size is responsible for the name *daoine beaga*, "little folk." They may ride to hunt, or stir up an eddy of dust, or engage in battles, or steal babies, or milk cows, or prevent butter from forming in the churn.

In Connaught the king of the fairies is Finbheara (pronounced Finvarra), while in Munster there are three fairy queens. Cliodna (pronounced Cleena) used to lead the revels within a great rock near Mallow on May Eve, and was reputed to carry off good-looking young men from fairs held in the neighborhood. Aine and her fays throng the slopes of Knockainy (County Limerick) on Midsummer Eve. The country folk of the neighborhood at this same time used to go round the hill, carrying lighted wispis, to a certain little mound, and then

proceed down to the village to visit the meadows and cattle. Once, when some girls lingered behind, Aine appeared to them and asked them to leave the hill to the fairy folk. She is said to be the mother of Earl Gerald, who sleeps under the castle of Mullaghmast. The third of these fairy queens was Aoibhill (pronounced Eevil), and all three were regarded as beneficent beings who warded off disease from the sick.

But these and other female fairies also assume the uncanny role of a banshee (*bean síde*, fairy woman), whose warning wails are heard on the approach of calamity to the chief of some clan. Aoibhill is the banshee of the Dalcaissians of North Munster, Clíodna of the MacCarthys and other families of South Munster. Though rarely visible, the banshee may appear as a beautiful, pale young woman, with floating hair. The warning fairy may also take the gruesome form of the Washer of the Ford, a woman usually seen washing the bloody clothing and armor of those who spy her and who are about to be killed.<sup>20</sup> The antiquity of this concept is vouched for by the fact that the Irish goddess, the Morrigan, is described, in a poem ascribed to the 8th century, as washing spoils and entrails. There was current recently in County Clare the belief that Richard de Clare, the Norman leader of the 12th century, had met a horrible beldame, washing armor and rich robes "till the red gore churned in her hands," and had been warned by her of the destruction of his host.

There are several other types of supernatural creature familiar to the Irish peasant. There is the leprechaun (probably *luchorpan*, little body), a solitary dwarfish shoemaker, gaily dressed in old-fashioned clothes. If a person can catch him, he can be forced to give up his treasure, but he will vanish if one takes one's eyes off him for an instant.

There are mermaids who, like the Welsh lake ladies, marry mortal husbands, bear them children, but return to their subaqueous homes. The *puca* is a sprite of the most variable forms and functions. He may appear as a bull, a horse, a goat, an ass, or a combination of several animal shapes. He may, like Milton's "drudging goblin," good-naturedly do the housework while the family sleeps, or he may snatch the nocturnal wayfarer, take him for an involuntary ride on his back, and at cockcrow throw him off into a pool. This latter prank seems to relate him to the water horse, which is supposed to emerge from a lake and which, if set to a menial task, will drag a mortal back into and under the waters. Still another supernatural animal of popular tradition is the Glas Chaibhneach (pronounced Gainach) or Glas Chaibhleann (pronounced Gavlen), that is, the gray cow of Goibniu, who was the Wayland or Vulcan of the Irish pantheon, and also the provider of an inexhaustible feast. The animal is said to have presented herself before every house in Ireland, giving to each a plentiful supply of milk gratis, but, offended by the avarice of a woman who kept some of the milk for sale, she plunged into the sea and made for Scotland or Wales.

It is impossible to list the infinite number of Irish beliefs about ghosts, corpses, days and seasons, natural phenomena, animals and plants, as well as the countless minor rituals, customs, and games, and we will turn to the Isle of Man.

The Manx preserved into the 19th century not only

the usual beliefs about fairies but also two remarkable relics of the cult of Manannan, the Irish sea god. On Midsummer eve the people of the neighborhood used to carry green meadow grass to the top of Barule in payment of rent to Mannan-beg-mac-y-Leir. The grandfather of a woman living in 1910 used to pray to the same divinity for a blessing on his boat and a good catch;<sup>21</sup> and he could hardly have been the only one to do so. There was a belief that Mannan was a great magician who could create an illusory fleet out of peashells and sticks, to discourage an invasion of the island. As in Ireland there was also a cult of springs, with the usual accompaniment of offerings and reported cures. The Manx counterpart of the water horse was called *glashtyn*, and that of the *puca* was well known as *fenodyree*. The latter, too, was sometimes a faithful drudge and, if rewarded with clothing, was ungrateful enough to depart.

May Day was called *Laa Boaldyn* (Day of Beltaine) and was elaborately celebrated. The evening before, people climbed the mountains to set fire to the gorse and scare away the fairies; on May morning there was a great blowing of horns for the same purpose, and flowers were placed over the doors to ward off malignant influences. In the 18th century most of the parishes witnessed a procession to the common, and a sham battle, in which the May Queen's forces of young men engaged those of the Queen of Winter, represented by a man in woman's clothes, loaded with furs and woolen wraps. After the fray the men and maids of the winter party repaired to a barn to divert themselves, while the May Queen's party remained to dance and feast on the green. This was, of course, a seasonal rite whose origin is lost in the mists of time. Ancient also was another custom—the hunting of the wren on the day before or the day after Christmas. Every wren that could be found was killed, and the corpse of one was carried from door to door, its feathers were exchanged for coins, and finally the carcass was solemnly buried. This hostility to wrens was accounted for by a legend that a malign fairy, who enticed men into the sea, had assumed this disguise.

In the highlands and islands of Scotland vestiges of animal and human sacrifice persisted into the 19th century. In South Uist about 1875 an old Gael was observed furtively killing a lamb on a knoll at sunrise.<sup>22</sup> Near Callander on May Day boys used to cut a round trench in the turf, make a fire in the midst, draw bits of cake, which they had baked, out of a bonnet blindfolded, and whoever got a piece which had been blackened was supposed to be sacrificed and had to leap through the flames three times. In the Hebrides St. Michael's Eve was the occasion for circuiting the graveyard sunwise and for a dance in which the death and resurrection of the year were symbolized by a woman.

The Washer of the Ford of Celtic Scotland is sometimes known under the generic name of *ban nighechain* (little washerwoman) or *nigheag na h-ath* (little washer of the ford), and is described as a little woman with red webbed feet, washing clothes of battle after dark at a ford. Or she may bear the name of the Irish goddess Baddb. The banshee is known as the *caoineag* (wailing woman), is seldom seen, but often heard in the hills and glens, by lakes or running water. Other supernatural beings are the *tarbh uisge* (water bull) and the

*each uisge* (water horse). The latter assumes human shape, woos maidens, and can be recognized only by the water weeds in his hair.

*Insular Brythonic* In Wales visiting of springs for healing, throwing pins into them, and tying rags on adjacent bushes were rites practiced in modern times but are now extinct. We have record from the 19th century of a ritual combat between the forces of Summer and Winter, very similar to that observed on the Isle of Man. The congregating of the country folk at the Llyn y Fan Fach on the first Sunday in August has already been mentioned. A most curious custom, observed mainly in South Wales, bears a marked resemblance to that of the White Mare in County Cork.<sup>23</sup> It belongs to the Christmas and New Year season and goes under the name of *Y March* (the horse) or *Y Warsel* (the Wassail) or *Mari Lwyd*, which may mean either "Gray Mare" or "Holy Mary." The principal figure of the party was a man carrying a horse's skull (or a wooden imitation) and draped with a sheet. The celebrants went from house to house, sometimes engaging in a poetic contest with the inmates, and receiving from them money-gifts or drink in a wassail bowl.

The belief in fairies was strong throughout the principality. The general name was *tylwyth teg* (fair people); sometimes the diminutive ones are called *ellyllon*, and the females *y mamau* (the mothers), a title which links them to the pagan Celtic deities, the *Matres*. These people live in lakes or streams or in hollows of the hills. Associated with them are the usual traditions of moonlight dance, the supernatural passage of time, the stealing of children, and the substitution of changelings.

There are special varieties of the fairy folk. An invisible island off the coast of Pembrokeshire is inhabited by the *Plant Rhys Ddufn* (children of Deep Rhys), who are midgits in size but assume human form to visit the market towns on the mainland and do their shopping. There is a *coblyn* or Knocker, whose tappings are heard in the mines. The Washer of the Ford seems to be represented by the *Gwrach y Rhibyn* (Hag of the ?),<sup>24</sup> a spectral female in black with batlike wings, who was to be seen plashing the water of a pool and whose shriek foretold misfortune or death. The *puca* is obviously the same being as the Irish *puca*; he may be a willing drudge or a mischievous poltergeist or a will-o'-the-wisp.

Until recent times belief in the Wild Hunt flourished throughout the principality, though with marked variation in detail. Sometimes the master of the hunt is robed in gray and rides a gray horse; sometimes he is the Devil and his mount is black with fiery eyes. The hounds are called *Cwn Annwn* (hounds of fairyland or hell) or *Cwn Mamau* (hounds of the mothers). Sometimes they are described as white with red ears; sometimes they are followed by a cavalcade of doomed souls. The phantom chase is usually heard or seen in midwinter and is accompanied by a howling wind. It seems to be, as elsewhere in Europe, a storm myth and its antiquity is suggested by its appearance in the mabinogi of *Pwyll* (c. 1060).

Two of the supernatural animals of Irish folklore are known also to the Welsh. There is the *ceffyl-dwr* (water horse), which rises above pools and waterfalls and may be caught and mounted, but, after a wild flight through the air, throws its rider to the earth. There is also the

*Fuwch Frech* (brindled cow). When anyone was in want of milk, she would fill the biggest pails; but once a wicked hag milked her dry, and the animal left the country. According to another version, an avaricious farmer was about to slaughter the marvelous cow, when his arm was paralyzed and a fairy figure appeared, calling the cow and all her progeny; and the fairy and cow all disappeared into a lake.

Cornwall, a generation or more ago, retained many of its old beliefs and practices. The fairies were generally called the little people or piskies, dwelt among megalithic monuments on the moors, danced in rings, thrashed the grain by night, employed human midwives, exchanged their own for human babies, led belated travelers astray. The sea strand near Newlyn was haunted by a dangerous sprite called *Bucca* (evidently the same as the Welsh *pwca*), who had to be propitiated by an offering of fish; and the mines were haunted by knockers, who warned the miners of danger. Boulders and other rock formations were attributed to the giants.

The Wild Hunt went under the name of the Devil and his Dandy Dogs. A wayfarer on the moors on a windy night might be pursued and overtaken by the yelping, fire-snorting pack and their horned and tailed master, which could only be put to flight by prayer. The demon hounds are also said to pursue a certain steward named Tregeagle, who died in 1655, after acquiring a wicked reputation for all manner of crimes. Tregeagle himself can also be heard moaning and cursing, as he tries to empty Dosmary Pool with a leaking limpet shell or to bind a truss of sand. The soul of King Arthur enjoys a happier fate, for it inhabits the body of a chough or puffin, and bad luck would follow the Cornishman who killed a chough.

Cornwall could boast many holy wells with curative virtues, chief of them St. Madron's well near Penzance. It was resorted to particularly in May when its oracular waters were supposed to indicate by bubbles the number of years before a maiden's marriage. Sickly children and invalids were plunged into it; others drank the water and then lay on the ground all night; pieces torn from the patients' clothing were hung on a thorn tree overhanging the spring. At several towns Furry Day was observed early in May with the gathering of hawthorn branches and with dancing in the streets and in and out of the houses. At Helston, on May 8 the Furry festival has been held in very recent years; and the story goes that it was instituted to celebrate a fight between St. Michael and Satan.

*Continental Brythonic* In Brittany belief in fairies of various kinds, though moribund, is still feebly alive. Along the coast of eastern Brittany the female fairies go by the name of *bonnes dames* or *nos bonnes mères les fées*, recalling the ancient Celtic cult of *Matres* and the Welsh *mamau*. The sirens of the western seaboard and islands were known as Morgan or Mari Morgan, and had male counterparts. There were also the ghostly *cannered noz* (washerwomen of the night), who were supposed to be washing their shrouds as a penance and could be heard about midnight beating their linen on the banks of pools or streams. The male dwarfs were usually called *corrigans* and were the subject of the usual superstitions: they guarded treasure, helped in the housework, danced on moonlight nights among the menhirs and dolmens, led travelers astray with a torch,

could transform themselves into black horses or goats. A mortal who found himself in the midst of a *corrigan* dance was likely to hear them repeating in chorus "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday," and if he could complete the list would win their favor. A child suspected of being a changeling was called "Little Corrigan."

More powerful and persistent is the group of Breton beliefs about death and the dead. The hoot of an owl, the croak of a raven, or even the chatter of a magpie is an omen of death. The sight of a phantom funeral prognosticates a real one. When the soul leaves the body, it may be seen issuing from the mouth in the form of a gnat or fly. Its destination, according to one witness, is the land of the Setting Sun—a concept which parallels the identification of the personified Sun with personified Death in the folktale mentioned above. But the home of the dead may also be underground, inside a hollow hill, or under the sea. At any rate, the dead constantly return to their earthly haunts, and stories of revenants seen in broad daylight are common. Especially on Hallowe'en are the spirits abroad, and the living are expected to prepare a feast for them. As evidence of their ghostly presence stools and plates have been heard to move.

The personification of Death, known as the *Ankou*, is a living reality to the Breton peasant. He is a gaunt or skeletonlike figure bearing a sword, scythe, or lance with which he strikes down his victims. The creaking of the cart in which he rides may be heard in the dead of night, even though the rider and the cart may be invisible. According to one tradition, the home where *Ankou* rests after his nightly labors is a palace, brilliantly lighted by candles, of which the entrance is a pit in the Bois de Huëlgoat.

Megaliths abound throughout the country and are naturally responsible for many rites and etiological tales. Aphrodisiac rites were enacted at certain menhirs. Girls would rub their naked bodies against one of these stones, and then pick a husband from among the eligible young men who congregated in the neighborhood. If a wife was sterile, she and her husband at the full of the moon would strip naked beside a menhir; he would chase the woman around it until he caught her and then cohabit with her at its foot. Pregnant women used to rub themselves against a statue called the *Venus of Quinipily* in order to ease their labor. The imposing stone alignments of Carnac are explained as pagan soldiers miraculously turned to stone by St. Cornély, while another legend attributes their erection to dwarfs. Elsewhere we find a petrified hunting party and a marriage procession. Near Trébuerden is a dolmen reputed to be the tomb of King Arthur.

One of the most remarkable of Breton practices is one reported from the year 1845. After a prolonged drought all the inhabitants of Concoret formed a procession with banners and a crucifix at the head, marched to the spring of Baranton, and prayed for rain. This is palpably a Christianized form of the custom reported by Wace in his *Roman de Rou* (c. 1170) that huntsmen in the forest of Brecheliant were able to produce rain by pouring water from this spring on a stone block nearby.

The folklore of the Celtic fringe naturally contains much that belongs to the common heritage of the Indo-European peoples. Indeed, a little may have been bor-

rowed from or influenced by the Scandinavian settlers in Ireland and the coasts of Scotland. The Bretons may have preserved traces of an older Armorican culture. Then there has been the impact of the English and the French. But the comparative (though far from complete) isolation of the humbler Celtic-speaking classes from the races from the East has left them with a distinctive tradition, so that even today it is possible to point to customs and tales which have survived a millennium and more on Celtic ground.

#### Footnotes:

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3. W. J. Gruffydd, *Math Fab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928), pp. 64-87.
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12. E. S. Hartland, *Science of Folklore* (New York, n.d.), pp. 207-11. Rhys, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 458-68, 481-84.
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ROGER S. LOOMIS

**Centaurs** In Greek mythology, a race of Thessalian monsters, half man, half horse: originally perhaps simply the wild horsemen of Thessaly, noted for their riding ability. The Centaurs seem to have been of two kinds: the wise and friendly companions of the Greek heroes, like Chiron and Pholus; and the wild, lawless, violent beasts who were conquered and destroyed by Hercules and the Lapithæ. The latter species were the

offspring of Ixion and Nephele, Nephele being a cloud substituted when Ixion attacked Hera, or the children of Centaurus, the offspring of this union, and mares. Another myth says that the Centaurs arose from the semen of Zeus spilled in his passion for Aphrodite. The Centaurs had names suggestive of trees or mountains and are somewhat similar, as forest and mountain spirits, to the Sileni and the Satyrs. They have been compared to the Hindu Gandharvas, but as there is correlation neither in characteristics nor in name the connection is now discredited. The Centaurs in later times were pictured as being ridden by Erotes or as drawing the car of Dionysus. Their earliest form is that of a man's full body with the body and hind legs of a horse attached at the waist; later, the horse's body, with all four legs, was surmounted by the head and torso of a man. The Babylonian sign for the constellation Sagittarius was, as early as the 11th century B.C., a Centaur. Compare KIMPURUSHAS; LAPITHE.

**centipede** In China the immortal or shape-shifting centipede is one of the protagonists in a battle between shape-shifters. During combat one of the warriors changed into a centipede in a black cloud and vomited forth a stupefying fog. He was overcome by the hero in the shape of a five-colored cock who flew into the cloud and pecked the centipede to pieces. With the scorpion, snake, lizard, and toad, the centipede is one of the "five venoms" in China, and is painted on cakes on the Double Fifth (fifth day of the Fifth Moon). A mixture of spirits of wine and phosphorus rubbed on the heads of infants on this day will protect them against the five venoms. In an Indian tale a king who suffered from "centipedes in his head" was given similar treatment.

There is a West African folktale which features a helpful centipede. The word centipede is said to be tabu in Java and among Malayan tin-miners. In Tahiti the two indigenous centipedes are regarded as shadows of the medicine gods, and are never disturbed or killed. If one can be induced to crawl over a sick person, that person will surely recover. [RDJ]

**Cephalus** In Greek mythology, the name of two men almost inextricably confused: one, the son of Hermes and Herse, became father of Phaethon by Eos; the other, son of Deion of Phocis and Diomedes, was grandfather of Laertes, and husband of Procris (Procne), the daughter of Cecrops or Erechtheus. Eos was attracted to the latter, and when he rejected her advances revenged herself by causing him to doubt the fidelity of Procris. Cephalus disguised himself and with the aid of gifts managed to seduce his wife, then disclosed his identity. Procris fled to Crete, where she was received by Minos. There she obtained from Minos the perfect hunting dog and the spear that never missed, after drugging him when they slept in the same bed, to avoid being poisoned by the loathsome insects and reptiles that bit and killed the women with whom Minos had intercourse. Dressed as a youth, she returned to Cephalus and in turn was able to confound him when he accepted her love in return for the dog and the spear. The two then became reconciled, but Procris remained jealous of the attentions of Eos and often spied upon Cephalus as he hunted. One day, hearing him call on the evening breeze (*aura*) to cool him and

thinking he called another woman, she moved in the bushes from which she was spying, and quickly Cephalus hurled the infallible spear, killing her. The hound was lost in Thebes when, assisting Amphitryon, Cephalus loosed it at an uncatchable fox. Zeus solved the dilemma by turning fox and dog into stone. Cephalus, to atone for the killing of Procris, exiled himself to the island later called Cephallonia, and there threw himself into the sea.

Among the motifs woven into this story are K1813 and 1814—the disguised husband (disguised wife) wooing and winning the love of the spouse; K675—sleeping potion given to man who is to pass the night with a girl; D1653.1.2—the unerring spear, or D1084—the magic spear; N322.2—husband unwittingly kills eavesdropping wife; and Q301—jealousy punished. For several of these motifs, the tale of Cephalus and Procris is the type tale in which the motif appears.

**Cerberus** In classical mythology, the doglike monster who served as guardian of the portals of Hades; the janitor of the underworld home. Cerberus was the offspring of Typhon and Echidna and lived in a den on the infernal side of Styx, where he prevented the shades from leaving the underworld and greeted, sometimes in friendly manner, sometimes snarling, the souls ferried by Charon. The dead were therefore provided with honey-cakes to feed Cerberus as they passed, the traditional "sop to Cerberus." His form and name, not described in Homer where he is simply the dog of Hades, are gradual developments: Hesiod, first to use his name, described him as having fifty heads. The three-headed form, with dragon's tail and neck and back bristling with serpents' heads, was not fixed until the time of the Roman poets. Cerberus figures in the many classical stories of descents to the underworld, principally in the harrowing of hell performed as the twelfth and most daring of the labors of Hercules. Granted permission to take the monster if he could without weapons, Hercules seized the dog's heads and though bitten by its tail carried it to Eurystheus. This is the only exploit of Hercules specifically mentioned in Homer, who adds that Hercules threatened even the god of the underworld with his arrow.

Other watchdogs of hell or of death have been compared to Cerberus. The Vedic dogs of Yama, Syama the black and Sabala the spotted, were either guardians of Yama's realm against those who tried to enter or psychopomps sent to find and guide the dead. The wolves of Odin, Geri and Freki, ran through the land when war raged. The Egyptian Ammit was a monster guarding the underworld which had the trunk and legs of a hippopotamus and the head of a crocodile.

**Cercopes** In Greek legend, a race of apelike but human pigmies. Following their thievish bent, they tried to steal the weapons of Hercules. He caught them and tied them upside down on a pole, whereupon they discovered that he was the black-rumped man their mother had warned them of. Their jesting at his hairiness, however, pleased Hercules so that he released them. They were finally transformed to apes or stones by Zeus for trying to trick him.

**ceremonial drinking** A recent observance, with many elements borrowed from Catholic ritual, of various Southwestern North American Indian groups. In native

North America north of Mexico fermented beverages of any sort were unknown to all tribes in aboriginal times, but ceremonial drinking of *sahuaro* and maize wine, to induce rain and for the general good of the crops, is now a practice among various Yuman tribes, the Pima, and the Yaqui, all of whom live near the Mexico-United States border. The *sahuaro* ceremony is held before the rainy season; *sahuaro* syrup is mixed with water in large ollas or clay pots in a ceremonial house; the ollas are set in a circle, and while the syrup ferments the watchers smoke ritually, perform rain-making rites, and dance a circle dance each night. If no rites such as these are held, men sing during the ritual drinking of the wine by the shaman, singers, and people in general. When maize wine is made the drink is carried about the village during a procession and various Mexican dances, pascola, deer, and matachin, are performed during the ceremony. Catholic and native elements of ritual are curiously blended in these recently adopted drinking ceremonies.

For the drinking of a non-intoxicating drink, as an emetic, see BLACK DRINK. Various tribes in central and southern California also drank a decoction made from the pounded roots of jimsonweed (*Datura meteloides*) in order to induce visions in which they received supernatural power. This drink was administered to youths by elderly persons, more or less ceremonially; emphasis was laid, however, on the dangerous nature of the drink. Persons taking it fell into a stupor and had to be carefully watched; they were obliged to abstain from food and water for a certain number of days before and after drinking jimsonweed. [ewv]

**Ceres** The ancient Italian goddess of growing grain and of harvests: identified with Demeter. In her honor the spring Cerealia was held at Rome. Her cult was one of the oldest plebeian cults of Rome.

**Chac** The Maya rain god, the equivalent of the Aztec Tlaloc. By extension he was also a god of the wind, thunder, lightning, of fertility, and of agriculture. He was at the same time one god and four gods in one, each of whom was associated with the four cardinal directions, and each of whom had his distinctive color: red, east; black, west; white, north; yellow, south. Chac was benevolent, the friend of man. To the Maya farmer he was even more important than Itzamna, for through him, one had food, and hence, life. [GMF]

**cha-cha** A gourd rattle used to accompany Haitian vodun dancing. The name is onomatopoeic and is also occasionally given as *kwa-kwa*.

**chacona** A Spanish couple dance of the 16th century: the musical form is in slow triple time—a basso ostinato with variations. Of nebulous heritage, it was formerly an exotic, sensuous, theatrical dance much like the sarabanda. It was transformed by the French into a social dance to conclude a ball, with a characteristic multiple form in contrast with the binary or ternary form of other dances. All took part in the first figure, then a couple danced between the lines, next came the ensemble, then another couple variation, and so on up to eight variations or couplets. This intrinsically rondo form later became, in the hands of musicians, the highly developed theme with variations that resembles the equally notable passacaglia. [GPK]

**chacs or chaacs** In Mayan mythology, minor gods of rain and plenty: probably subordinate to Chac, the rain god, as the Aztec tlalocues were subordinate to Tlaloc. Like the bacabs, the chacs were associated with the four directions. A Spring festival was held in which the bacabs and the chacs were jointly worshipped. Also, in March, the hearts of the different species of wild animals were sacrificed to the chacs and to Itzamna at a festival designed to bring the rain for good crops. The four men chosen to assist the priests at the festivals were called chacs.

Modern Mayan mythology, under the influence of Christianity, makes of the chacs (one of the kinds of *yuntzilob* or lords) little bearded men, some of whom live in the sixth of the seven heavens, smoking and tossing away their cigarette butts, which become the shooting stars. The chacs are of varying rank, each kind with specific rain duties, e.g. those causing steady rain and those causing quick, heavy storms. They act under orders from Jesucristo, riding on horses through the air and scattering rain from their calabash containers.

**chain tale** A folktale based on a characteristic series of numbers, objects, characters, days of the week, events, etc., in specific relation. Cumulative tales are chain tales, but there are many distinctive chain tales which are not cumulative. Typical is the story of the origin of chess (Z21.1): a chain tale involving numbers in geometric progression. The inventor of chess asked in payment one grain of wheat for the first square, two for the second square, four for the third, eight for the fourth, etc., etc. But the king could not pay the great amount. The *Carol of the Twelve Numbers* belongs in this category also. Another story (Z21.3), similar to the children's game *The Farmer Takes a Wife*, tells how the rich farmer paid his servant: the first year he gave him a hen, the second year a cock, the third a goose; goat, cow, horse, etc., continued the series until finally the young man was given the farmer's daughter for wife and inherited the farm. Still others are the familiar nursery rime: Solomon Grundy/ Born on a Monday/ Christened on Tuesday/ Married on Wednesday/—Buried on Sunday (Z21.4.1.3), and the exasperating story about the house that burned (Z23.1). The house is burned down.—That is bad.—That is not bad at all; my wife burned it down.—That is good.—That is not good,—etc., etc. The listener never hits on the right answer. Very famous is the possibilities chain:—I hope I am not called to go to war.—Do not be alarmed. There are two possibilities: either war will break out, or it won't. If it doesn't, no cause for alarm; if it does, there are two possibilities: either they take you or they don't. If they don't, no cause for alarm; if they do, there are two possibilities: either you get combatant or noncombatant duty. If noncombatant, no cause for alarm; if combatant, there are two possibilities: etc.

The chain tale is always amusing and often childish, but the device is also occasionally used for a more pretentious narrative. One such is the story of the "The Ambitious Chandañā Maiden" in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. A certain young Chandañā maiden had decided to marry the highest of all sovereigns. So one day she followed the procession of the king, intending to attract


his notice and marry him. A hermit stood by the way. The king got down from his elephant and bowed at the holy man's feet. So the hermit is greater than the king, she thought, and followed the hermit. The hermit entered the temple and bowed before Śiva, so the maiden decided to marry the god. Just then a dog ran in and lifted his leg against the pedestal of the image. So the dog is greater than Śiva, thought the girl, and followed the dog. The dog ran into the house of a young Chāṇḍāla and rolled with joy and love at the young man's feet. So the Chāṇḍāla maiden married the Chāṇḍāla youth, convinced that her caste was the best of all.

**Chakal Lele** A primitive dance of Papua miming the swift actions of a hunter after his prey. [GRK]

**chalcledony** A translucent waxy gem of the quartz family but never found in crystalline form; it is usually a smoky blue, but may be cloudy white or yellowish. Blue chalcledony is sometimes confused with sapphire in ancient works and under the name of leucachate it was sacred to Diana. California Indians picked up bits of this stone for amulets. The Egyptians used it for their scarab seals. It was credited with driving away phantoms and visions in the night and banishing sadness. It secures public favor, gives victory, and protects the wearer from shipwreck and at times of political revolution. It is mentioned as one of the foundation stones of the new Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. White chalcledony is worn by Italian mothers to increase the supply of milk. See CARNELIAN.

**Chalchiutlicue** The lady of the jade green skirts; the Aztec underworld goddess of flowing water; wife or sister of Tlaloc, the rain god, with whom she jointly held rule over the waters. She was worshipped in connection with the tlaques, the assistant rain gods, whose sister she was sometimes said to be. Maize and serpents were associated with her. She was both a cleansing goddess and an angry wrecker who drowned sailors; at the first bath of the newborn child Chalchiutlicue was invoked. She presided over the sun of one of the mythological cosmogonic periods, and it was during this period that maize first was used on earth. Later, the son of Quetzalcoatl and Chalchiutlicue was immolated in the making of the sun we now see in the heavens. The goddess is depicted bearing a tasseled white and blue headband and a blue neckband.

**Chameleon** A sacred character of West African mythology. In Dahomey, he is associated with Lisa, the sun god, since in the tales, it is recounted how this animal brought fire to man from the sun. [MJH]

 **Chameleon** is also a prominent character in the origin of death stories of East African mythology. In a Duruma myth, when man first appeared on the earth, the animals consulted together in regard to his fate. Lizard wished all men would die. Chameleon said he wished they could live forever. They ran a race: whoever won would make the decision. Lizard won, so the fate of man is to die. Now Chameleon goes slowly and silently on his way, wishing he could have prevented death.

In a Yao (Mozambique) myth it was Chameleon who first discovered man (a man and a woman) in his fish-trap. Everybody was greatly puzzled over the new

creatures; but when Chameleon showed his catch to Mulungu (a sky deity), Mulungu said, "Put them down on the earth and they will grow." This was done. All the animals watched to see what man would do. Man made fire; he killed the animals and ate them; at last the bush caught fire and all the creatures had to run. Mulungu went into the sky to live. Thus the gods were driven off the face of the earth by the cruelty of man.

In the Nyasaland death myth, God gave messages to Lizard and Chameleon to take to man. Chameleon was to tell the people that when they died, they would return. Lizard was to tell them that when they died it was the end. Lizard got there first and said, "When men die, that is the end." In a little while came Chameleon. He said, "When men die, they will return." The people did not know which one to believe. But today they kill Chameleon with tobacco juice whenever they see him, because he came too late with good news. Lizard is also hated, because of the news he brought, and he runs for his life whenever he sees a man.

**champion's light** The light of battle seen over the heads or radiating from the faces of warriors during battle. The ancient Irish *lón láit*, literally, light of battle, was customarily seen blazing from Cuchulainn's forehead and face during the rage and frenzy of the fight. The classic example is the light over the head of Achilles, which Athena kindled and caused to blaze fiercely during the retrieve of the body of Patroclus from the Trojans. Compare ILLUMINATING BEAUTY.

**champion's portion** In early Celtic times, the choicest portion of a feast, assigned to the bravest warrior there. Often it was given without question to the hero of the moment, unanimously beloved and acclaimed; often it was contested instantly, and the assignment decided by a fight in the feast hall. The story of *Bricriu's Feast* recounts the famous and prolonged contest between Loegaire, Conall, and Cuchulainn for the champion's portion at the feasts of Ulster.

**chanekes, chanekos, or chanes** Dwarflike peoples of supernatural qualities: believed in throughout Mexico and Central America. In parts of Mexico they are known by the term *chanèque*, or its variants. Sometimes good, sometimes bad, they frequently steal the souls of human beings, thus causing illness or death. In Guerrero, Mexico, they can be frightened away by tobacco smoke. Among the Popoluca (Veracruz, Mexico) they are "masters" of game to whom hunters make offerings and burn incense to obtain supernatural approval of their expedition. See MEXICAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN INDIAN FOLKLORE; SOUL LOSS. [GMF]

**changeling** An ill-favored, deformed, huge-headed, or imbecilic child, believed to be the offspring of fairies (in the British Isles, France, Italy), of underground dwarfs or gnomes (in Germany, Scandinavia, and among Slavic peoples), or of a witch or demon (in various parts of the world), and supposed to have been substituted by them for a normal or beautiful one stolen away in infancy while unguarded or before baptism. The changeling belief stems from one still more ancient: that infants are peculiarly liable to demoniacal attack until after certain purificatory rites.

The best way to get rid of a changeling is to make it laugh if possible (in the British Isles, Brittany,

France, Germany). The mother who broke an egg in two and set water to boil in each half had great success. The watching changeling said, "I'm fifteen hundred years in this world and never saw that before"; he burst out laughing, and instantly the true child was in its place. This story of the eggshells (either boiling water in the two halves or brewing the shells of twelve eggs in a pot) is told from Germany, France, Brittany, Ireland, and Wales, to Japan. There are occasional other stories (English) of how exceeding loving care bestowed upon a changeling will so gratify the supernatural mother that she will bring the human baby back to the human mother and give both good luck forever. In Brittany, Wales, and France, there are stories of a human mother who was advised to whip the changeling child in order to get her own child back. She did so; the changeling wealed; and "one came crying, 'Do not beat him. I have not done yours any harm,'" and the exchange was made.

**change of sex** A folktale motif (D10), appearing in stories all over the world, in which a man becomes a woman, or a woman becomes a man. The most famous tale of the change of sex is that of Tiresias who saw snakes coupling and not only was changed into a woman but afterwards was transformed back into a man. The motif appears often in Greek myth and legend, for example in the story of Cæneus. The myth of Callisto seduced by Zeus in the shape of Artemis is akin to this theme. Related also are other transformation motifs, principally those of the beast marriage, the disguised suitor, and the use of magical objects. Change of sex occurs often in Persian and Indian tales and is accomplished through the medium of magic pills or plants, or by exchange with some supernatural being. For example, in the *Mahābhārata*, the girl Śikhandī is brought up as a boy, marries as a man, and is contemplating suicide when a Yaksha offers to trade sexes with her and leave her a man. This she does, and is overjoyed to discover that the Yaksha has been condemned to remain a woman until the death of the transformed man. The magic well or magic caldron which changes the sex of one entering it appears in Arabic stories. In a Koryak myth, Big Raven, the ancestor of the Koryaks, transforms himself into a woman by cutting off his sexual organs. After a while his wife, Miti, comes to the camp where he is living. She is masquerading as a man and eventually wins Big Raven as her bride. When they lie down together, however, they are at a loss. But by and by Big Raven's organs, which he has kept, migrate to their rightful place, and in the morning wife and husband leave the hut as they formerly were. Apparent change of sex, by dressing as man or woman, is likewise a widespread motif. The change of clothes of the sexes still occurs at certain holidays in European culture, as for example the Halloween, Christmas, and (in the United States) Thanksgiving Day masquerades. This switching of roles was formerly resorted to as a counter to the evil eye and may have developed the concept utilized in the folktale. Certain instances in medical records, however, indicate that an actual change of sex occasionally takes place, and given an occurrence as abnormal as this, in a simpler society the story-telling mind would naturally incorporate the example into the folktales.

**Chang Fei** One of the Gods of Butchers in Chinese folklore and legend: a composite god (i.e. represented by parts of two animals into which he was transformed). He is eight feet tall with a panther's head, a swallow's chin, and voice of thunder. Originally he was a butcher: butcher to Kuan Kung, with whom he got into a fight, and to Liu Pei, who separated them. The date of the oath of friendship and brotherhood taken by these three is given as 191 A.D. They are often referred to as China's "Three Musketeers," three military heroes who swore allegiance in an effort to unify their land. Later Chang Fei again became a meat-seller. But in the temple of Kuan Kung, Chang Fei is numbered among the 24 assessors of that deity, one of 24 heroes deserving gratitude for service to their country. [RDJ]

**Chang-hko** In Kachin (Burma) mythology, the woman who was saved (alone or with her brother Pawpaw) in a boat during the great flood. She and Pawpaw took nine cocks and nine needles with them. After days of storm they threw overboard one cock and one needle but the cock did not crow and the needle was not heard striking the bottom. This was repeated until the ninth day when the cock crowed and the needle could be heard, a sign that the flood had subsided.

After leaving the boat the two wandered around until they came to the cave of two nats (all nats survived the flood) who invited them to stay. Chang-hko soon had a child which the she-nat watched while the parents worked. Whenever the baby cried, the nat threatened to cut it to pieces at a place where nine roads met. Finally she did just that, scattering the pieces over the country but reserving some which she made into a curry. Then she put a block of wood into the cradle. When Chang-hko discovered what had happened, she ran out to the crossroads crying for her child. The great nat offered to make her the mother of all the nations of men. Immediately from each road sprang men—all the races—and Chang-hko claimed them all as her children. But they scoffed at her. In her anger she cried, "If you will not own me as your mother, then I will live upon you." And even today men must "eat to the nats" by giving them offerings.

**Chang Hsien** In Chinese folk belief, one of the patrons of child-bearing women: invoked especially for male issue and easy childbirth. He is depicted as a white-faced, long-bearded man with a small boy by his side. He holds a bow and arrow and shoots at the Heavenly Dog, T'ien Kou Hsing, the Dog Star, who is greatly feared by pregnant women. [RDJ]

**Changling Woman** The beneficent, ever-beautiful female deity of the Navaho and closely related Apache Indian tribes of the southwestern United States. Changling Woman is the mother of the two Apache culture heroes, Killer-of-Enemies and Child-of-the-Water. Her name derives from the fact that she can change at will from baby to girl to woman to old woman, and back again. [EWV]

**Chang Kuo or Chang Kuo Lao (Lao, old)** One of the Eight Immortals of Taoist lore, said to have lived in the 7th and 8th centuries: the typical old man. It is reported that he died about 746, but when his followers opened the tomb, it was empty. He was born old and is a great traveler. He rides thousands of miles a day



on his white donkey, which, the journey finished, he folds up like a piece of paper. He rides facing the tail and carries sometimes a phoenix feather, sometimes a peach of immortality, and sometimes a cylindrical musical instrument. He was always an expert conjurer, everywhere noted for necromancy. His image offering a child to a newly married couple is often placed in bridal chambers. [RDJ]

**Channukah** The Jewish Festival of Lights. See HANUKKAH.

**chanson de geste** Literally, song of deeds; Old French epic, usually consisting of thousands of lines, dealing with history and legend, for example the heroic feats of great men such as Roland, Charlemagne, Huon de Bordeaux, etc., written in assonant verse divided into thought sequences of varying length, called *laisses*, and sung to a brief, litaneylike melody repeated for each line. The most famous example is the 11th century *Chanson de Roland*. Some, such as *Gormond et Isembard* and the *Chanson de Willame*, had burdens of a ballad type. Chansons de geste formed a part of the repertoire of the wandering jongleurs of the 10th and 11th centuries.

**chanson de la mal mariée** A type of French and Provençal song devoted to the faithless young wife of a cruel or impotent old man. Often with the connivance of servants or neighbors, she takes a series of lovers and defies the old man's wrath.

**chanson de romance** A love song; specifically such a song sung by a girl in payment of a forfeit at a Haitian Negro wake, when games are played to amuse the dead.

**chant** A monophonic style of singing or recitative in free rhythm, used as a heightened speech form or speech-song for the delivery of sacred texts, ritual formulas, or magical incantations in many cultures. The term is applied to such widely differing styles as the liturgical music of the Christian, Buddhist and Confucian religions; the cantillation of the Jews; the Indian cantillation or Vedic chant; the battle songs of various tribes; the complex ceremonial song cycles of such American Indian tribes as the Navahos; the incantations of shamans or special singers of numerous primitive peoples for curing, placating the supernatural, accompanying birth, puberty, and funeral rites; the singsong of children's counting-out rimes, jeering songs, jump-rope and ball-bouncing rimes, etc.

The Christian chants include the four great Western divisions, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Gallican, and Gregorian, the Eastern forms, Byzantine, Syrian, and Armenian, and the Coptic and Ethiopian chants of northern Africa. Both Greek and Jewish influences are preserved in the melodies, but local folk elements distinguish each type. From the tropes and sequences of the Gregorian chant, originally devised to aid in memorizing complicated *melismatas* by suiting a syllable to each note, grew religious folk song in the vernacular and religious folk drama. Formulas of the Byzantine chant, which made use of free poetry for its texts rather than the psalm texts of the Western chants, are still preserved in the *colinde* of Rumania. The Coptic chant is sung chiefly by blind singers, who are considered the only people of sufficient spiritual and un-


worldly character to sing the sacred melodies, and the transmission of the form is thus entirely oral. It has developed, beyond the liturgy, a body of religious folk songs for festivals and other public occasions. The Ethiopian chant is sung by priests who maintain a strong volume to the point of exhaustion; dancing, hand-clapping, and drum-beating on the part of the congregation contribute to the attainment of an ecstatic state. This procedure is similar to that of the shout of American Negroes.

Jewish cantillation consists of melodic formulas intoned with Biblical texts, the musical elements having been transmitted orally until the 16th century. Oriental Jews sing without instrumental accompaniment, though in ancient times, accompaniment was always used. The unfixed melodies of their style are believed to have some part in the development of *cante flamenco*.

The Vedic chant is developed around a three-tone melody with high-pitched stresses on vowel sounds. High, middle, and low tones are accompanied by raising, leveling, and lowering of the head as an aid to correct placing of the tones, and notes are located by a system of finger-counting.

Julius Cæsar recorded his observation of the battle chants of the Gauls, which were sung to the brandishing and clashing of weapons, as they invoked the help of their gods for champions at single combat and raised the cry of victory. Unrimed, alliterative chants were sung by the Milesians as they approached Ireland, calling on the magic of nature to assist them.

It is a common belief among primitive peoples that a special chant is taught to the singer by a supernatural being and that the song is then his inalienable property until passed on to successor or heir. Cosmogonic, genealogical, and mythological subjects form a considerable body of primitive chant, aside from the spells and curing formulas of the medicine men. Dancing may accompany the singing. [RCJ]

 The popular English name for the curing rituals of the Navaho Indians of the American Southwest is chants. Elaborate origin myths, in which it is narrated how a deity or supernatural being performed the chant for the first time, are attached to the many Navaho chants which exist; during the course of a chant the famous earth- or sand-paintings of the Navaho are made as part of the curing ceremony. Chants last several days and nights; the chanter and his helpers must be paid, and oftentimes large groups of Navaho assemble from far and wide to witness the ceremony; food must be provided for these visitors. Certain Navaho are well known for their knowledge of the long texts of various Navaho chants. These texts or songs, which are chanted rather than sung must be repeated letter-perfect, else the entire chant is invalidated. No man should sing a chant more than three times a year; if he sings it oftener he will be stricken with the same disease which is cured by the chant. Grave errors in the singing of a chant may also be followed by disease; of Washington Matthews, who early learned and recorded the Night Chant, used for curing paralysis, it was said by the Navaho after Matthews was himself stricken with paralysis, that he must have learned the chant badly, and gotten its songs mixed up. [EWV]

chantey or shanty A strongly rhythmical work song of sailors, generally with a solo passage sung by the leader, or chanteyman, and a refrain roared in chorus by all hands to coincide with the concerted effort of the task. To the hard-fisted officers who mastered the square-riggers on which chanteys reached its peak, as well as to the singing men on the deck, these songs were as important in the working of the vessels as the straining ropes and the belling canvas at the masts. For every kind of back-breaking job aboard ship there was a song to pace the work. Three main types of chanteys became traditional for the three main kinds of labor: (1) Short-haul or short-drag chanteys, used when only a few lusty pulls were required, as in boarding tacks and sheets or "sweating up" a halyard. These were the earliest and simplest songs, barely removed from the shouted work cries commonly heard as long ago as the 15th century on the Venetian galleys. The oldest short-drag chantey known is *Haul on the Bowline*, dating from the time of Henry VIII. (2) Halyard chanteys, timed to the massed pull and relaxed interval of long hauls, such as hoisting sail, catting the anchor, and occasionally pumping. In this class are *Whiskey, Johnny, Blow, Boys, Blow, Blow the Man Down*, and *Reuben Ranzo*. (3) Windlass or capstan chanteys, sung to the heavy processional beat of sea boots around the capstan when hoisting anchor or warping the ship into the dock, and the type generally carried over into the most gruelling toil of the seaman's life, pumping ship. The first and last duty of the voyage required the strength of every man's back at the capstan bars, and some of the finest of the chanteys grew up around its turn-post. Favorite capstan chanties were *Sally Brown, Shenandoah, Rio Grande, Amsterdam or A-Rovin'*, the oldest of them all, and *Stormalong*.

The chanteyman, selected or self-appointed, not for his musical talent but for his seamanship, stood erect at the leading part of the rope, while the rest "tailed on" in crouching position behind him. It was his responsibility to choose the right song for the job, to set the pitch and tempo, and to improvise stanzas, if the usual ones were finished before the work was done. He might sing through the chorus once at the beginning to be sure that the men knew his version. Choruses were fairly well standardized and known to forecandle hands everywhere, but the chanteyman exercised considerable freedom in his rendition of the solo parts, altering names and places to fit the circumstances. Irishmen were especially esteemed as chanteymen, but in the late days of sail American Negroes became famous as the greatest ever to throw a song to the gale. (Harmonizing in the chorus was never heard except among Negro crews.) It was a moment of relief for many a hard-pressed mate when the first strong voice lifted a working song to whip a sullen, drunken, disorganized crew of polyglots into action at the beginning of a voyage.

Sung without accompaniment to airs borrowed from ancient ballads, music-hall ditties, or any contagious melody heard on shore, these frequently ribald songs of unknown date and authorship followed sailors all over the world, gathering stanzas and new tunes and losing their roots as they went. They celebrated the sprees ashore, the girls and drinks of every port and every continent. They giped at the harsh mates and masters of every well-known packet line in a way that

would not have been tolerated in speech. They lauded the proud and beautiful ships and damned the "hard case" ones, deriding the food and the quarters and bemoaning the hard life of the sailor. Men of every race serenaded certain salt-water heroes and heroines, notably Sally Brown, the lady of easy virtue, Reuben Ranzo, the inept seaman who became a captain, and Stormalong, the sailor's sailor.

British seafarers were responsible for the bulk of the chantey repertoire up until the 19th century, when the American clippers challenged the merchant fleets of the world, driving their lean, full-sailed ships to unbroken speed records. Then American chanteys, drawing their inspiration from pioneer songs, railroad and wagon-train songs, lumbermen's come-all-ye's, and Negro work chants with an early touch of the blues, were heard in the China tea ports, the Alaska fur anchorages, on the Liverpool packet runs, and howling around the Horn to California gold-rush towns.

The competition of steam at first only contributed to the richness of the chantey, because the sailing skippers drove their crews to the point of exhaustion to save the trade for the square-riggers, and only with singing could the last effort be exacted.

The latest chanteys of all came from the nitrate ports of Peru and Chile, where, even up to World War I, ships of all nations swapped songs, creating hybrids such as *Slav Ho*, and *Bangidero*, in which a tune from one country was matched to meaningless sounds in imitation of the poorly understood language of another.

The origin of the word is disputed. First mention of it occurred in 1869, under the spelling *shanty*. *Chantey* first appeared in 1884. Some authorities argue that the derivation is from shanty, a shack, and was due to the lumbermen who often left their shanties to ship for a voyage in off seasons. However, it seems most probable that the word comes from the French imperative, *chantez*, sing. Compare FORECASTLE SONG. [TCB]

**Chanticleer** A name for the cock and chiefly used as a proper name, but often without the capital. Chanticleer is the name of the cock in the *Roman de Reynart*, a medieval beast epic or fable. [CRS]

**chaos** In Hesiodic mythology, the pre-existing empty space, filled with clouds and darkness, which evolved Erebus, Night, Tartarus, and Eros. All things, men, and gods arose from this goddess, Chaos. In the later Orphic belief, Chaos, Night, and Erebus existed at the beginning. By the time of Ovid, Chaos had evolved from the Hesiodic nothingness into a confused mass from which all things were created by harmonizing the various parts. The word was applied also to the underworld. Compare TIAMAT.

**Chao San Niang** Goddess of the Wig Makers in Chinese folk belief. Chao San Niang was the wife of a scholar, one of the first members of the Academy. While he was away receiving honors and performing his duties at court, she and his parents suffered great hardship and want. Chao San gave the parents whatever food she could get and she herself lived on chaff and husks. When the old people saw this, they insisted that the three of them share equally whatever food there was, but they died as a result. Chao San Niang had no money to buy coffins, so she sold her long, beautiful hair, her only wealth. When the time came for the hus-

band to return home, Chao San was in great distress, because she could not face him with a shaven head. But she managed to find enough hair to make herself a wig. Today she is regarded as the patroness of the wig trade. [RDJ]

**Chapayekas** Literally, long slender noses; the ritual clowns of the Mayo-Yaqui of Sonora, Mexico, carried over into Yaqui settlements of Arizona. During Lent they form a masked police group and rule absolutely from Ash Wednesday to Easter Saturday. Membership in the group is by vow taken because of a sickness. Together with the unmasked "soldiers of Rome" they constitute the Fariseo society, with Pilato as their head.

They wear plaid shawls, deer-hoof belts, and often cocoon rattles (*teneboim*) like the Mazo and Pascolas. They strike an ornate machete in their left hand against a lance (Mayo) or stick (Yaqui) in their right, as they caper. The name-giving masks are of goat or wild pig skin with patches of hair remaining as beards, and with long ears and noses or snouts, and among the Mayo, with huge horns, which among the Yaqui have dwindled to crescent stubs. Some clowns, called *viejos*, wear old coats and canes. Masked, ritual silence is preserved, and communication is by sign language only.

The Chapayekas are supposedly incarnations of the Devil; yet they police the people, guard the image of Christ, bury the dead, and carry rosaries in their mouths. All action is in reverse, ludicrous, and often obscene. During Easter processions and church services they cavort to weird music of fiddle, fife, and drum. A typical step consists of three stamp-brushes and a stamp. At noon on Easter Saturday they shed all evil by rushing out of the church and burning all paraphernalia except masks and deer-hoof belts. Members of the Chapayekas group are buried in their masks. These vestiges of primitive ritual are probably related to the Tarahumara *chapeones*, and to pueblo clowns such as the Taos *k'apio*, mingling fertility, animal, and death ritual. [GRK]

**Charites** (Latin *Gratiæ*) In Greek mythology, daughters of Zeus and Eurynome (though the several authors and various religious rites give them differing parentage); personifications of grace, loveliness, and charm: originally goddesses of vegetation who developed into deities attendant upon and subordinate to the principal gods of the pantheon. Traditionally, they are three: Euphrosyne (mirth), Thalia (abundance), and Aglaia (splendor). They symbolize the Greek ideal of the mean between license and restraint. Charis (the singular form of the word) is mentioned in Homer as the wife of Hephaestus, but so is Aphrodite, and perhaps the two are identical; the Charites often appear as attendants of Aphrodite. Originally the Charites may have been two: Cleta and Phaenna were the Spartan Charites; Auxo and Hegemone the Athenian. The Athenian youth made his oath to defend the city by Auxo, Hegemone, and Agraalos (daughter of Cecrops). Their rites at Orchomenos (the Charitiesia) were best known, and they were worshipped at Messene, Athens, and in other places. They formed no part of the Roman religion. Earlier representations show the Charities clothed; later they appear naked and with arms linked in a graceful circle, two facing forwards and one backwards. Their attributes are the myrtle, the rose, and musical instruments.

**charivari** (American *shivaree*) A French marriage-baiting custom dating from the Middle Ages. Originally common after all weddings, then directed at unpopular or unequal matches as a form of public censure, the charivari became so licentious and violent as to be prohibited by the Church, surviving only in rural districts. Similar customs have existed all over Europe under different names. Introduced into America by the French of Canada and Louisiana, where the name was corrupted into shivaree, the custom fitted into the frontier and backwoods pattern of rough horseplay and wild sports, especially in the South and the Middle West.

The constant element in the shivaree has been the noisy mock-serenade produced by a discordant din of noise-making instruments and rustic and domestic implements—horns, cowbells, kettles, dishpans, boilers, tin plates—tick-tacks on screens and windows, rattling of sticks on picket fences, and firing of guns (a Colonial custom preserved in the Southern "running up" of the bridegroom). After the privacy of the bridal chamber has been invaded and while the couple's attention is distracted, they are subjected to all kinds of annoying pranks, such as hiding their clothes, tying the bedclothes in knots, and placing cracker crumbs, hair clippings, and even live toads in the bed. More recently the couple may be captured and separated and driven about town in a hilarious procession of honking cars, with tin cans tied behind. Other pranks include handcuffing the groom, tying him to a tree, forcing the couple to dress in "tacky" clothes, and trundling them in a wheelbarrow.

Certain survivals may be noted in the customs of the shivaree, e.g. the noise may once have been intended to drive away evil spirits, and Old World customs of consecration and divination, such as sewing the bride up in a sheet or hanging a bell under the bed, may be preserved in the bedroom pranks. The treat exacted from the bridal couple in the form of drinks, cigars, candy, ice-cream, etc., may be a survival of the practice of purchasing peace by ransom.

The convivial and social features of the shivaree have gradually been taken over by more agreeable and harmless functions, such as parties, bridal showers, and "open house," while the honeymoon and the motor car together have provided first a convenient escape and then a substitute. [BAB]

**Charlemagne** (742?-814) Charles the Great, or Charles I, king of the Franks, who reestablished the "Roman" Empire. Some 200 years after his death he became the central figure in a cycle of chansons de geste or popular romances about the adventures of one or more of his 12 peers, the "matter of France." Best known of these, and possibly the first, is the *Chanson de Roland* which tells of a disastrous rear-guard action led by Roland and his best friend Olivier against the Moors at Roncesvalles. These metrical novels, produced for the entertainment of a sophisticated court and as social and political propaganda, were rewritten frequently between the 11th and 16th centuries. Though the Carolingian cycle contains a number of motifs from popular folklore, that, for example, the king will rise from the dead when his people need help, it is less dependent on this sort of episode than is the Arthurian cycle which influenced it. Research in the 20th century has gone far to

invalidate the romantic hope that in the Carolingian cycle one might observe the operations of the memory of "ein dichtendes Volk" which made men into myths because they were historically important. [RDJ]

**Charleston** An angular ballroom dance for partners who dance face to face but not in a ballroom embrace. The feet fly alternately forward and back; at each step the toes and knees turn in and the arms swing in opposition. It is named after Charleston, South Carolina, where Negroes working on the docks invented these step combinations and entertained the passengers of the steamers. In 1925 it was crystallized into a ballroom dance, and in 1926 became popular in Europe. [GPK]

**Charlie Chaplin rimes** It was inevitable that the children should adopt into their lore the quaint figure of the movie comedian. There are many verses about him, especially among the skipping-rope rimes, of which the most popular is:

Charlie Chaplin sat on a pin.  
How many inches did it go in?  
One, two, three,—(until the jumper misses)

But a close rival, with many variants, is:

Charlie Chaplin went to France  
To teach the ladies how to dance,  
And this is what he taught them,—  
First the heel, and then the toe,  
Skip and a hop and away you go.  
Salute to the king, bow to the queen,  
And turn your back on the Kaiserine.

Sometimes the rime begins:

One, two, three, four,  
Charlie Chaplin went to war,

and then it is the nurses whom he teaches to dance. Sometimes he teaches elephants to dance: he can do anything. Once:

He pulled the trigger,  
And shot a nigger,  
And that was the end of the war.

In World War II the ending of the France-dance rime became:

Salute to the captain, bow to the queen,  
And turn your back on the old submarine,

and, strangely, in Utah, the last line became:

Stick up your nose to the crippled old king.

[CFF]

**charming of game** Among North American Indians, the recitation of charms and short formulas by persons gifted with supernatural power, to attract game: a fairly widespread practice. Intensive use of this method of securing game has been noted for several Paiute groups of Nevada. [Ewv]

**charms** Practically every magical rite is accompanied in South America by chants to which the Indians assign great powers. No man can claim the title of shaman unless he knows a great many charms. The importance of magical chants as a means of averting impending dangers may be exemplified by the behavior of the Apapocuva-Guarani who, at the slightest difficulty or just because they feel tired or depressed, resort to chanting. According to the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, the magic chants known to their ancestors had

the power of bringing whales to the shore. The Shipaya Indians of the Xingu River believe that a charm could assume a human form in order to accomplish the wish that caused its expression. Certain charms could go in the guise of a man to an enemy village and kill every one they met.

Shamans use charms and incantations to combat evil influences, to expel diseases, destroy their enemies, summon spirits, and endow objects with supernatural powers. Ordinary people, as a rule, also know charms to ensure good luck and ward off dangers. The Taulipang, a Carib tribe of the Guianas, classify charms into two categories: those which ensure the success of a cure or of an enterprise, and those intended to cause damage. Each charm is validated by a myth explaining its origin, and by reciting its past successes. See AMULETS; FETISH; GBO; TALISMAN; WITCHCRAFT. [AM]

**Charon** In Greek mythology, the son of Erebus and Nox; an old, dirty man who ferried the shades of the dead over the Styx to the realm of Hades. He would carry only the properly buried dead, and these paid him with a coin placed in their mouths at their burial. This custom of putting a coin in the corpse's mouth still existed in Greece until recent times. Charon is probably a later figure formed from an earlier popular god of death. See COIN OF THE DEAD.

**Charos or Charontas** In modern Greek folklore, the Angel of Death, a figure of terror who rides a horse and carries off the dead. He is probably a modernized survival of a very ancient god of death whose literary development led to the Stygian ferryman Charon.

**Charun** An ancient Etruscan god of death who carried a hammer with which he finished off his victims. He was a companion of Mars on the battlefield.

**Charybdis** In Greek legend, a monster, the whirlpool she formed, and the rock cliff under which she lived, facing Scylla from the Sicilian side of the Straits of Messina. The rock was lower than Scylla's cliff and was topped by a fig tree. Three times a day Charybdis sucked in the sea water, and three times a day she vomited it forth as a whirlpool. Both Ulysses and the Argonauts sailed through the straits safely. In later literature, Charybdis was supposed to have robbed Hercules and then to have been cast into the sea by Zeus. The expression "to fall into Scylla while avoiding Charybdis" seems first to have been used in the 12th century A.D. Compare SYMPLEGADES.

**chastity** In primitive societies wide variation exists in sex customs. In many societies, e.g. the Ba-Huana, Kafir, Maori, Nagas, sexual intercourse is common and unrestrained among children up to the age of puberty. At puberty boys and girls are segregated, initiated into adulthood, and prepared for marriage. After marriage strict chastity is required of the wife with severe penalties, such as death or slavery, for violation. In many other societies chastity means virginity from birth until the time of marriage; this is invariably true when a bride price is paid by the husband. But in no early society is chastity required for moral reasons. Rather it is based on practical considerations, such as the necessity of having a recognized provider for children. Chastity does not, therefore, mean refraining from sexual inter-

course outside the marriage tie, but rather refraining from sexual intercourse with another without the husband's wish, permission, or sanction. The wife is the husband's property. If she surreptitiously takes a lover, she and the lover are violating a property right and for this reason both are severely punished. Many societies practice wife hospitality, exchange of wives, priest rights, and other such customs in which the husband willingly gives his wife to another. The point to be emphasized is that primitive peoples do not look on sexual intercourse as immoral or "bad" in itself; it is the circumstances attending it that are important. Among certain native tribes of Australia and many other peoples a girl at puberty must submit to the perforation of the hymen by a man appointed for that purpose. Then for several days she freely has intercourse with many men of the tribe. The purpose seems to be to make her "safe" for the husband-to-be. Yet the same girl, should she seek out a man, would be universally condemned and punished. See ADULTERY. [MEL]

**chastity sword** The two-edged sword, or the "naked sword" laid between a man and a woman sleeping together to preserve their chastity. See SEPARATING SWORD.

**chastity test** A test applied to women to ascertain whether or not they have been faithful to husbands or lovers. Many forms of testing are found in folklore and legend; they are generally connected with the ordeal. The test by fire is the most common. The suspected woman was forced to thrust her arm into boiling water, or boiling lead (Isolde), or in a flame, or forced to walk barefoot over red-hot plowshares (Queen Matilda), etc. If she was burned, she was believed to be guilty; if unscathed, innocent. In the test by water she was thrown into a body of water; if she sank, she was guilty; if she floated, innocent. According to legend, Vergil, in his role as necromancer, constructed a huge brass serpent as a sort of mechanical chastity-tester. A suspected woman could be tested by forcing her to place her arm in the creature's mouth. If she was guilty, the animal would close its jaws and hold her arm fast. Other tests are associated with personal objects usually given to the person tested by the spouse or lover. Typical of these chastity tokens are a shirt which remains white as long as its wearer is faithful (King Horn), a ring that will pinch or even cut off the finger of the faithless wearer, a sword that will rust if the owner's fidelity is blemished. The chastity token is certainly a development of the life token. See ACT OF TRUTH; LIFE TOKEN. [MEL]

**Chelm** A town near Lublin, Poland, the inhabitants of which were the traditional superlative fools of European Jewish lore. Compare GOTHAM.

**Ch'èng Huang** In Chinese folklore, god of the Ram-parts, City Walls, Moats, and Ditches: also known as a Spiritual Magistrate of the People. This god and his attendants exercise in the spiritual world functions similar to those exercised by the civil governors in the terrestrial world. They are in constant communication with Yen Lo, Judge of Hell, and report evil deeds to him. They also communicate with Shang Ti, the Supreme Being, from whom their power derives. They are also believed to have power over diseases and evil spirits.

The worship of Ch'èng Huang dates from the ancient days when all towns were surrounded with mud walls or ramparts, which in turn were surrounded by the water-filled excavations from which the earth for them had been dug. The *Book of Rites* reports that one of the successors of the legendary Huang Ti instituted sacrifices in honor of certain "Eight Spirits," among them inventors of dikes and mud walls, and Ch'èng Huang, and of whom one may have been god of the city or community. Another sacrifice, dated 513 B.C., shows that the gods of the city gates also received honor.

Ch'èng Huang's cult has maintained the great popularity it achieved in the Sung dynasty (960-1127 A.D.) during the dominance of the Taoists. Consequently the lore is shot through with rationalizations, borrowings, euhemerisms, and the like. In large cities the temple is an imposing edifice containing quarters for Ch'èng Huang, his Lady, and his attendants. It also contains depictions of the courts of Hell and the tortures which are to be met in each. Chief among Ch'èng Huang's attendants are two secretaries, Ox-Head and Horse-Face, and two constables, Mr. White and Mr. Black. A whole system of Ch'èng Huangs developed and many of them bear the names of persons important in local legend. Ceremonies and iconography show great local variation. In former times there were periodic celebrations and splendid processions during which Ch'èng Huang was brought out of the temple and carried through the streets to inspect the city. [RBJ]

**Cheng Wu** Guardian of the North: a Taoist Worthy representing a mixed cult. His temple is visited during the Lantern Festival, the middle of the First Moon. Here scenes from his life are painted on colored transparencies. After his conversion to The Way, Cheng Wu left the court. During a mood of discouragement with the difficulties of The Way, he decided to return to the world. He met an old woman grinding an iron bar into a needle and decided that persistence will accomplish anything. Because his body tormented him, he cut himself open and removed his five vital organs, which became savage beasts and created unhappiness among the people. He then turned them all into musical instruments. The knife and scabbard Cheng Wu used to disembowel himself became a youth and a maiden. The maiden, Cheng Wu's daughter, hates marriage and tries to spoil young brides. In this she is assisted by the spirit, Hsiung Shen, who is so ugly that when he sees himself in a mirror he runs ten thousand li. This group, which contains other unpleasant creatures, of whom one helps people into the noose when they hang themselves, and another is helpful in crawling into small holes, is involved in the festivals of life and death. The Supreme Lord of Heaven appointed Cheng Wu Guardian of the North, with residence at the North Pole. [RBJ]

**Cheremissian or Marian folklore** The Cheremis are a Finno-Ugric group (about 413,000 in 1920) living between the central Volga and Vyatka, in the Gouvernements of Vyatka, Kazan, N. Novgorod, and Kostroma. The highest God of the Cheremis is *Kugo-jumo* (compare JUMALA), a manlike being, living in the sky. Like the people on the earth, he practices agriculture and has many excellent cattle; he even keeps bees. In the prayers he appears as a worldly ruler with a large train of lesser deities, to whom sacrifices are also made. The

word *jumo* means the heaven, sky, or the weather. *Kürdertiše-jumo* is Thundergod, and *Wolgeidže-jumo* is Lightning-god. The word for soul is *ört*. Not only man has a soul, but also objects and all manifestations of nature. The evil spirit of the Cheremis is *wodež*; and there are many of them: *wüt-wodež*—the spirit of the water; *kude-wodež*—the spirit of the house; *tul-wodež*—the spirit of fire. The creator of all the evil on the earth is *Shajtan* (derived from Satan), a demon common also to the Mordvins. Other spirits are *ia* or *ija*—devil. The water spirit is usually called *wüt-ia* or *wüt-osa*. His daughter is called *wüt-ian iider*; she is a beautiful sea maiden and can be married to a man. The water spirits are very dangerous at noon; this time is forbidden for bathing or fishing. *Kugo-jen*, the tall man, is an evil spirit. In case of disease a sacrifice must be made to him. The good one is *Puirše*, Creator and protecting spirit. Many deities of nature are named in combination with the word for mother (see AWA).

The Cheremis have many feasts. The great feast in the month of May is *Shürem*. It takes three days, and the Devil is driven out with noise and blowing on horns (MSFO 59: 29-30). Another great feast, *Küso*, involving numerous sacrifices, is celebrated at the end of June (MSFO 78: 185 ff.) Important feasts are consecrated to the dead. *Nelle parjam* or *nelleše* is the feast for the dead, observed 40 days after burial. Till this day the dead one is fed at home, but after this feast he definitely leaves the living relatives. Another feast of the dead is *tošte-mari*. This is a general feast observed the week before Easter and Whitsuntide, for all the dead. At this time all the dead leave their graves and walk in the villages. It is also called *sorta ket' še*—the day of the candle—or *sorta päram*—the feast of the candle (FFC 61: 37).

The sacrificial priest is *kart*. The oldest or most capable is "great kart," the others being "small kart." *Kudo* is a separated corner within a Cheremian hut, the dwelling of the "kudo-spirit" (Compare KUALA of the Votjaks).

The most important works on Cheremian folklore and mythology are:

Beke, Ö., *Tscheremissische Texte zur Religion und Volkskunde*. Oslo, 1931. (Folk beliefs and customs, superstitions, proverbs, riddles, etc.)

—, *Tscheremissische Märchen, Sagen und Erzählungen*. Helsinki, 1938. MSFO 76.

—, "Texte zur Religion der Osttscheremissen," *Anthropos* 29, 1939.

Berdnikov, V. M., and E. A. Tudorovska, *Poetika Mariškich narodnich pesen* (Poetics of the Mari Folk Songs). Joskar-Ola, 1915.

Holmberg, U., *Die Religion der Tschereimissen*. Helsinki, 1926. FFC 61.

Paasonen, H., and P. Siro, *Tscheremissische Texte*. Helsinki, 1939. MSFO 78. (Tales, songs, prayers, magic formulas, proverbs, riddles, notes on religion and cultus).

Wichmann, Y., *Volksdichtung und Volksbräuche der Tschereimissen*. Helsinki, 1931. MSFO 59.

JONAS BALYS

*cherkesska* A saber dance of the northern Caucasus, performed by men. It is fierce and virile, with leaps and turns. At present it is an exhibition dance, but may formerly have shared the vegetation symbolism of all

leap and sword dances. It does not, however, enact a battle; similar to the Arabian *danse du sabre*, it is a solo display of dexterity in manipulating the weapons.

[GPK]

*cherry* The fruit of any of certain trees (genus *Prunus*) of the rose family; a small round or heart-shaped drupe enclosing a small pit. All parts of the tree have been used in folk medicine. Negroes of the southern United States give a cold tea made from cherry bark (in some localities taken from the north side of the tree) to stop post-natal and menstrual hemorrhage. It is general U.S. folksay that a cherry tree will sprout in the stomach of a child who swallows a cherry stone, or that it is unlucky to dream of a cherry branch. In Ontario it is said that a strict cherry diet will cure allergies. A lock of a child's hair is sometimes put in the trunk of a cherry tree to cure his asthma. In Newfoundland a tonic drink is made from cherry bark. Certain North American Indians used cherry roots to decoct a remedy for syphilis. Cherry gum dissolved in wine is still used to relieve coughs, and is also considered an excellent tonic. In Switzerland the first fruit of a cherry tree is given to a young mother to eat, preferably one who has just had her first child. This insures an abundance of fruit in the orchard. In some parts of France the cherry orchards are wassailed as the apple orchards are in England.

*Cherry Tree Carol* An English ballad carol (Child #51) based on Apocryphal material from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* xx, and other sources, telling the story of a miracle performed by Christ before his birth. Mary and Joseph walked through an orchard or garden where cherry trees grew. Mary asked Joseph to pick her a cherry and, when he refused roughly, the unborn Child in her womb bade the tree bow down to give his mother fruit. The tree obeyed, to Joseph's chagrin. The first mention of the story in English was in the Coventry Mystery of the 15th century, though it was not a carol in that reference. The varying sets of words that have survived, both in England and in the United States, are of later date. In a number of American versions the Child goes on to foretell the date of his birth: "On the 6th of January/ My birthday will be/ When the stars in the elements/ Shall tremble with glee." This day, Old Christmas, has been celebrated even in recent years in mountain sections of Kentucky. Other European songs on the same story vary as to the fruit concerned, according to the favorite fruits of the country—date, fig, apple, etc. The last runo of the *Kalevala* relates a similar tale of Marietta, a maiden who went to milk the cows and passed a tree with a scarlet berry. The tree invited her to gather the fruit, which was so far out of reach that she had to knock it down with a stick. At her command the berry jumped into her lap and then into her mouth. She became the mother of Ilmori, the Air. See CAROL.

*chestnut* In many places chestnuts are believed to have curative powers. In Germany they are carried in the pocket as a charm against backache, in the United States against rheumatism, but in England they must be begged or borrowed to be effective in these ways. They were formerly considered good for the blood, but eating too many would thicken it and cause headaches. Chestnut leaves boiled in water, with honey and glycerine added, will cure asthma and chest complaints. In

Tuscany they are the appointed food for St. Simon's Day, in Piedmont for All Saints' Eve, and some are always left on the table for the souls of the poor dead.

**Chhalla** A ritual libation of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia. Small cups (always in ritual number) are lined up on a blanket; in each of them the priest (*yatiri*) places different substances: mica, feathers, silver and golden paper, flour, incense, alcohol, and maize beer. The proper combining of these substances is part of the traditional ritual of the popular religion. The contents of the cups are thrown to the wind as offerings to the spirits and deities. [AM]

**Chiang Tzū-ya** The God of Fishermen of Chinese folk belief; another name is Chiang T'ai Kung. His legend says that he lived from about 1210–1120 B.C., began life as a humble fisherman, and became a general and adviser of generals during the establishment of the Chou Dynasty. He is worshipped as the god of fishermen and is said to have fished with a "straight hook and a grain of rice for bait" until he was 80 years old, at which ripe age he became Prime Minister under Wu Wang. [RBJ]

**Chiapanecas** Literally, girls of Chiapas; a mestizo dance of the state of Chiapas, Mexico, usually performed by women. Alternating Austrian waltz and Indian shuffle steps, the dancers swirl their full skirts and clap their hands at a given moment in the music. Thus it is also called the "handclapping dance," and the audience joins in the clapping. Two lines of girls, or girls and boys, form a V after their entrance, cross over and circle. As a couple performance in Mexico City, it has been elaborated with pirouettes and leg swings. The gay Ländler tune to which it is danced probably dates from the brief rule of Maximilian and Carlotta. [CPK]

**Chibcha-chum** An ancient tutelary deity of the Bacatá region of Colombia: referred to as god of earthquakes in Chibcha mythology. Once he tried to flood the valley of Bogotá, but was thwarted by Bochica, who created the big waterfall of Funza Bacatá to divert the waters. Chibcha-chum either fled or was driven underground, where he still supports the world on his shoulders. [AM]

**Chicomecoatl** Literally, seven snakes; Aztec goddess, sometimes called the "goddess of nourishment"; the female counterpart of the maize god Cinteotl, their symbol being an ear of corn. She is occasionally called Xilonen.

**Chie** The goddess of sensual pleasure in the Chibcha religion. Bochica is said to have turned her into an owl or the moon. [AM]

**Chief** In many North American Indian mythologies it is assumed that each animal species has a chief who speaks for the species, and to whom animals and human beings are accountable. This belief is especially strong among the Eastern Woodlands and Southeastern groups. [EWV]

**Chih Nü** The celestial Weaving Maid of Chinese mythology and legend; heroine of a star myth that occurs in many versions, e.g. in China, Korea, Japan. Chih Nü is generally identified with the constellation called Lyra in the West or with Vega, its principal star; her lover, the Cowherd, is Aquila, or Capricorn, or the star

Altair. The Weaving Maid was an immortal who was banished to earth. She fell in love with an oxherd. When, her banishment having come to an end, she returned to Heaven, her herd-boy lover tried to follow her but was stopped at the Milky Way.

Another form of the story belongs to the world-wide swan-maiden type: The Weaving Maid spent her time in Heaven weaving clothes for the gods. Once she and her sister descended to earth to bathe in an earthly stream. A cowherd was told by a magic cow to steal the garments of the loveliest maiden. This he did. Consequently the Weaving Maid was not able to return to Heaven and the looms of the gods were idle while she was living happily on earth with her lover. She was recalled to Heaven. The cowherd, wrapped in the skin of his magic cow, followed but was stopped at the Milky Way. The Jade Emperor of Heaven decreed that the two might meet once a year if the night is clear and the magpies make a bridge with their wings.

The festival is observed on the Seventh Night of the Seventh Moon, when the lovers meet. The legend has obvious connections with the spider legends, Arachne, etc.

**chikuli** A Mexican cactus worn in the belt for luck by the Indians of the regions where it is found, and sometimes for aid in hunting.

**Child, Francis James** (1825–1896) American philologist and distinguished ballad scholar. His first collection of *English and Scottish Ballads* appeared in eight volumes (1857–1858). His final collection, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, first appeared in ten parts (1882–1898), later in five volumes, and is still the standard ballad authority and reference. Graduated at Harvard in 1846, he was professor there from 1851 to the year of his death, holding the chair of English Literature from 1876. He accumulated at the University one of the largest folklore collections in the world and by his influence made Harvard the main center of folklore study in the United States. New variants of some of the 305 ballads in his collection have occasionally been discovered, but no new ballads.

**child abducted by cannibal** A folktale motif (G400ff.) especially popular among the Indians of the North Pacific Coast. Typical is the story of a group of children beguiled by chewing gum into the basket of a giantess, who made off with them. Several escaped from the basket but not all (sometimes all but one). The hero is a young boy suddenly born from the mucus of his mother's nose (T542.1) who grew to miraculous wit and strength in four days. He went forth to search for his brothers and sisters (or sister), found the Cannibal giantess's cave, and the dried bodies of children in it. He hid in a tree by the river but was discovered by the Cannibal by his reflection in the water (R351). She asked him how he became so beautiful. The boy explained that he had had to endure great pain to become so beautiful. The Cannibal giantess besought him to give her the same treatment, but the boy taunted her with being unable to endure it. She agreed to submit to the treatment (i.e. have her head pressed between two stones [K1013], or be beheaded, etc.). She came back to life at once, but he killed her again and this time broke the spell. He then resuscitated the children (or child) in the cave and led them all safely home. [EWV]

**childbirth** The many peculiar practices incidental to the birth of a child, various and widespread as they are, arise, for the most part, from only three main fears: 1) fear of blood-tabu contamination, 2) fear of the unknown spirit-sources of life, and 3) fear for the child's welfare, immediate and future. These three overlap greatly at times.

The primitive tabus associated with woman, particularly throughout the reproductive period of her life, become temporarily attached to the infant and also to all persons and objects intimately connected with the birth.

It would seem that the respect for and fear of blood which is so general in early cultures is increased and magnified when the blood is that of childbirth or menstruation, perhaps because the reason for these natural biological processes was so vaguely if at all understood. Blood plus mystery was of old and still is an unbeatable combination for arousing human curiosity and interest. From the dawn of history until today there have been whole races and religions asserting that there is some mysterious wonder-working power in the blood.

The documents included in the Hebrew scriptures bear ample evidence of the fear of contact with menstrual and parturient blood (*Isaiah* xxx, 22; *Leviticus* xv, 19-33 and xii, 2-8) and the persistence of those same birth tabus is to be seen today in civilized Christian countries where in some orthodox communions women must still be "churched" to purify them after childbirth (see CHURCHING OF WOMEN).

The tabu atmosphere surrounding the arrival of the baby accounts for the various required actions of the father of the infant, including not only the widespread custom of couvade but also in many cultures his expected absence from the scene, and usually that of all other men as well. The preference of many women, especially in rural districts, for the attendance of a female midwife instead of a male obstetrical expert is probably a survival of this custom, as is the traditional vigorous shooing of all men from the vicinity by the women. On the other hand, among some tribes all relatives, including the men, flock to the birth; and in other tribes the husband is expected to assist or even acts as midwife.

In the Marquesas Islands the husband is even required to have sexual relations with his wife as she bathes immediately after the birth. This might seem to be the very antithesis of respect for the birth-blood tabu, but is probably also inspired by a recognition of the terrible power of the tabu and the desire to counteract and terminate it by heroic measures, antidotal in character, like the couvade.

Correlative with the absence of the husband is a similar device, the return of the pregnant woman to her mother's house until after the delivery of the child. The custom is common in Africa and India, especially for the birth of the first child, which, among the Basuto, traditionally belongs to the maternal grandparents. According to very old accounts, Gautama Siddhartha the Buddha was born in the Lumbini Grove when his mother was overtaken by her pains on the way to her mother's house. It may be that the custom of the husband's absenting himself is a substitute for and a survival of the presumably older matriarchal culture.

Still further evidence of the birth tabu is the usage in widely separated regions where the woman gives birth in seclusion. It may be behind the maternal grandmother-to-be's hut (South African Herero), in the forest (British Columbia), on the shore of a river (la Plata), or in a little shed, as formerly in Japan. In Russian Smolensk the birth is in the barn. Where circumstances, such as severe winter cold, make birth in the house necessary, it must be behind a screen or curtain. On the west coast of India one tribe secures the needed seclusion for the woman in the hut by having the other inmates leave for five days.

These various methods may be explained by all concerned as due to the woman's desire for privacy, but the original motivation was undoubtedly the protection of the relatives and neighbors, especially the men, from the dangerous powers of the life force infesting the place of birth at the time—powers resident and manifest particularly in the blood.

The contamination of birth, like that of death, extended to objects in the house. Fishing-nets and game-cocks in the Philippines, bows and arrows in Brazil, and the cuttings of plants in New Britain are removed from the house because otherwise they would all be unlucky. In New South Wales among certain tribes every dish used by the pregnant and parturient woman is carefully destroyed.

It would appear that the newborn child is dangerous even to himself, for if he looks in a mirror, he is said in some country sections to be very likely to contract rickets.

The birth practices inspired by fear for the child's welfare begin long before its arrival. Parsons reports (*Pueblo Indian Religion* i, 91) that a Sia woman would not run a sewing machine during her pregnancy lest the umbilical cord get sympathetically tangled, and the Isletan women avoided the flickering moving-pictures lest their children become bewitched. Likewise, on the positive side, ancient Mexican women are reported to have worn shells of the sea-snail that their expected children might creep forth from the womb as easily as the snail from his shell.

Women with more pretense of civilization have been known to indulge during pregnancy in similar sympathetic magic, either positive or negative, much to the irritation of the attending scientific-minded obstetrician and the disturbance of his program of prenatal care. Belief is common that looking upon a rabbit as it eats will cause a woman's child to have a harelip, and a trip to the zoo is likely to have untold consequences.

In some parts of China great care is taken to have everything auspicious as the birth-pains start. Incense is burned before the ancestral tablets; red candles for joy are lighted in the birth-chamber; all conversation must be cheerful, all ill-omened words carefully avoided. See section *Birth* in CHINESE FOLKLORE. When the child does arrive, the precautions taken all over the world to ensure good luck are multitudinous and varied enough to occupy several volumes. See AFTERBIRTH; AMULETS; CAUL; BAPTISM; CIRCUMCISION; UMBILICAL CORD; etc.

In *Ezekiel* xvi, 4 we have, by negation, a good description of the Hebrew birth practices in the 6th century B.C.: "And as for thy nativity, in the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou



washed in water to supple thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all."

In other countries newborn infants were rubbed with oil, or raw eggs, or alum, or sulfur, or a mixture of other substances. In every instance, some practical hygienic, sanitary, or therapeutic purpose is today alleged, by very ingenious rationalizations, but the origin of the custom is either obviously or inferentially to be found in the desire to protect the child from evil influences and spirits (supposed to be particularly apt to haunt the vicinity of births) by some beneficent insulation through the use of evil-repelling sacred emulsions or powders. The oil is "sacred oil" as in modern Greece, or the water is "holy water" as in many Christian lands.

The first clothing of the infant is important. In parts of China the newborn is dressed in robes resembling those of a Buddhist monk, to fool the evil spirits. The cumbersome and otherwise unexplainable long gowns in which helpless infants were nearly smothered until a generation ago in England and the United States probably had their origin in some such idea of disguising the child as an adult. The custom in Kent of putting a boy's nightshirt on a baby girl, and vice versa, is supposed to be in order to make her or him attractive to the opposite sex when grown, but appears to be another disguise mechanism.

The day of the week on which the child is born was once thought to be of importance, especially in Scotland, England, and parts of the United States. But the popular rimes disagreed sadly as to which days were auspicious. While all versions said:

Monday's child is fair of face; and  
Tuesday's child is full of grace,

there, for a while, the unanimity ended. Wednesday's child was full of woe in England, sour and sad in Georgia, but loving and giving in New England. Thursday's, in the same regions respectively, had far to go, was merry and glad, or must work for his living, while Friday's was loving and giving, full of sin, or full of woe. Saturday's had to work hard for his living in England, was pure within in Georgia, and had far to go in New England. But Sunday's child, how favored! The old jingle must have started in Scotland, where a bairn born on a Sabbath was deemed most highly lucky and, significantly, safe from the malice of evil spirits. So we find the rimes in England and New England chiming together:


But the child that is born on the Sabbath-day  
Is blithe and bonny and good and gay.

Georgia's version is even more pious, ending:

To heaven its steps shall tend away.

In parts of rural England many quaint and evidently very old customs survive, such as laying the newborn first in the arms of a maiden, covering a boy with his mother's petticoat or a girl with her father's pants, and taking the child to the top of the house before it is carried out of doors.

The various fears connected with childbirth and the customs deriving therefrom disappear suddenly in a few weeks, after the mother, father, child, and house have been ceremonially cleaned and accepted back again into the community. CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

 Certain post-natal observances and tabus among the Indians of Middle America should be mentioned. Usually the mother rests for a week or ten days after a birth. In areas where the temescal sweat bath is used, she bathes on successive days and is cleansed. In parts of central and southern Mexico the NAGUAL or TONAL is discovered by placing ashes around the cradle of the child to note the tracks of the animal which comes to visit its new charge. Newborn babes may have the *mollera* "set," i.e. the midwife pushes up on the hard palate to prevent illness. Copal incense, perhaps mixed with tobacco, may be placed in a tiny bag around the neck or wrist of the infant as an amulet to prevent illness. A seed, *ojo de venado* (deer's eye) is also widely used in this way.

Most Indian children eventually are baptized by a priest. Among the Tarahumara (northwest Mexico) a curing ceremony takes place, three days after the birth of a boy, and four after the birth of a girl, at which the officiating medicine man burns incense and describes crosses with burning pine-pitch torches. Friends of the family avoid admiring the new child unrestrainedly lest they be accused of involuntarily exercising the evil eye.

Food tabus for some time for the mother are common, though there is little unity from one tribe to another. To illustrate, the Tarahumara mother does not eat squash or apples for several weeks. No explanation for this practice is given. See COUVADE; MEXICAN and CENTRAL AMERICAN INDIAN FOLKLORE; UMBILICAL CORD. [GMF]

**Child-Born-in-Jug (Pot)** A miraculous-birth tale, occurring among some Great Basin and Southwestern North American Indian groups. [EWV]

**Childermas** The name in England of Holy Innocents' Day, commemorating Herod's slaughter of the children: observed on December 28 (December 29, Old Style, in the Greek Church). The day is considered unlucky; any undertaking begun on this day is doomed to failure. Among its many local names is Cross Day in Ireland, and there are several local legends emphasizing the day's unpropitiousness. In the British Isles it was the custom in various places for parents to whip their children before the children got out of bed, that they might better remember the significance of the day. This later degenerated into a widespread custom of the early risers beating the lie-abeds.

**Child-of-the-Water** Culture hero of Apache and Navaho mythology. Among some Apache groups Child-of-the-Water is the chief culture hero who slew monsters and other enemies of mankind; he is attended by a subordinate, a younger brother, relative, or friend, known as Killer-of-Enemies. In other Apache groups the positions of these two are reversed, with Child-of-the-Water a lesser character than his companion. In several Apache mythologies the two heroes are sons of Changing Woman. Child-of-the-Water has become identified by the Apache with Jesus. [EWV]

**Children of Lir** One of the Three Sorrows of Storytelling of Old Irish mythology and legend: *Oidead Clairen Lir*, the Tragedy (or Sorrowful Fate) of the Children of Lir. Lir, lord of the sea, one of the ancient gods (see LEAR), had four children by his first wife, Aeb, daughter of Bodb: Fioguala, a daughter, Aed or Hugh, and Conn and Fiachra (twin sons).

These children were turned into swans by their jealous stepmother, Aoife, also a daughter of Boðb. Fionguala begged Aoife for a limit on the curse and Aoife said "till a woman of the south be joined to a man of the north." Because Fionguala had asked for the limit to be said, and Aoife had said it, neither Lir nor Boðb nor any magic of the Tuatha Dé Danann could undo the curse, until the children of Lir had spent 300 years on Lake Derryvaragh, and 300 years on the Mull of Cantyre (the Straits of Moyle, between Ireland and Scotland), and 300 years in the open Atlantic near Erris and Inishglory, off the stormy western shores of Mayo. But Boðb changed Aoife into a demon forever because of the evil thing she had done. Lir and Boðb came to see them on Lake Derryvaragh and discovered that the beautiful swans still had their human speech and possessed the wonderful gift of music which only the Tuatha Dé Danann knew.

The swans lived in peace on Lake Derryvaragh for 300 years. The next 300 years on the Straits of Moyle were bitter cold and stormy, and the swans were granted no respite of land or shelter. Off the coasts of Erris too, in the last 300 years, they suffered cruel hardships. The night the sea froze solid from Erris to Achil was the most terrible of all.

They remained in Inishglory till the time the hermit Mo Caemóc came to that place; and for the first time the swans heard matin bells. They then sang their own unearthly lovely song. Mo Caemóc heard it and sought them, and found them and cherished them, and they were happy while they stayed with him.

Soon Deóc, daughter of Munster's king, was married to Lairgrén, king of Connacht. Thus a woman of the south was joined to a man of the north. The enchantment on the children of Lir was ended when Lairgrén grabbed the swans to take them for a gift to Deóc. The swan-shape fell off them under his violent hands, and all he saw was four ancient withered human beings, about to die. Mo Caemóc baptized them as fast as he could, and buried the four in one grave.

For centuries in Ireland no man would kill a swan because of the sorrowful story of the children of Lir; and the people of Ireland are loath to kill swans to this day for the same reason.

**children's songs** The oldest and most widely diffused of folk songs, showing great similarity both as to melody and to subject-matter all over the world and preserving the vestiges of ancient ceremonies and beliefs. They include the game songs, counting-out rimes, mocking songs, begging songs, divinations, historical verse, and mnemonic rimes sung or chanted by children themselves, and the lullabies, chin-choppers, finger and toe enumerations, knee-dandling rimes, etc., sung to children by adults.

Game songs still played and sung today carry survivals of foundation sacrifice, the belief of the Devil's enmity to bridges, the war between saints and devils, as in *London Bridge*, which has counterparts in many languages. They preserve the May-Day courting customs and the Druid's tree, as in *The Mulberry Bush*; the washing and burial of the dead, as in *Green Gravel* and *We've Come to See Miss Jenny Jones*; the handkerchief morris, as in various drop-the-handkerchief games, and many other beliefs and practices. They also vicariously put the child into a place in the adult world by

dramatizing the work and social functions of men and women—washing, ironing, planting, selecting a mate, etc., as in *The Farmer in the Dell*, *Go In and Out the Windows*, *Oats, Peas, Beans and Barley Grow*, and *Here Come Three Dukes A-Riding*.

Many songs or chanted rimes accompany ball-bouncing, rope-skipping, etc. These tend, while preserving from generation to generation a basic pattern, to adjust themselves to the times. For example, a rope-skipping chant of World War I vintage said, "Cinderella/ Dressed in yellow/ Went down town to buy an umbrella/ She walked so slow/ She met her beau/ And he took her to a ten-cent show." Ten-cent shows having become unknown in 1949, the rime now goes, "Cinderella/ Dressed in yellow/ Went down town to buy some mustard/ On the way her girdle busted/ How many people were disgusted?" Derisive chants once devoted to Kaiser Bill easily made the shift to Hitler. Shipyard strikes, comic-book characters, and movie heroes have entered the picture; and a consciousness of race prejudice has eradicated some of the phrases known to earlier generations, possibly with the censorship of parents and teachers. *Eeeny, meeny, miny, mo*, for instance, now often says "Catch a bunny (or baby or monkey) by the toe," instead of "nigger."

Begging songs (*chansons de quête*) are those sung at Christmas, New Year's, etc., in a house to house canvass for a handout in return for good wishes. Some, such as *Here We Come A-Wassailing* are still sung by carollers.

It has been observed that the one- and two-tone babble songs of infants repeat the patterns of the earliest known and most primitive forms of music. Such jeering tunes as are sung to words of the character of "I know a secret," or "Cry, baby, cry/ Put your finger in your eye," etc., are almost identical the world over. See CAROL; CHANT; COUNTING-OUT RIMES; GAMES; LULLABIES; SKIP-ROPE RIMES. [TCB]

**Child Waters** A popular English ballad (Child #63) found in the Percy manuscript, in which the test of endurance of a woman's love is the main theme. Faire Ellen, pregnant with Child Waters' child, runs barefoot as a page beside the horse of her heartless lover. Child Waters will not ease the pace, compels her to swim a river, humiliates her in the feast-hall where they arrive, sends her into the town to hire the fairest lady she can find to be his bedfellow, and compels her to rise before dawn to feed the horse. In the stable Faire Ellen gives birth to her child. When Child Waters comes to the stable door he overhears her singing a lullaby to the baby and wishing she were dead. His heart softens at last, and he promises Faire Ellen marriage and churching both in one day. *Burd Ellen* is the title of the Scottish version of this ballad. The Piedmontese ballad, *Ambrogio and Lietta*, closely parallels the theme.

**chilena** A Mexican mestizo couple dance of Guerrerro and coastal Oaxaca: derived from the Chilean cueca, and characterized by kerchief play. [GPK]

**Chi Lung Wang** The Fire-Engine Dragon King: in Chinese popular belief, a carry-over from the worship of Lung Wang, the Dragon King who beneficently supplies the earth with water and rains. Chi Lung Wang is invoked to facilitate the use of the hand-pumps of Chinese town and village fire-fighting mechanisms.

**Chimera** In Greek legend, a fire-breathing monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, or, according to Hesiod, with the heads of these three animals. The Chimera was the daughter of Typhon and Echidna. When she ravaged the Lycian country, Iobates sent Bellerophon against her. That hero, from the back of Pegasus, slew the monster. The name has come to be applied to any fantastic or horrible creation of the imagination, and also to a grafted hybrid plant of mixed characteristics.

**chimerat** A term proposed by the famous Swedish folklorist, C. W. von Sydow, as an international term for the type of folktales variously called *märchen*, conte populaire, fairy tale, household tale. The term was approved by the Premier Congrès International de Folklore which met in Paris in 1938, but has not yet received wide usage or acclaim.

**chimes** Tuned sets of bells, gongs, or stones struck with a stick or hammer. Known in the Far East from earliest sources, suspended, L-shaped stone chimes (Chinese *pien ching*) were played for formal public and religious occasions, and for private entertainment. Similar sonorous stones are also found in Annamese temples, in Venezuela, on Chios, and in the Christian churches in Ethiopia. Sounding stones are also used in the ceremonial rite of preparing *kawa*, a drink, in Polynesia, where maidens chop the ingredients on tuned stones. Metal chimes, used both in the East and the West, for musical purposes, for religious accompaniments, and on down to dinner chimes, are a development from these stones. See BELL; GONG.

**ch'in** One of the two main types of long zither, the original stringed instrument of China, distinguished from the other type, the *shē*, by having frets and by its smaller size: played exclusively by scholars and sages for small, select audiences. It is integrated in the cosmic system with south, summer, and silk. The player washed his hands and burned incense before taking up his instrument, and the ancestral spirits were believed to attend the delicate wailing music of its silk strings. It is often erroneously described as a lute. The Japanese name for it is *koto*.

**Chin Chia** One of several patrons of Chinese literature, known as the "Gentleman in Golden Armor." He punishes wicked scholars, and waves a flag before the homes of families whose descendants will attain high honor in the Imperial Examinations. See WEN CHIANG.

[RJD]

**Chinelos** Carnival dancers of Morelos, Mexico, especially famed in Tepoztlan. Formerly they were disguised as Negroes. Nowadays they wear long loose embroidered satin gowns, fantastic hats topped with ostrich plumes, and amazing masks with horn-shaped black beards. Despite their encumbrances, they jump, skip, and clown. In Cuautla they are modernized to the point of wearing their regular trousers, which show in telltale fashion, and of concealing, in the ornaments of their crowns, flashlights which they blink on and off. Their ceremonial origin is lost in obscurity. [CPK]

**Chinese folklore** Folklore in China is a vital and living force. Whereas elsewhere the student of folklore is frequently embarrassed by lack of data, in China he

meets a richness of custom, belief, and ritual which is made more complex by geographical variations and an extraordinarily long and complete written record. Any observations of Chinese folklore in one area can be contradicted by observations in other regions; and conclusions about the folklore of one period of Chinese history need to be checked against conclusions of other periods. In view of the incomplete state of our present knowledge, all conclusions must be tentative.

In general characteristics Chinese folklore is identical with the folklore of other peoples. Before the 5th century B.C. it had stratified into the lore of the aristocrats and the lore of the populace although social revolution and the passing of feudalism tended to confuse these distinctions. Chinese folklore has been modified by the rise of philosophical schools, the migration of religious systems, and the tides of politics, but its essential outlines come generally from the large, complex, and as yet only partially known corpus of beliefs and practices characteristic of all eastern Asia. This corpus with its modifications is very clearly preserved in the China of today. It can therefore be referred to as "Chinese folklore." Because the Chinese nation is composed of several cultures and many racial strains, the separate contributions made by the predecessors and ancestors of the present inhabitants of China cannot be identified; because the record is continuous it frequently anticipates the western records in its accounts of practices and beliefs. This sort of anticipation has no connections with the "origins" of the practices. Similarly, Occidental students preoccupied with stellar myths, diffusionism, or other attempts to codify imagination have tried to force Chinese beliefs into patterns they prefer. Attempts to explain Chinese folklore, like attempts to explain its origins, are no part of these notes. The capacity of the Chinese to absorb alien customs and beliefs and the ubiquity of folkloristic habits of thought serve as warnings against hasty generalization at the same time that they call for further collection and study of a comparative nature.

Difficulties in the study of Chinese folklore are created by: (a) the long period through which it extends; (b) the size and indefiniteness of the territory in which it exists; (c) the mixture of cultures constituting the Chinese nation and (d) borrowing and lending as between these races; (e) the existence of a scholarly class with great power and prestige; (f) the priestly class which has reworked and rationalized the material. Two further difficulties are: (g) the Chinese written language (the medium through which the history of folklore must be approached) is the property of scholars and thus may be taken as distorting the material it has recorded. Finally, (h) the extensive collections made by missionaries eager to demonstrate the evil effects of the superstitions of others or by ardent ethnographers attempting to impose European systems on Chinese data, though enormously valuable, are incomplete and fail to demonstrate the remarkable variation of custom and belief in the several parts of China.

**Pre-History and Early History** The Chinese nation as it is known today seems to have had its beginnings in the provinces west of the Shantung peninsula, the regions drained by the Yellow river. Here a belt of early culture stretched from a point several hundred miles inland from the sea through the modern provinces

of Shantung, Hopei, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu toward the indefinite western border of modern China. In this territory, the Shang Dynasty (c. 1500 to 1100 B.C.) reached a high degree of sophistication. Their bronzes are of a "late" type—no early bronzes have as yet been found in China; their divination was by means of ideographs scratched on bone or tortoise shell; their religious system did not differ greatly from systems today still current among the peasant class. Their arts and crafts and manners were highly developed to a point which compares favorably with the more degenerate moments in our classical renaissance or our contemporary civilization. Though early references to "aboriginals" or non-Chinese tribes which still exist in isolated cultural pockets must be treated carefully, scholars are generally agreed that the peoples of the Shang as well as those of some later dynasties were immigrants into the rich and fruitful valley of the Yellow River.

Sources of information for these early periods are not satisfactory. The first classical Chinese histories produced in the Chou Dynasty (c. 1100 to 221 B.C.) were mostly if not entirely destroyed in the Ch'in Dynasty (221–206 B.C.). They were rewritten from various sources by the reformers of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to 221 A.D.) with such additions and deletions as seemed useful. Consequently the validity of these histories is subject to serious debate unless confirmed by archeological findings.

The most useful of these early accounts was compiled by the learned and critical Han historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien. According to this scholar the first rulers of the universe were the 12 Emperors of Heaven who reigned 198,000 years (18,000 years each); the 11 Emperors of Earth who reigned 198,000 years; the 9 Emperors of Mankind, 45,000 years, and the 16 Sovereigns about whom nothing is known. These were followed by the culture heroes, inventors of the arts and crafts, Fu Hsi and Shên Nung, who had serpent bodies and human heads. Shên Nung was the first tiller of the soil, Huang Ti was human. He taught the savage peoples under him the forms of government, crafts, manners, and the proper sacrifices to the gods, mountains, and streams. Yü founded the Hsia Dynasty (c. 2205 to c. 1557 B.C.) which, though recognized by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, is possibly pre-Chinese. Yü spent 13 years regulating the floods which covered the entire country. Because his devotion to duty was so great that during this time he never entered his house, though he passed close enough to hear the cries of his children, he has been revered as the perfect civil servant.

**Early Beliefs and Customs** Because of the capacity in China for folkloristic agglutination which has preserved very early beliefs into modern times, comments on primitive customs must be taken as highly generalized accounts. The following elements were undoubtedly early in origin: "yin-yang," divination, *wu* cults, the priest kings with their cults of heaven, earth, soil, and grain, and ancestor worship.

Yin-yang, though later elaborated by the Taoists, derives from the basic concept in Chinese culture that balance is the law of existence. The symbol of this belief is a circle bisected by a sine curve. However this symbol may have been interpreted in primitive times, it came at an early date to represent the opposition in balance of the positive and negative forces of the

universe; male-female; heaven-earth. The principles thus symbolized became an important part of Lamaism in which the portrayal of sexual union represented the highest balance of which mankind was capable, opposition in unity. The attribution of male (yang) and female (yin) characters not only to heaven and earth but to the parts of the human body is important in Taoism, geomancy, and folk medicine. The maintenance of balance and harmony is found also in divination of auspicious or inauspicious days for new undertakings in that any new act which deviates from the customary on the yang side or the yin side must be undertaken only when the forces of nature are favorable to the restoration of the balance. The maintenance of balance induces serenity and has had much to do with the preservation of the rites and sacrifices.

Divination in the Shang Dynasty was part of the aristocratic cult. Ideographs were scratched on bones and tortoise shell and treated with heat. Priests interpreted the cracks which subsequently appeared. The questions put had to do most frequently with the proper days for sacrifices, journeys, wars. The ideographs were similar to the current "characters," though of a much earlier form, and in many cases were sufficiently removed from the primitive "pictographs" to justify the conclusion that the peoples who used them had a culture requiring the use of non-pictorial abstractions. The fact that millions of Chinese still consider the written character as sacred and to be preserved from all defilement, and the traditional and present position in China of the learned scholars suggests that knowledge of the written character and knowledge of how to interpret the oracle bones were the secret lore of the priests.

The *wu* priests undoubtedly operated in both the aristocratic and the popular cults. Their learning was transmitted through their colleges. Their ritual which included trance states, singing, and dancing is thought by some Chinese scholars to have contributed to the development of the Chinese theater. Mediumistic practices were important. Many of their rites were similar to those of the shamans recently observed in Mongolia, Siberia, and elsewhere.

Yin-yang, divination, and the professional *wu* priests were part of the agrarian Shang culture. The patriarchal Chous (c. 1000 B.C.) introduced king-priests, worship of the male ancestors, and an astral religion.

The priest kings had as their most important duty the pacification of T'ien or Heaven, personified as Shang Ti, of Earth or Ti, a flat surface opposed to T'ien. T'ien was yang (male) and Ti was yin (female). Hou T'u was the God of the Fields, Shê the God of Soil, and Hou Chi the God of Millet. Only the Emperor as Son of Heaven could perform the ceremonies to Heaven. At various times he also sacrificed to the Lords of Earth and Millet—possibly an example of the agglutination of Shang (agrarian) and Chou (nomadic) traditions; the lesser kings and aristocrats performed the lesser ceremonies for their specific areas. The sacrifice to Heaven was performed on the first day of the agricultural year which in the lunar calendar and in the basin of the Yellow River marks the coming of Spring. At this time Imperial calendars were issued which for the next year controlled the days of planting, harvest, and other domestic activities. Grain from the imperial granaries

was distributed. The green and yellow garments worn at this time by the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, are interesting though insufficient evidence that he represented an earlier "corn king."

Ancestor worship, of great importance in modern times and connected with the fertility cults, was highly developed in the earliest records. The cult generally maintains that man has two souls: the animal soul, *p'o*, is created at the moment of conception; the spirit soul, *hun*, enters the body when a child is born. The physical soul, *p'o*, follows the dead body to its tomb, is nourished by the sacrifices of descendants, and is dissipated as the body disintegrates. If the *p'o* should escape and find other means of nourishing itself it becomes a *kuei* (ghost or demon) and creates untold mischief. The spiritual soul, *hun*, if it escape the earth spirit which devours it and the Heavenly Wolf which guards the gate of Shang Ti, ascends to the palace of Heaven Himself and is there sustained by the sacrifices of descendants, replies to their divinations, and intercedes for them. If, because of the extinction of a clan, the sacrifices cease, both the *p'o* and the *hun* become hungry, miserable, and malicious demons. The attempts made by some scholars to identify these cults, which exercise considerable authority among contemporary Chinese, with primitive fertility cults are incomplete. Nevertheless it is possible that the tablets before which the sacrifices are placed in the ancestral temples have a phallic origin which has since been forgotten.

Sacrifices followed patterns known in other cultures. In early times the soul of the aristocrat was probably followed by the souls of his wives and retainers sacrificed for that purpose. In modern times papier-mâché figures are burned at the grave to perform the same function. The God of the Yellow River in ancient times claimed each year a beautiful maiden as his bride. After a period of feasting the girl was dressed in ceremonial clothes, put on a marriage bed in a boat, and launched in the river. In modern times the hesitation in some provinces to rescue drowning persons is attributed to an unwillingness to deprive the River of his sacrifice.

Homage was also paid to the spirits of rivers and mountains. Any action which might upset the rhythm of balanced living, the crossing of rivers or mountains, the formation of great or small alliances, the taking of journeys, the transition from one age to another, requires rituals. The mass of these rituals transmitted from antiquity is very great. The weight which modern Chinese give them varies with the character of the individual and the society in which he lives.

*The Rationalists* Instead of destroying ancient beliefs and customs the rationalists—philosophers, historians, and theologians—of the Chou Dynasty preserved and reinterpreted them. During the Chou Dynasty, scholars who inherited that part of the learning of the professional priests of the Shang Dynasty that had to do with reading and writing attained power at the courts of emperors and kings. With the disintegration of the Empire, the dissolution of manners and morals, and the rise of the "hundreds schools" many opposing tendencies appeared.

One was represented by Confucian philosophers, another by Taoists. The Confucianists maintained that the Chinese must return to the practices of the wise rulers of earlier times. The consequence was research

into the past and codification of legends and rituals in the Five Classics of the Confucian canon. These are: *I Ching*, the Book of Changes, largely devoted to the arts of divination, particularly the "Pa Kua," eight trigrams; *Shu Ching*, Book of History; *Li Chi* and *Chou Li*, Books of Rites; *Shih Ching*, Book of Poetry; and *History of Lu*. The first four of these were at one time thought to have been written by Confucius but now authorship of only one, *History of Lu*, is tentatively ascribed to him. All four of these repositories of early Chinese folklore have two characteristics in common, in addition to the fact that the restorations of the Han scholars have preserved texts of dubious authenticity. First, having been compiled originally in a period of rationalization induced by rapid and disconcerting social changes, they represent at best the views of Chinese antiquarians of the 5th century B.C. who were concerned with the regeneration of their people. Second, though the Confucian school has enjoyed great popularity in China during the last 2000 years, the authority ascribed to the ancient beliefs has been subject to the sorts of distortion seen in other countries. Allegorization, moralization, euhemerism, and the like have modified the beliefs. Among 450,000,000 Chinese the tendency to behave as though in accordance with Confucian teaching cannot be ascribed entirely to the influence of the Great Master. The Confucian doctrines seem to have been an answer to an ethnic need, the formulation of a doctrine which crystallized an important quality in the ethos of the peoples of that part of the world. For the folklorist who has the patience to interpret them and for the comparatist who can free himself from preconceptions, the Five Classics are a rich and untended field.

A second philosophical school made more important contributions to the preservation of Chinese folklore than the Confucianism to which it is opposed. The Taoists representing an antinomianism opposed to the rationalism of the Confucianists are thought to have derived from a philosopher who, if he had much influence on them, lived more than a century before Confucius. The Taoist cult as it has existed with many ups and downs during the last 2000 years is a huge repository of popular belief and superstition. Though the Taoist canon has been catalogued it still awaits systematic study. The Taoists sought the Tao (pronounced Dow) or Way. This is the balance between the individual and the complex and ever-changing forces of the external world, physical, human, and supernatural, to the end that having attained complete harmony, immortality will result. Taoists studied physiology with the thought that proper exercises at proper times would correct an excess of the yin element over the yang or vice versa. Elaborate physical exercises became rituals to conserve energy and induce serenity. In chemistry while searching for the philosopher's stone of immortality they discovered or exploited gunpowder and other inventions. Divination was important in anticipating factors in the universe which were favorable or unfavorable, and talismans attracted good and warded off evil. The rites associated with the passage from one phase of life to another, birth, adolescence, marriage, death, were collected and performed with many variations in the several parts of China.

Several distinctions must be made when thinking about Chinese Taoism and Confucianism. These two philosophical systems must be distinguished from the popular cults which bear their names. Though the Confucian cult is somewhat battered by the impact of Occidental ideas along the coast and by the great revolutions through which China is passing, its rituals are still preserved in the interior, and Confucian proverbs and legends are known to all Chinese. Though Chinese scholars now have to devote to their own study of Occidental science the time their fathers spent in the study of the Confucian classics, they are Confucian by principle. Similarly the organization of the Taoists with a central "pope" and thousands of convents of priests and nuns who devoted their lives to the attainment of The Way has disintegrated. The temples now are likely to be filled with priests ignorant of the complex lore of their discipline, mumbling words and performing rituals to forgotten gods.

A third powerful influence in Chinese folklore is Buddhism. Though Confucianism and Taoism can be seen to have derived from customs and beliefs generally characteristic of eastern Asia, Buddhism, which in its popular form had a line of descent alien to China, was an importation which the peoples of China accepted. The Bodhisattvas became Pusas (Gods) and the Chinese peasant neither knows nor cares whether the god to whom he brings sacrifices of incense or gifts is Buddhist or Taoist. He is interested only in whether that god is able to avert the evil or achieve the good which for that moment is needed.

A reading of Chinese folklore shows evidence of many other importations which have become part of the corpus of belief and practice. Important contributions came from the lamaist north and the Tantrist south, as well as from hundreds of tribes which have wandered in and out of the territory now known as China, and have been absorbed in whole or in part to contribute to the complex phenomena known as Chinese culture. It is not without significance that Marco Polo's image is found in many temples and that Chinese students coming to modern universities in China have been known to "pacify the god of the machine" before beginning their experiments.

*General Structure of Chinese Folklore* An examination of the customs and beliefs of any region of China in any period is apt to find implicit in them one or more parts of a general structure. Although in our present state of ignorance the quantity of material is imposing and parts of the data contradict each other, the general structure does tend to emerge.

The universe is governed by Shang Ti, thought of as the Supreme Ruler or Heaven, or Yü Huang, the Jade Emperor, the highest of all things, physical or spiritual. The Taoists teach that government is carried on through an elaborate bureaucracy of Spirits and Powers who report to the Supreme Being and carry out his mandates. In some regions the attributes of Yü Huang are similar to those of the Buddhist divinity Indra, and some authorities assert that Yü Huang was invented by Taoists who were competing with the Buddhists during periods of Buddhist popularity.

Government by the Supreme Power is carried on through many bureaus of which three groups may be taken as typical. The gods of the cities control life in

the villages and towns; the gods of place control life in the country; and the Kitchen God controls life in the home. The many Ch'eng Huang, Gods of the Cities and Villages, report to Shang Ti on the problems and trouble-makers of their administration much as the mandarins and village elders report to their own higher administrative offices. The Gods of Place or Locality, the T'u Ti, whose temples are scattered in the fields, are for the peasant a direct approach to Heaven. Acknowledgment is made to them in moments of crisis, fear, hope, gratification. Events in the household are noted by Tsao Chün or Tsao Wang, the Kitchen God, who reports once a year on the behavior of each family.

The nether world contains 10 courts, each ruled by a king and subdivided into 16 wards. Most important of these courts is the Fifth, controlled by King Yen Lo. The 10 courts of Hell and their wards together with the tortures inflicted in each are depicted in the temples of the City Gods, the Ch'eng Huang. Heaven punishes serious crimes by the Thunder God, Lei Kung. Lei Kung has a bird's head and claws and holds a hammer and drum, or a string of drums and a chisel. Although some authorities assert that there is only one Thunder God and explain the tardiness of divine punishment by the fact that one god cannot be in every place at once, others report that Lei Kung is President of a Ministry of Thunder with emissaries to carry out his orders which are frequently received through official channels. If the person whom Lei Kung is to destroy dies before he arrives, he will destroy the tomb with thunder. It is significant that persons guilty of great crimes can be protected by persons of great virtue.

Heaven decrees the moment of death. At this moment Yen Lo, Prince of the Fifth Court of Hell and judge of the lower regions dispatches his officers. The soul is judged according to the Book of Destiny which contains a record of his acts in this and in all previous existences. Buddhist ideas dominate the traditions of those who are concerned about these matters. The 128 hot hells, the 8 cold hells, the 8 dark hells, and the 84,000 other hells of Buddhist lore are modified and improved upon in several parts of China. The rationalist Confucian tradition has little to do with this aspect of folklore and the Taoists have attempted to introduce some simplification. The judges of Hell who are instructed by the government officials of the human world treat them, their human colleagues, with considerable respect. All power, whether in Hell, on Earth, or in Heaven derives from the Supreme Power.

At the moment of death one or more officers from Hell display their warrant and make the arrest. Several roads lead to Hell. One of them passes through a cave in the western province of Szechuan. Another route is through a dust cloud which blinds the soul. In any case, the journey is painless and often the soul is astonished at its whereabouts. The souls of persons who come to a premature death or souls which for one reason or another are not able to follow the normal course become malicious demons. The souls of persons who commit suicide haunt the place where the deed was done and attempt to make others commit suicide. If they are successful they will reincarnate themselves in the suicide's body. When people are murdered, their souls, too, haunt the place of the crime and inflict punishment.

Demons, spirits, ghosts constitute an important part of the population of China. In addition to errant souls one may meet other demons, spirits, fairies, gods. Until adequate comparative studies have been made, Chinese terminology translated into Occidental terminology will continue to cause confusion. It is clear that all things are informed by one or more spirits, *hsien*. The lore of the *hsien* is particularly complex. The ideograph is a combination of the symbol for "man" and the symbol for "mountain." The term is variously translated as "spirit," "demon," "fairy." These ubiquitous spirits can become invisible or can manifest themselves in the form of friends or relatives. It is frequently difficult to know whether the woman in the house who has begun to act strangely is the wife of one's bosom as one had supposed or a *hsien* who has taken her place. Thus the beggar at the door, the prostitute, the stranger in the street may be simple human beings or they may be demons in human form plotting schemes which are certainly malicious and probably wicked.

The two souls of man may mingle with the throng of demons, spirits, ghosts, and at times can be distinguished only by specialists. The rational Confucianists assert that the superior soul is dissipated after death; some Taoists teach that it resides in Hell, and the Buddhists that it is reincarnated. Despite differences in dogma, belief in reincarnation is common. The superior "hun" sometimes takes possession of the body of a human being or animal recently deceased. A soul which has left its body may return to it if the body has not decomposed and if another soul has not already taken possession. Thus among the Chinese the idea of the resurrection of the dead is not particularly extraordinary, a fact which, according to a Jesuit deeply learned in these matters, "ne prouve pas grand'chose." A "hun" may take possession of the body of any creature whose own "hun" is for one reason or another elsewhere. In these cases it speaks through the man's mouth and is difficult to identify except that the individual is seen to behave in extraordinary ways. The inferior "p'o" informs the physical body and after death, i.e. the final departure of the "hun," preserves it until, its strength having been exhausted, the body decays. When the inferior soul is very strong it makes the body commit terrible crimes, kill and devour others, violate women. If these physical souls have great physical stamina they may cling to skeletons and commit the most horrible outrages. In addition to these superior and inferior souls, each part of the body has its own spirit or coterie of spirits.

During sleep the superior soul leaves the body and goes about its own affairs which become the substance of dreams. Sometimes on its wanderings the superior soul is frightened or captured and is not able to find its body again. Sometimes the inferior souls appear to behave rationally and because the superior souls seem to have the same appearance as the human creature in costume and feature, the individual seems to be in two places at once. Some people are able to send their souls out to report events in distant places.

The souls of men, animals, and things enjoy the pleasures and vices enjoyed by living human beings. At times these pleasures are innocent, though the fox spirits, the *hu hsien*, are libidinous and great drunk-

ards. At times the spirits show kindnesses to human beings to reward them for kindnesses rendered the spirits—when, for example, they were hiding from the Thunder God. At other times they make use of human beings to increase their own power.

Geomancy, divination, fortune-telling, astrology are complex sciences. The purpose of each is to discover fortunate and unfortunate influences. Houses, tombs, and palaces should face the south and should be located properly near the veins of strength so that they may absorb the yang (male) influences which produce strength. They should be protected at the back by high mounds or trees which screen off the yin (female) influences from the north. By attracting errant spirits, pagodas in the neighborhood protect the household from evil or discomfort. In houses haunted by ghosts and other spirits shrines must be built in the proper places to pacify and nourish and keep the haunts generally good-natured. The diviners and fortune-tellers make use of the devices common in other places: trances, cards, dice, and the random choice of symbolic objects. They and the astrologers who study destiny in terms of the year, day, and hour of birth are much concerned about maintaining the balance of forces. Thus the great movable feasts of birth, marriage, and burial, together with many other activities, sowing and harvesting, the eating of certain foods at certain times, even sexual intercourse, will have good or evil consequences if performed at the right time and place. *The Chinese Calendar* A brief review of the Chinese calendar may illustrate the scope of Chinese folklore. Although the Chinese year is frequently referred to as the moon year and the calendar as the lunar calendar, it is in fact a combination of lunar and solar calendars. It has 12 months, "moons," the solar cycle; and each moon has 28 days, the lunar cycle. Intercalation of extra moons makes the cycle come out right. The years are grouped in cycles of 12 each and each of them has the name of an animal. These are similar to the symbols on the Greco-Chaldean zodiac. The 28 days of the lunar month also have names and each is auspicious or inauspicious for human action. In Chinese reckoning the year is further divided into 24 two-week periods of 15 days each. These are the joints and breaths of the year and serve as accurate dividers of the seasons. Finally the days are divided into twelve periods, each two hours long. These periods also have the names of animals and each is either yin or yang. Thus before undertaking any action it is important to know the influences which govern the hour, the day, and the year.

The festivals of the seasons are observed in China with many regional variations. The First Moon, the beginning of Spring, is everywhere filled with ceremony. All work is supposed to cease during the first days of this moon and the period is generally one of renewing relations with family, friends, and deceased ancestors and of taking precautions that the new year will bring good fortune, i.e. money and babies. During this time the household gods and the spirits of the ancestors return to the home and are received with ceremonious offerings of food and drink. On the Third Day of the First Moon, the Chinese sacrifice to Tsai Shên, the God of Wealth. The early part of the month is a period of friendship, rejoicing, and new resolutions.

The mistress of the house purifies it by carrying a pan filled with steaming vinegar into each room. Exorcists break the spell of bad luck if the family has been unfortunate. Each of the first ten days has a special significance. The first is the birthday of fowls, the second of dogs, the third of pigs, and so forth. The public bath houses reopen on the fourth, the day of ducks. On the sixth, the day of horses, one should visit relations; and on the seventh, the birthday of mankind, one should remain at home and eat red beans, 7 for the man and 14 for the woman, to protect oneself against sickness. Li Ch'un, the beginning of Spring, is a movable feast which usually falls about the seventh to the tenth days of the First Moon. It once was celebrated with processions and the sacrifice of an ox or water buffalo. The Feast of the Lanterns, on the 15th day of the First Moon is vaguely associated with prosperity and longevity. Offerings are made to all the stars on the 18th day, and on the 19th the household should retire early because that is the rats' wedding night. This is also the day the Gods visit the Supreme Being, married daughters visit their parents. Near the end of the month the great fairs open in the large towns.

The Second Moon is a period of homage to the Sun God and the Earth Gods. The 19th is the birthday of one of the most popular of all Chinese divinities, Kuan Yin, who in Buddhist lore was Avalokitesvara, Lord of Love and Compassion, born of Buddha's tears of pity for the suffering world. As the cult moved into China, Avalokitesvara became transformed from a male into a female deity. In China Kuan Yin is the compassionate goddess. Although many theories have been advanced to explain the place of Kuan Yin in Chinese folklore, it is possible that this comparatively recent divinity has usurped the functions of the other matriarchal cults. The birthdays of Confucius and Lao Tze also occur in the Second Moon.

The Spring festival, Ch'ing Ming, is movable and occurs 106 days after the winter solstice. This usually is near the beginning of the Third Moon. Granet has given reason to believe that in early times this was the occasion of orgiastic fertility ceremonies. At this time too homage is paid at the graves of ancestors, an assurance that the line of descent is unbroken. Other festivals of the Third Moon are the birthday of Hsi Wang Mu, the Mother of the Western Heavens, pilgrimages to several of the temples, and reverence to the literary worthies.

The Fourth Moon is the Summer moon and the eighth day is the birthday of Gautama, the historical founder of Buddhism. In this month too ceremonies honor the Eight Immortals or saints of the Taoist cults. These, once human beings, achieved immortality through disciplines discovered by the Taoists. The Eight Immortals are a happy, fun-loving crew whose antics are the subject of many tales. They travel on clouds, set fire to the ocean, get disgustingly drunk in low dives, and dance over the fields of China and into the gates of Heaven itself.

The Dragon Boat Festival is the principal festival of the Fourth Moon. It is connected with the propitiation of the water spirits. In this, the pestilential moon, rites are performed in honor of the Gods of Medicine and of Exorcism. The 13th day is sacred to Kuan Ti, the God of War.

The rainy season in central China appears in the Sixth Moon when homage is paid to Lung Wang, the King of Dragons. A paper or cloth effigy of the dragon is carried through the streets with a dozen or more coolies acting as bearers. When the rains are late, various expedients are tried to bring them on. The Great Bell near Peking booms all the day. Elsewhere the image of Lung Wang is brought from the temple to view the parched fields. This is also the moon of Ma Wang, Protector of Horses, Niu Wang, Guardian of Cattle, Lu Pan, Patron of Carpenters.

The Seventh, the Moon of the Hungry Ghosts, is the Autumn moon. The festival is similar to the Occidental festival of All Souls' Day and lasts from the 15th to the 30th of the month. On this day food is prepared for the ghosts who have no descendants to care for them, and therefore are always hungry. Lotus-flower lamps are carried through the streets, or at dusk candles are stuck into tiny boats and floated down the streams.

The harvest occurs in the Eighth Moon and is celebrated by theatricals, troupes of entertainers, and stilt-walkers. The Harvest Festival on the 15th of the Eighth Moon is the Moon's Birthday. The 9th Day of the Ninth Moon is the day for mounting the hills and flying kites. The 25th of the Ninth is the birthday of one of the famous City Gods, the Cheng Huang.

The Tenth or "Kindly Moon" opens with the festival of the dead. The Eleventh, the "White Moon," the month of the Winter solstice, is the appropriate time for sacrifices to the ancestors and for weddings. The Twelfth or "Bitter Moon" marks the beginning of preparations for the New Year. On the 20th the houses are cleaned. On the 23rd the Kitchen God, his lips smeared with honey so that he will speak no evil, is burned and begins his ascent to Heaven where he will report on the behavior of the family during the year. By midnight of the last day of the year all debts must be paid. The Gate Gods who protect the house against evil spirits are pasted on the doors.

*The Festivals of Life* The ceremonies attendant on the transition from one state of being to another have, like most folkloristic data, a dual significance: some of them are obviously superstitious, sometimes admittedly so and sometimes denied; at other times they are social ceremonies which relieve emotional strain and give the participants a sense of increased social security. In China the use of posters and pious maxims pasted on the walls are at the same time the expression of hope and the substitute for prayer. It may be noted in passing that students of Occidental lore face a similar problem with the "God Bless our Home" captions in many American houses. Similarly social gatherings at moments of transition, such as birthdays, confirmations, engagement parties, are in one sense clearly social and in another a realization that danger attends these moments when an accustomed phase of being is exchanged for a new one.

*Birth* Most of China is patrilineal. Not only is the line carried through the male, but the head of the house performs as priest the ceremonies for the ancestors of the group. Male offspring are therefore necessary to assure peace for the ancestral manes and, it may be, their success in the political intrigues they undertake in Heaven. Conversely a powerful ancestor can be of great assistance to those of his descendants still living on the



earth. Many sorts of ceremonies are thought to help in getting a male heir. Kuan Yin, whose cult resembles in some respects that of the Great Mother, is potent. In some temples the hopeful parent puts gifts of baby shoes before her image; in others a shoe is stolen from the temple and replaced by a better one when the child is born. Elsewhere images of male infants are stolen and taken to bed. The Daughter of the God of the Sacred Mountain, Tai Shan, and her attendants are invoked. The attendants are the Lady of Posterity, the Lady of Fecundity, the Lady who Activates Birth, the Lady who Brings the Child. Kuei Hsing, one of the Gods of Literature, receives attention perhaps because scholarship is the road to success in China, although Kuei Hsing's iconography indicates that he was at one time master of other powers. Images of the Unicorn and other beneficent forces receive honor. Pilgrimages to the shrines of local deities, some of them with phallic significance, are useful in producing male offspring. The act of procreation may be attended by ceremonies and precautions. The Taoists have examined not only the year, the moon, the day, and the hours favorable to the procreation of male infants, but have also described the coital positions and other details of procedure most likely to be rewarded by success. These computations are complicated by the year, day, moon, hour when each parent was born. Households which produce only females can break the spell by giving a boy's name to the next girl to be born, or the mother may carry on her chest a small gold knife to frighten the female spirit about to enter her body. The knife will also frighten mischievous demons who plague pregnant women. Attempts to divine the sex of the unborn child differ little from those practiced elsewhere. Talismans to hasten delivery are sometimes pasted on the body of the pregnant woman or burned, mixed with tea, and swallowed. A small mirror is carried as a protection because demons are frightened at the sight of their own faces. When several male children have died in infancy, the next to be born receives a girl's name and is dressed in girl's clothes. This will deceive the evil spirits. On the 15th day of the Eighth Moon, the Moon Goddess' birthday, friends may steal a melon from a neighbor, dress it in baby clothes, and present it to the couple. The theft must be secret. The gift is followed by a feast. The many seeds in the melon are associated with potency. On this same night women do not empty their chamber pots. Neighbors steal them in the hope of having children.

Before delivery a red candle lighted in the bedroom frightens away homeless ghosts who may attempt to dispute possession of the child's body with its own proper spirit. In order not to offend the Lady who Brings the Child, dirty water must be disposed of carefully, poured into a pit, and covered. Persons known to be evil must be kept at a distance during childbirth. On the third day after birth, a cock, here as elsewhere potent in frightening devils and ghosts, is brought into the room. The mother or, if she is too ill, the midwife pays homage. The cock is then sacrificed. On this day the infant is ceremonially bathed, thanks are given to the Lady who Brings Children, and the child's horoscope is cast. During the first month the mother may not enter the houses of neighbors. At the end of the month the child's head is shaved and he is carried in

ceremonial processions in order, according to some authorities, to protect him against fear but more likely for the pleasure of showing him off to the village. The child's cap is decorated with many amulets. In some places earrings are attached, one for a male and one for a female, or nose rings are used to tie the child to life. Circles of cinnabar, the magic drug, are painted on the child's face to deter evil spirits.

From birth through maturity to death men pass through many dangerous ages. Each period of growth is attended by ceremonies which show a realization that the process of growing up and dying is beset with difficulties. Study of the remedies for the diseases of childhood leads into a fascinating field too complex even to be surveyed at this point. In central China children who keep their parents awake all night are pacified when a notice is tacked to the wall asking passers-by to read it and help the parents get a good night's sleep. One of the most pathetic customs in a country of pathos is "calling back the soul." When an infant has died the mother frequently wanders through the streets holding out its clothes and calling gently, "Where are you playing? Come back home," or "What has frightened you? Come back home," or simply, "Small son, come home."

**Marriage** After the marriage broker has made tentative arrangements between the families of two young people, the families exchange pieces of paper containing eight characters: two for the year, two for the month, two for the day, and two for the hour of birth. The fortune-teller then decides whether the marriage is possible. Women born under the sign of the Tiger for example are always dangerous though men born under this sign have special qualities. Gifts are exchanged. If after three days no inauspicious event has occurred, the contract is sealed and the ceremonies continue. The choice of wedding gifts is important. Fruits containing many seeds are propitious. Several days before the wedding the costumes are purified by being passed over flames (the male element). After this they may not be touched by woman (the female element), particularly a pregnant woman or one in mourning, as these conditions strengthen the female influence. The day of the marriage is chosen by persons deeply learned in the complex lore of divination, but must always be during the waxing, never during the waning moon. If the bride dies before the ceremony the groom may be given a pair of her slippers. He burns incense before them, not because they contain her soul, as the Jesuits assert, but because they have an obscure phallicism. The bride is well supplied with amulets. One of them is a purse in the form of a lotus which is sometimes thought to protect her against the slanders of her mother-in-law. The bride makes the trip from her father's to her husband's home in a sealed sedan chair. At this moment she is imbued with female (yin) force and this powerful virginity must be protected against any male (yang) influence. The bride is carried over the threshold. After many ceremonies, now mostly regarded as merely social, the couple prostrate themselves before the tablets of the groom's ancestors. This act fixes the marriage. They then enter the nuptial chamber where the bride remains for an entire day. The male members of the family and close friends are permitted to come into this room and to subject the young woman to the most

indecent conversation imaginable. The girl's behavior during this ordeal is carefully noted by the groom, his mother, and friends.

**Death and Burial** The disposition, the repose, and the happy journey of the soul are matters of great importance to the family. The dying man is placed on another bed and carried outside so that the household bed will not be haunted. His pillow is taken away from him and destroyed and his burial costume is put on. This is as formal and ceremonial a costume as the family can afford. After death the family takes a lantern, a papier-mâché sedan chair, symbolic money, and symbolic food, and accompanies the soul to the shrine of the local God of Place, T'u Ti. After three days and more ceremonies the soul is accompanied by the family and T'u Ti from this shrine to the shrine of the local God of the District, who in turn will accompany it to the shrine of the City God, who will introduce it to the Judge of Hell. The good offices of each of these gods are assured by the offering of gifts, known to the Occident as "bribes." The tablet of the deceased is set up in the ancestral temple, and the date of burial is chosen by the fortune-tellers as the place is chosen by the geomancers. Before the body is taken for burial crowds of priests and professional mourners create a terrific uproar. The funeral processions are often very elaborate and are designed both to keep the physical soul attached to the body, for an errant soul is a great nuisance, and to make the journey of the superior soul pleasant and profitable. Paper concubines, servants, money, food, sedan chairs are provided for his comfort. In modern China paper automobiles and airplanes replace the sedan chairs. A white rooster rides on the catafalque. At the tomb the gifts for the soul are protected from thieving spirits by circles marked with chalk. Ceremonies for the repose of the soul, sometimes very elaborate, may be continued for years. The oldest son as the family priest, must at regular intervals perform ceremonies before the ancestral tablets.

**General** No general outline of a folklore as alive and protean today as it was a thousand years ago can give an adequate sense of the quality of Chinese popular beliefs and customs. The attempts of the Taoists, deeply learned in the popular beliefs of their part of the world, to sort them out into systems have been baffled by the capacity of the Chinese to create new gods, to accept strange gods as Westerners accept patent medicines because they are supposed to be helpful in this or that situation, and to create legends. The myths and legends of the Greeks and Romans can be studied because so few have been preserved for us; the myths and legends of the Chinese have not been studied in a systematic sense because there are too many of them. The thousands of major and minor deities who constitute the bureaucracies of Heaven and Hell, the hundreds of stellar deities, the Bodhisattvas, the arhats, the lohans, and the many others referred to by the populace as spirits or gods or Pusas, not to mention the tens of thousands of shape-shifting foxes, and other shape-shifting animals, plants, and stones, constitute an enormous population of which no census has been taken. In Chinese legends the localization of a floating tale on the person of a known historical figure for reasons which are obscure is a common practice which distorts the folkloristic meanings of the legend itself. The Chi-

nese folktale follows the little known laws of that type of imagination as seen in other countries. All of the themes listed in the current directories are to be found in China and some of them were recorded several hundred years before they appeared in writing in Europe.

A final difficulty in accounting for Chinese folklore is the difficulty which besets all students of folklore, namely these traditions, beliefs, and practices are created and preserved to assure the mental health of communities and individuals and thus are projections of human fears and aspirations. They therefore involve social mechanisms which Western scientists, preoccupied with physical nature and indifferent to human nature, have had little time to study.

**Bibliographical notes:** Doré, le Père Henri, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, 14 vols., Shanghai, 1911-1919, is the great treasury from which all Western students of Chinese folklore draw shamelessly. Doré's attempt to learn all he could about Chinese folklore in order to demonstrate that Chinese religious beliefs were inferior to his own frequently got him into tight spots. His wide reading of Chinese sources and his scholarly conscience compensate for lack of objectivity. The volumes need an index; but because the pagination is erratic and the structure of the volumes is *ad hoc* rather than logical, indexing is difficult. Doré's one volume conspectus, *Manuel des Superstitions Chinoises*, Chang-Hai, 1926, is useful. E. T. C. Werner's *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, Shanghai, 1932, is for the most part an alphabetical list of the data contained in Doré, though Werner added much from his own wide reading. His *Myths and Legends of China*, London, 1922, is verbose and opinionated. J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 6 vols., Leyden, 1892-1910, does for the Protestants what Doré did for the Catholics. De Groot was a very distinguished Sinolog and his book contains valuable material. Because China has no "religious system" and its many cults are complex and interrelated, de Groot's initial confusion is often communicated to the reader. Juliet Bredon and Igor Mitrophanov's *The Moon Year*, Shanghai, 1927, and Bredon's *Peking*, Shanghai, 1931, contain much material though in the "pretty-pretty, quaint-quaint" style. In Le Père L. Wiegner's *Folk-lore Chinois Moderne*, Hsien hsien, 1909, literal translations of Chinese texts for all periods enable the reader to form his own conclusions. As the Chinese text is included, the unlearned Westerner can decide what sort of "god," "demon," "spirit," "fairy," "immortal," the Chinese character "hsien" may be referring to in any given context. (De Groot's *Religious Systems* also contains the Chinese texts.) R. D. Jameson's *Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore*, Peking, 1932, though centrally concerned with popular narrative contains a bibliography. Western Sinologs working in the Confucian tradition have been more concerned with the Classics, the Official Histories, and with the application of "Western historical method" to Chinese data than with folklore. Thus the several thousand volumes which Chinese scholars of the last 2000 years have written about their own folklore cry for attention. These contain dictionaries, summaries, treatises. Until the data in these have been summarized and organized all discussions of Chinese folklore must remain on the unsatisfactory level of broad generalization found in these notes.

R. D. JAMESON

**Chinese folktales** Chinese folktales deserve special mention because the collections are so much more rich in variety and extensive in historical time than the collections of other peoples. In China all fiction is regarded as merely popular and not worthy the attention of serious men. Consequently until recently the distinction has not been made between popular and other tales and all collections of stories are rich in folktales material. All of the themes and most of the variants listed in the handbooks of the *Märchenforscher* are known in China. At times complete versions were published in China hundreds of years before they were published in Europe. Thus Des Perrier's story of Pernelle in *Nouvelles Récréations*, 1558, the first European version of one of the complete Cinderellas, was anticipated in China by 700 years in Tuan Ch'eng Shih's *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu*, published in the middle of the T'ang Dynasty. In other instances it is possible to observe in China the transformation of an historical episode through successive tales, novels, and plays into one of the popular themes of Occidental folklore. Thus an incident in the history of the Sung Dynasty was changed through successive tellings until it became a clear example of the Occidental theme of the persecuted queen. In another series of tales Chinese versions and Occidental versions exist together and though the Chinese tell one version more frequently than the other, both versions are known. In the story of the shape-shifting fox most common in China, a student retires to a secluded temple to prepare for his official examinations. He meets and loves a beautiful strange girl who by her sexual prowess reduces him to the point of death. Sometimes she leaves because she feels compassion for him. Sometimes she is unmasked and driven away. Most frequently she leaves because having exhausted his vital essence she has no more to gain from him. In another series of tales a farmer finds his house cleaned and his dinner on the stove each night when he returns from the fields. One day he hides and sees a fox enter his house, shed its skin, and become a beautiful woman. He steals the skin and makes the woman his wife. Many years later she finds her fox skin, becomes a fox again, and deserts the farmer. An "Index of Chinese Folk-Themes" still in manuscript contains several thousand variants of this sort. The following contributions by Wolfram Eberhard are invaluable: *Chinese Fairy Tales and Folk Tales*, 1937; *Typen Chinesischer Volksmärchen*, FFC, 1937; *Volksmärchen aus Südst China*, 1941. [RDJ]

**Chingichnich** A deity of the American Indian tribes of southern California (Juaneño, Luiseño, Gabrieleño, Chumash, Diegueño): known as Kwawar among the Juaneño, and as the Creator of the Gabrieleño. Among the Luiseño Chingichnich is the god who ordained the sacred practices of the initiation rites, and who dictates the conduct of daily life. He is the chief figure in a pantheon which includes four brothers who are connected with the earthquake. The chief ceremony which Chingichnich instituted was the initiation ceremony of jimsonweed-drinking; among tribes to the north of those mentioned above, Chingichnich is not recognized as a deity, but it is said that jimsonweed was once a man who told the people he would die and be changed into a plant, and that they must drink a decoction made from his roots, for health and to obtain visions. [EWJ]

**Ch'ing Ming** Pure Brightness: a Chinese Spring festival which falls 106 days after the Winter solstice, usually early in April. It has obvious though somewhat obscure connections with fertility in the home and in the field. On this day people visit the graves of their ancestors in the fields and tidy them up. Willow wands and chaplets are customary. Ch'ing Ming is also the official day for planting trees. Arbor Day, and is one of the few customs carried over from Imperial China and sponsored by the Republic. In the T'ang Dynasty the children of courtiers made fires on this day by rubbing willow sticks together in the Imperial courtyard. Marcel Granet's stimulating study of the Spring festival in ancient China (*Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine*, Paris, 1919) has not been followed by competent examinations of this seasonal festival in later periods. [KJ]

**Ch'in-Kuang** Lord of the first of the ten Taoist hell. He receives all souls and decides what body the soul must next inhabit in order to atone for its sins and acquire merit. Ch'in-Kuang thus controls the span of human life. Souls are dispatched quickly if their good deeds balance their evil ones. Wicked souls are forced to see in a mirror all the evil they have done. Persons who have taken their own lives to bring grief to an enemy, rather than because of loyalty to a prince, filial piety, or preservation of chastity, are returned to earth where they wander as hungry and homeless ghosts until the person they have harmed has recovered. Lazy priests, who have taken money but have not read the prayers they promised, are put into a dark room lighted only by a tiny lamp which is always going out, and are forced to read the prayers they have omitted. [KJ]

**Chinūn Way Shun** In Kachin (Burma) belief, the nat who existed before the formation of the world and who created the other important nats (Chitūn, Mu, Sinlap, Ponphyoi, Mbōn, Wāwn, Jān, and Shitta). After their creation Chinūn Way Shun made a pumpkin and called upon these nats. Each added something to it. Chitūn gave legs, Mu eyes, etc., and thus the first man, Shin-grawa or Ningkwawnwa, came into existence. Under the name Ka, Chinūn is the spirit of tilth or the nat of the earth.

**Chinvaṭperetu or Chinvaṭ Bridge** The Parsi bridge of death which stretches from the Peak of Judgment to Alburz; the Bridge of the Decider. This is a many-sided beam with edges which vary from the thinness of a razor blade to the thickness of 27 reeds. When souls of the righteous arrive, the beam turns to a wide side; when the souls of the wicked appear, the bridge becomes thin and sharp, to make their passing painful or impossible. This bridge is the prototype of the Moslem bridge, al-Sirāt.

**Chiotikos** A modern Greek dance for two girls or a couple: so named for the island of its origin, Chios. The steps are similar to the balances and grapevine of the Greek open rounds; but the two dancers are either face to face with hand-hold, or they pass each other, or turn under each others' upraised arms. The arch motif suggests that the dance may have the same significance as the traditional Greek arch dances, i.e. vernal rite. [GR]

**Chiron or Cheiron** In Greek mythology, a Centaur, son of Cronus and Philyra, the Oceanid; the wisest of the Centaurs and friend and tutor of many of the Greek

heroes. Cronus, to escape Rhea's jealousy, transformed Philyra or himself into a horse. The nymph's labor in bringing forth Chiron proved so terrible that she was changed into a linden tree. The young Chiron was tutored by Apollo and Artemis, and had great knowledge of music and medicine. Among his pupils were Hercules, Æsculapius, Jason, Peleus, Achilles, Theseus, Nestor, Meleager, and the Dioscuri. Chiron was immortal, but in the fight at the cave of Pholus he was accidentally wounded in the knee by one of the poisoned arrows of Hercules. Knowing by his medicine that the wound was incurable, Chiron tried to die and could not. Prometheus however offered to take upon himself Chiron's immortality and the Centaur was transformed into the constellation Sagittarius.

**Chisholm Trail** An American cowboy song running to some hundreds of stanzas with varying refrains, sung to any of five or six tunes, to tell the story of the hardships met on the long cattle drive from San Antonio, Texas, to the grasslands of Montana and the Dakotas, and the celebrations at the end of the journey. One of the most widely sung of cowboy songs, this has had improvised additions to suit the complaints of nearly every man who ever rode the trail. The refrains are mostly imitative of the Indian war whoops used when driving cattle.

**Chitragupta** In Hindu belief, the recorder of the vices and the virtues of men; the judge who sends men to heaven or hell. Compare THOTH.

**Ch'iu Shê** The Autumn-Snake Charm of the Chinese Taoist cult: a magical charm used by Taoist priests and nuns for exorcising certain very serious illnesses.

The paper charm represents him as a twice-coiled, banded and spotted snake with a human hatted head. There are also Spring-, Summer-, and Winter-Snake charms, the Female-Snake charm, the One- to Five-Colored-Snake charms, and the One- to Nine-Headed-Snake charms, each a powerful exorcising charm for a specific disease, and each represented by its own paper image.

**chlevnik** In Russia, a spirit of the cattle shed; one of the species of domovik or household spirit. The chlevnik's good will is necessary for successful cattle-raising, and the owner must select the right location for the shed and accede to the chlevnik's preferences in the color of the cattle. An offering is made to the spirit when a new animal is brought to the farm, else the chlevnik may harm the beast. In some regions, they try to drive the chlevnik out by beating on the walls or making other attempts to frighten it, or the chlevnik may be asked to leave more quietly.

**cho-i** In the folklore of primitive Queensland peoples, that part of a child's spirit or soul-substance which remains in the afterbirth and from which Anjea makes another baby.

**Ch'o-je** or **Ch'o-kyon** A group of chief sorcerers of Tibet, believed to be incarnations of the rGyal-po or king fiends, one of the eight classes of indigenous gods. The necromancer-in-ordinary to the Tibetan government (Nä-ch'un) is the highest of these sorcerers.

**chorten** or **mch'od-r-ten** Literally, receptacle for offerings; a Tibetan funeral monument, usually a solid con-

ical masonry structure similar to the Indian stūpa, erected over the remains of Grand Lāmas and in memory of canonized saints: the Tibetan name for the funeral monument erected over the relics of Buddha or his saints. Chortens are favorite objects of pilgrimage and worship by circumambulation. Miniature chortens are carried by itinerant priests from village to village for exhibition, and others, inscribed with sacred sentences, are consecrated by priests and sold as amulets or as votive objects. Compare STŪPA.

**Christmas** The Mass of Christ; the Christian festival of the Nativity, the physical birth of Jesus Christ, occurring on December 25: in some places, e.g. Armenia, celebrated on January 6, which elsewhere is the festival of Epiphany, the baptism or spiritual birth of Jesus. The festival of Christ's birth was in the early days of Christianity celebrated on various days in December, January, and March, but in the 5th century it became set, in the Western Church, at its present day. Correspondence of the Christian festival with the close of the Roman observances of the Saturnalia (December 17-24) and the *natalis invicti solis*, the Mithraic observance of the birth of the sun, has often been remarked upon and is not an accidental phenomenon. The members of the early church were recruited from among the pagans, and by the establishment of a festival at this time the energy and attention of the proselytes could be focused thus in a Christian festival. There were, within the Church, criticisms of the observance on the grounds of its resembling pagan rites, of its being sun-worship (the Armenians called the Roman Church members idolaters as well, because of the identification of Christmas with the date of the birth of the sun), and, as late as 1644, during the Puritan ascendancy, the English Parliament forbade observance of the festival. The date of the birth of Christ was said to be December 25, A.D. 1, variously called a Wednesday or a Friday, but actually a Sunday.

December 25 is close enough to the winter solstice for other pagan winter festivals besides the Saturnalia which celebrate the turn of the year to have become absorbed in it. The Yule feast of northern Europe, a solstice observance celebrating the lengthening of the day with the return of the sun and concerning itself principally with the spirits of the dead, became adapted to Christmas, and many Christmas customs of today and of the past are those of the Yule season. The Angli, according to Bede, observed December 25 as their New Year's festival; the eve, *modranecht* or mother night, seems to have been a vigil connected with fertility rites. The Wild Hunt (Asgardreid) was heard in the storms of the winter season, and Frey especially, the god of fertility, was worshipped then.

There are thus two separate traditions meeting with the Christian story of the Christ child. One, more serious than the other, comes from the Yule celebration, which was essentially a feast of the dark ancestral spirits; the second, in happier and lighter mood, stems from the Saturnalia, with its freedom, its leveling of rank and age, its making light of tradition.

Principal popular custom centers in Christmas Eve, the night before Christmas, but most of the observances are not official; they are custom, outside the Church, and "holy" only by association. Then it is that the Midnight Mass is attended. Specifically only the adoration of

the Child in the crib is peculiar to the Christmas ceremony; all other parts of Christmas service and observances, the fasting, the vigil, etc., are common to the other festivals of the Catholic Church in so far as ritual observance is concerned. The crèche, or representation of the birth of Christ, with the Holy Family and the ox and the ass, is said to have been brought into the church itself by St. Francis. The Christmas story of the travelers overtaken by night and forced to stay among the animals in the stable, the Child in the manger, the worship of the Child by the Three Magi led to Bethlehem by the light of the star, is represented in this crèche, a model often fashioned in great detail.

Christmas Eve is the night when St. Nicholas comes; Santa Claus, with his reindeer and sleigh, carries his bag of gifts down the chimney and fills the stockings of good children with toys and sweets; the Bonhomme Noël leaves gifts for French children on the hearth, or his companion Père Fouettard leaves bundles of switches for the bad ones. Sometimes it is the child Jesus, le petit Noël, who brings the gifts. However, the giving of gifts on Christmas is primarily a northern custom; elsewhere the gifts (French *étrennes*, Latin *strenæ*) are made on New Year's Day.

The Christmas tree seems a comparatively recent development, a German custom spreading elsewhere in the past century and a half, and is perhaps a parallel to the May-tree, which is of much older tradition. On Christmas Eve the tree is decorated with tinsel and lights; beneath or on the branches of the tree are the gifts for the children and the rest of the family; atop the tree is the star of Bethlehem or a heralding angel. The lights on the tree are perhaps a reflection of the Jewish Hanukkah (the Feast of Lights) which occurs at this season, for the houses of the Holy Land must have been lit with them when Jesus was born. However, the general import of winter solstice festivals everywhere is that of light and lights, and correspondence of the Christmas tree and the Hanukkah menorah is probably incidental. The evergreen tree (sometimes a branch only) is kept through the festival season and is not discarded until after Twelfth Night. The Yule log too is burned, and the mistletoe hung up during the Christmas season. The Yule log, a huge piece of wood, is in some places burned a little during each of the twelve days of the season. Elsewhere some of it is kept to light the fire of the next Yule log the following Christmas. In parts of France it is believed that a piece of the Yule log, if kept safe during the year, will protect the house against fire and lightning, will insure bountiful crops, and enable the cattle to bear their young easily. The mistletoe, connected with the magic oak of the Celtic lands, is suspended. Traditionally the girl who stands under it may be kissed by a boy of the company willy-nilly, usually the former.

There are countless other traditional Christmas games and amusements. Christmastide is the time of the costumed mummers and carolers, of the snapdragons and the apples and nuts on strings or at the end of swinging beams, of the waits, of Hagmena, and of the Lord of Misrule. This latter (called in his Scottish version the Abbot of Unreason until the office was abolished in 1555) was the master of the revels during the whole season from All Hallows to Twelfth Night. He arranged the entertainments, he inflicted the penalties he ad-

judged fit, he was the spirit of anarchy. In him was embodied the spirit of the Feast of Fools that prevailed at the Saturnalia, when all were equals, servants and masters, slaves and freemen, the spirit of the revolution that comes with the changing of the year.

Christmas was the time for gifts from tradesmen to their patrons, the time when servants and underlings partook of the good things their masters had during the year. In Russia, the peasants, singing outside the houses of the lords, were given gifts. The overturning of the usual course of nature extends to the animals as well. On Christmas Eve the cattle spoke and knelt in honor of the Saviour. But listening to them, or attempting to overhear what was said, was dangerous and oftentimes fatal.

Christmas food is in keeping with the festivity of the occasion. Special Christmas dishes are as many as the various localities. The roast pig with the apple or lemon or orange in its mouth is related to the *julgalti*, the pig offered to Frey to induce the fertility of the coming year. In Bohemia, as early as the 15th century, the distributing of apple slices and the baking of white bread were Christmas customs having some relationship to the fertility of the coming year.

In keeping with the northern observance of the season as a period when the spirits of the dead returned, many of the Christmas customs have to do with receiving those guests. The house is cleaned and everything is prepared for Christmas before the family leaves for church. Then, while the house is unoccupied, the spirits come and inspect what has been done. They partake of the meal; in northern Sweden, a special table is spread for them. In northern Germany, it is the Virgin Mary and her attendant angels who come to eat of the food. This careful maintenance of good relations with the ancestral and other spirits is necessary for obtaining a good year.

Many legends center about Christmas, the great happy holiday of Christianity. The story of the Glastonbury thorn, brought by Joseph of Arimathea to England, where it flowered every Christmas, is among the most famous. The revelry of the period is pictured in the story, told of the court of Charles VI of France, of the king and his courtiers who dressed in tow and tar to make believe that they were bears. They were chained together, and in the drunken rout someone applied a torch to discover who the masqueraders were. The king escaped alive, but some of the nobles were burned to death.

Special popular beliefs are widely connected with the season. A white Christmas presages a prosperous year to follow; a green, or hot, or cloudy Christmas will fill the churchyard. An English belief is that the sun shining through the fruit trees on Christmas Day will bring much fruit. The sound of angels singing will be heard by one sitting under a pine tree on Christmas Eve, but death will soon follow, as it will to the one overhearing the cattle speak at midnight or before dawn. The person born on Christmas Day is able to see spirits, according to a widespread belief.

**Christ's-thorn** A shrub of Palestine of the buckthorn family (*Paliurus spina-christi*) with long, sharp thorns: so called from the belief that Christ's crown of thorns was made of it. It is so common a shrub throughout Judea

that certain Biblical botanists have said no other similar plant would have been so available. In Ireland the white-thorn is said to be the thorn from which Christ's crown was made.

**chrysanthemum** From the Greek, golden flower. In Japan the 16-petaled chrysanthemum was the emblem of the Mikado. It has been the national flower of Japan since the 14th century and there is a national festival to the golden variety. In the Far East it is the symbol of purity, perfection, and long life. In Korea the roots are boiled and used for a headache remedy. In Nai Myang, China, there is a spring in a bank of chrysanthemums and this water will enable one to live for a hundred years. Legend says that Keu Tze Tung fled to the Valley of the Chrysanthemum when he accidentally offended the emperor. Here he drank the dew from the petals of this flower and became immortal. The Buddhists, expanding this story, claim he was given a text to write on the petals, and this text gave the dew its power.

**chthonic deities** The underworld deities, as contrasted with the heavenly deities. Worship of the chthonic deities was an important part of Greek religion, based on propitiation, and requiring, for example, that the entire sacrifice be offered to the god. It is believed that the chthonic gods were originally the ancestral spirits, and that they represented the ghosts of the departed. The correspondence between the form of many chthonic deities, who appeared as snakes in one aspect or another, and the form of the ancestral spirits, which were often conceived of as being tomb-snakes, makes this identification likely. Many of the Olympic gods had their chthonic aspects, e.g. Hermes Chthonius, Zeus Chthonius, and while these Olympic gods were not worshipped with the same trepidation as the wholly chthonic deities, these aspects were combined with other forms of their worship. One example of the fear in which these spirits were held lies in the fact that they usually were nameless, and were called by some euphemism.

**Ch'uang Kung and Ch'uang Mu or P'o** Gods of the Bed in Chinese folk belief; specifically, the Lord of the Bed and the Mother of the Bed. They are propitiated to preserve the bedchamber from quarrels, but their particular function is to insure pregnancy. The Lady of the Bed is fond of wine; the Lord of the Bed prefers tea. They are propitiated with wine, tea, and cakes before the images, and the images are turned to face the bed, while the couple, with clasped hands kowtow three times before the bed. [RDJ]

**Chuan Lun** King of the tenth of the Taoist hells. Here souls who have expiated their crimes and are to be reincarnated pass over one of six bridges. The Spirit of the Wind then takes them to the Tower of Forgetfulness and gives them a drink which makes them forget their previous existence. [RDJ]

**Ch'u Chiang** King of the second of the Taoist hells, the hell of thieves and murderers. It consists of a large lake of ice. Ch'u Chiang is honored on the first day of the Third Moon. [RDJ]

**Ch'ü Hsieh Yüan** The Ministry of Exorcism of the Taoist cult, whose function is to expel demons from houses and otherwise control them. The lore of this ministry has been rationalized by its practitioners until

the ministry has developed into a complicated bureau with seven chief ministers, each entitled Great Heavenly Prince. The most important of these is Chung K'uei, the Great Spiritual Chaser of Demons for the Whole Empire. [RDJ]

**Chuku** The supreme deity of the Ibo of the Calabar District, eastern Nigeria. *Chi-uku*, literally the great Chi, is the best-known variant of a number of variants of Chi, of which *Chineke* (*chi-na-eke*, the creator) may be taken as an example. [MJH]

**chullpas** The mummified corpses of the ancestors of the Aymara Indians of South America, about which they tell many fabulous stories. The rectangular funerary structures in which the ancient Aymara buried their dead are also called chullpas. [AM]

**Chung Ch'ü** The Chinese Harvest or Mid-Autumn Festival; the Festival of the Moon, celebrated on the 15th day of the Eighth Moon by feasts and theatrical performances. The moon represents the female principle, as the sun represents the male; consequently men never make obeisance to the moon. But women and children especially make offerings. Moon cakes, circular in shape, are offered. In some places they are eaten immediately after the festival; elsewhere they are kept until the New Year. Watermelons cut in lotus shape are also appropriate. Effigies of the rabbit and the three-legged toad who can be seen in the moon are common. The rabbit spends his time with mortar and pestle preparing the pill of immortality. Although sufficient evidence exists in the rich records of China to warrant a full-dress study of the seasonal festivals (Spring, Summer, and Autumn) the data has not been brought together in practicable form. [RDJ]

**Chung K'uei** In Chinese Taoist lore, the "Great Spiritual Chaser of Demons for the Whole Empire": a beneficent and powerful expeller of demons. He is worshipped on the 15th of every month with offerings, and his ma-chang, or paper image, is also burned at this time. His legend is that he was canonized by one of the T'ang Emperors (618-907 A.D.) for freeing the emperor from the red demon of emptiness and desolation. Chung K'uei is one of the seven officials in the Taoist Ministry of Exorcisms. He is especially honored in the Fifth Moon, known as the pestilential, the evil, or the wicked moon. Compare CH'Ü HSIEH YÜAN. [RDJ]

**Chu'ngu** In Annamese belief, the original owners of the land whose descendants are no longer living; autochthones. The Chu'ngu are jealous of those who now possess their land, so during the first three months of every year each landowner must make a sacrifice to them. Whenever evil befalls a farmer's cattle or crops, it is attributed to the Chu'ngu who are then appeased by sacrifices. To insure protection from them the land is bought from the spirits by the payment of imitation money.

**Chu-nhà** In Annamese belief, the house guardian who resides in the lime jug. Every household possesses such a jug in which the lime used in preparing betel pellets is stored. If it is broken, it forbodes the death of a member of the family and the broken pieces are carefully placed on or under the trees near a pagoda in order to propitiate its resident, who then takes up residence in the new jug.

**churching of women** The custom of reading an appointed service when a woman comes to church after a confinement to render thanks to God for her safe delivery and return to health. In England, a mother never crosses the threshold until she has been "churched"; in Scotland, she never sets to work until she has been "kirked." There are certain other tabus for mothers after childbirth in the British Isles but once they have been churched these are removed and women are then free to go about, make visits, and so on. Purification ceremonies for women on this particular occasion were carried out by priest or mediator with lustrations, prayers, or blessings in France, Germany, Italy, Austria; among Negroes and American Indians. Churching is a remnant of the old Mosaic Law (*Lev. xii*) which prescribed purification after any so-called defilement; it is also an echo of the release from more primitive tabus after childbirth with their strenuous requirements. [GRS]

**churl** In modern Indian belief, the malignant ghost of a woman who dies in childbirth or in a state of ceremonial impurity: originally the ghost of a low-caste person. The churl usually has reversed feet, no mouth and haunts filthy places. Sometimes, in the form of a beautiful young woman, she captures young men and keeps them in her power until they are gray-haired, old men. Spells, propitiation, and exorcism are used to rid an area of such a spirit and the body of a low-caste person is buried face downward to hinder its escape.

**churinga or tjuringa** The Australian Aranda (or Arunta) term for a ceremonial object of much sacredness used in rites of many tribes, where, however, it has different names. A churinga may be a polished stone or piece of wood engraved with the group totem design. When it has a hole in it through which a string is passed, it is called a bull-roarer. Women are told the whizzing sound made by swinging it is the voice of spirits. Sacred objects are kept in caves or rock shelters dangerous for women and the uninitiated boys to come near. A churinga has marvelous properties for healing wounds, especially those caused during circumcision and subincision, and for giving courage and power. [KL]

**churning** The process by which butter is made, i.e. beating or otherwise agitating cream until the oily globules separate from the other parts. In general European folk belief, sometimes the butter will not come because it is bewitched or because it has been stolen by witches or fairies. In some parts of rural England when the butter refuses to come, a hot horse-shoe is dropped into the churn. This is believed to unspell the bewitchment. In some places a horseshoe (or ass shoe) is nailed to the bottom of the churn. In Ireland it is said that a bit of burning turf placed under the churn will keep the fairies from stealing the butter. Even more potent against supernatural theft is a churn handle or crosspiece made of quicken wood, or rowan. But if no rowan went into the manufacture of the churn, women will tie a branch of it around the churn or on the handle for the same reason. In some parts of Ireland it is said that this branch must be cut on May Eve. If a stranger enters the house while the churning is going on, he (or she) must lend a hand to the dash for a moment or the butter will be "abstracted." It is

especially good luck to churn before sunrise on a May morning.

**Churning of the Ocean** In later Hindu mythology, a joint project on the part of the gods and asuras (demons) to recover the Elixir of Immortality, amrita, lost at the time of the Deluge. When the gods appealed to Vishnu for renewal of strength he told them to cease temporarily from their eternal war with the asuras for dominion of the world, to join forces with them, collect all plants of all kinds in the world, throw them into the cosmic Milky Ocean, and churn the ocean to recover the precious drink. For this work they were to use Mt. Mandara for a churning-stick and coil the serpent Vāsuki around it for a rope. All this the gods and asuras did, and churned together for a thousand years. Out of the waters rose a number of things of diverse personification and symbolism: first, the Cow, Surabhi, the cow of plenty; then Varuṇi, goddess of wing; Pārijāta, the wonderful coral tree that perfumed the world; then the Apsarasas, celestial nymphs a thousand-fold, next rose from the churning; then the moon (see SOMA), and the powerful and terrible poison, said to be twin-liquor to amrita; next emerged Śrī or Lakṣmī, goddess of beauty, bearing a lotus. Last of all came Dhanvantari, physician to the gods, bearing the amrita in a milk-white bowl. Among other things mentioned as emerging at the Churning of the Ocean are kasyapabha, the marvelous jewel worn by Vishnu (or Krishna), and Airāvata, the milk-white elephant taken by Indra. The story of the Churning of the Ocean is told in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, and the *Purāṇas*.

**Chyavana** In Hindu mythology, a sage who was shriveled with age, the son of Bhrigu. The Aśvins tried to seduce his young wife, Sukanyā, who remained faithful to her husband and taunted the two horsemen with being incomplete. She promised to explain the taunt if they would make her husband young. This they did by telling him to bathe in a certain pond. She in turn explained that they were incomplete because they were excluded from the gods' sacrifice. Chyavana compelled the gods to permit the Aśvins participation in the soma ceremonial by creating a fearful demon, Mada, who threatened to devour Indra unless he agreed.

**Chu Yi** One of the patrons of Chinese literature: popularly known as Mr. Redcoat. An immortal princess fell in love with him and took him to heaven to live with her. He returned to earth because he preferred studying the classics and becoming an imperial minister to a life of connubial bliss in heaven. [KJ]

**CIAP** The International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore is an international institute for ethnological and folklore research. It was founded in 1928 under the auspices of the League of Nations on the occasion of the first International Congress of Folk Arts and Folklore held in Prague. Its statutes were revised during the 3rd General Assembly which CIAP held in Paris in 1947. Its aim is the comparative study of the life and customs of peoples and its field extends to ethnology and folklore. It proposes to promote studies and coordinate research on a world scale. Its principal object is to bring out the concordance of the essential aspirations of Man, in spite of the peculiar features of each culture.

CIAP is composed of members and associates elected by the General Assembly by co-optation in view of their competence in the relevant field of CIAP's activity. National committees or societies contribute in each country to the accomplishment of CIAP's program. CIAP has at the present moment some thousand members.

The governing bodies of the CIAP are the General Assembly, the Governing Board, the Secretary-General. The Governing Board meets, in principle, every year, and the General Assembly every three years. The Governing Board of the CIAP is composed as far as possible of representatives of every nationality. At the present moment (March, 1949) 62 nationalities are represented. The CIAP has one President, and six Vice-Presidents, who are, to some extent, the representatives of the different continents.

The CIAP is a foundation member of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, created in 1918 under the auspices of UNESCO, which contributes to the financing of this work. The fact of belonging to this Council in no way diminishes its autonomy or scientific independence. Within the Council CIAP represents ethnology and folklore studies.

CIAP's scientific work is divided into ten Sections: 1) Bibliography. 2) Theory, Methodology, Terminology. 3) Museums, Collections, Archives, Libraries, Information centers. 4) Habitation, Work, Technology. 5) Society, Religion, Law. 6) Literature. 7) Dramatic arts and games. 8) Plastic and decorative arts, Costume. 9) Music and Dance. 10) Exhibitions, public performances and festivals, workers' spare time. This division has been made purely for convenience in work and is not intended to be rigid and watertight.

Beside the work of the Sections the CIAP organizes international studies conferences or small expert meetings for the study of particular points on its program. For the year 1949-50, for example, the following meetings are on the program: Expert Conference on the methods and techniques to be applied in folklore and ethnological research. An international study course on methodology and the drawing up of a textbook. A meeting to draw up a dictionary in several languages of ethnological and folklore terminology. An expert committee to make a series of films based on ethnology and folklore and intended to stress the concordance of the essential aspirations of Man. These films will be of a scientific nature but will also be designed to interest the general public. An International Studies Conference on Rural Architecture and the Role of Peasant Tradition in the Reconstruction of War-Devastated Countries. An expert committee on the publication of a collection of textbooks of different national folklores, having the same tables of contents in order to stress the relationship of the traditional cultures of different peoples. Etc. etc. The 4th General Assembly and the 15th Session of the Governing Board.

CIAP's organs of expression are: *CIAP Information* which comes out according to the needs of the moment, sometimes several times a month. *LAOS*, a journal not appearing at regular intervals, devoted to comparative ethnology and folklore. The first number will appear in the course of 1949. *LAOS* replaces the reviews *Recherche* and *Museion* (with the latter's monthly supplement) which were both published until the end of 1946 in collaboration with the former International Museums

Office. The last volume of *Recherche* (1946) was devoted to a comparative study on Primitivism and Classicism. The collection of *Museion* includes 58 volumes. In this publication are to be found more particularly descriptions of collections dealing with ethnology and folk art. CIAP has taken over the publication of the *Folkshkundliche Bibliographie*; three volumes, dealing with the years 1939, 1940 and 1941 will appear during 1949. This publication will in future contain a translation in English or French of the titles of works which hitherto were given only in German. Among CIAP's scientific works we further indicate the following: Folk Arts, 2 vols.; Musical Folklore, 2 vols.; Folk Arts and Workers' Leisure; The Museology of Ethnological Collections; The Significance, Aims and Museum Technique of Collections of Musical Instruments; Why and How is Folk Music Collected; Manual of Museology; International Museums Directory; Chilean Folklore; Peruvian Traditions; Art, Life and Nature in Japan, etc. In *CIAP Information* for 1948 there have been a series of studies on ethnological and folklore research in different countries.

The title of the CIAP is an abbreviation of the French title: Commission Internationale des Arts et Traditions Populaires. The temporary headquarters of the CIAP is: Palais de Chaillot, Paris XVIe, France. The Secretary General is E. Foundoukidis.

E. FOUNDOKIDIS, Secretary General

**Öfte tel** An abdominal dance of Turkey, the Turkish provinces in the Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Anatolia, Baku; also known in Persia. It is ordinarily danced by one woman in a circle of women, or by a single man for a group of men. The abdominal muscles are not stressed as much as in the *danse du ventre*. The quivering motion extends to the shoulders and upraised arms and horizontal jerking of the head (the Hindu *sundari*). Footwork is subordinate. Members of the upper classes have become reluctant to perform this dance, even though it is not performed in the nude as is the *danse du ventre*. The name means literally "curls of the bangs of the forehead." [crk]

**Cin-an-ev** Wolf culture-hero and trickster of the Ute Indians. [rwy]

**Cinderella** Title of the best known folktale in the world (Type 510A), found nearly everywhere in the world from Alaska to South Africa, from Europe to Indonesia and South America; more than 500 versions of the tale are known in Europe alone. Its place of origin is unknown, but probably it is an originally Oriental story. It has been carried by Europeans to Indonesia and the Philippines, and to North and South America. The earliest known version happens to be Chinese, from the 9th century A.D.; its European history begins some time before its appearance in Perrault and Basile. The story as told by Perrault has had very wide circulation, yet it contains many familiar elements not basically essential to the Cinderella story and it omits several important motifs (e.g. the help of the dead mother, Cinderella as turkey or goose girl) found in variants of the tale elsewhere in the world.

Essentially the Cinderella story, as differentiated from its sister tales *Catskin*, *Cap o' Rushes*, and *One Eye, Two Eyes, Three Eyes*, is that of the ash-girl (German *Aschenputtel* and *Aschenbrödel*, French *Cendrillon*, Italian *Cenerentola*, etc.) who, with the aid of an animal or her



dead mother, appears at the dance, festival, or in later versions at church, disguised as a grand lady, wins the admiration of the prince, is discovered by the ring or slipper test, and marries the prince.

Perrault's telling of the story begins with the cruel stepmother and the wicked stepsisters, contrasting with them the meek and good Cinderella, forced to do the drudgery of the household and to wait upon the women. Cinderella is so good she does not fail to do her best in dressing her stepsisters when they go off to the grand ball. But when they leave, she begins to weep in despair. Her godmother, who is a fairy, appears in order to help her. Perrault here does not follow the more common incident of the world story, for elsewhere it is Cinderella's mother, as a domestic animal—cow, goat, etc. (Kaffir, Finnish, Celtic, Portuguese, French, etc.)—, as a tree growing from the mother's grave, or by means of an animal sent by the mother, who helps the girl. The fairy godmother is rarely found in the story. Cinderella then, in Perrault's version, goes to the ball in the pumpkin-coach, with mouse-horses, rat-coachmen, and lizard-footmen. Her fine dress and beauty strike the prince to such a degree that he cannot leave her side. At a quarter of twelve she departs hurriedly, for when midnight strikes her finery will disappear. The next night she comes back to the ball, and this time she forgets. The clock strikes twelve as she flees, and only a little ash-girl is seen to leave the palace grounds. But, she has dropped her slipper. Other versions introduce a threefold visit to the ball or festival or church. The use of the witching hour of midnight is Perrault's; so too is the glass slipper. In the Chinese version above mentioned, it is a golden slipper; sometimes it is a ring (compare *Cap o'Rushes* and *Catskin*). Whether Perrault's "pantoufle de verre" was originally a "pantoufle de vair" (fur) is a question that has aroused some interest, but it is quite unessential to the basic elements of the story. The prince, determined to find her, sends throughout the kingdom for the one whom the glass slipper will fit; Cinderella's is the only foot it will go on; she produces the slipper's mate, forgives her sisters, and marries the prince. There are numerous versions in which the dénouement is not as happy for the stepsisters and the stepmother.

*Cinderella* was the subject of the first detailed study of a folktale ever made, that by Marian Cox in 1892. Miss Cox's work shows the story appearing in combination with other tale types, disguised, often distorted, with elements omitted, yet clearly still the Cinderella story. The Zuni tale (outlined by Stith Thompson in *The Folktale*, pp. 127-128), for example, has been completely adapted to Zuni culture. The heroine is an abused turkey girl who gets her fine clothes from the turkeys. But she stays too long at the dance and the turkeys take the finery away. See AMALA; DIRTY BOY; UNPROMISING HERO.

**Cindy** An American banjo or fiddle tune widely played for square dances and reels. It has a rollicking chorus and numerous stanzas devoted to the charms and complexities of a backwoods girl.

**cinnamon** The aromatic inner bark of a tree of the laurel family, used as a spice. It was first mentioned in the writings of the Chinese in 2700 B.C. Used by the Jews and Arabs as a perfume it was one of the earliest

items of trade in the East. The Jews used it in the anointing oil in their temples. The Arabian priests had the sole right to gather the bark, and the first bundle was dedicated to the Sun. In early times it ranked in value with gold and frankincense. It was said to make an excellent tonic for the system and developed immunity to disease. In early times cassia was thought to be an inferior quality of cinnamon, and they were used interchangeably. Cassia was used in the embalming fluid of the Egyptians.

**Cirapé** "Younger brother" and companion of Old Man Coyote, the trickster of the Crow Indians of Montana. Cirapé accompanies Old Man Coyote on his wanderings and shares in many of his adventures. [Éwv]

**Circe** In Greek mythology, a sorceress, usually the daughter of Helios and the Oceanid Perse, and sister of Æetes, king of Colchis. She murdered her husband and was exiled to the island of Ææa where she delved into the secrets of magic, surrounding herself with wild beasts which she transformed from men. Ulysses' crew, when they were cast up on her island, were likewise transformed by her magic cup into swine, but the hero himself, protected by the herb moly from the effects of the drink, and informed of her actions by Eurylochus who had escaped the change, forced her to return his men to their proper shapes. Her wiles nevertheless caused him to remain with her a year, during which time he became the father of Telegonus. Before he left, she advised him how to interview Tiresias in Hades, and on his return from the underworld pointed out the dangers he would meet in his journey. Homer calls Circe the fair-haired goddess. Either Circe or the Witch of Endor may claim the distinction of being the most famous of all witches.

**Circe motif** A folktale (G263.1), related to the large group of transformation motifs, in which the lovers of a sorceress are turned by her into swine or other animals: the tales embodying this idea are found from western Europe to Mongolia. Krappe states that the folktale spread from the Near East, originating in the Babylonian myth of Ishtar who slew her lovers when she was sated with them (like many another goddess or god or king of myth or history). The dulling of the point of the original myth in the change to popular tale (actual death to transformation into beasts) is typical of the development of folktale from myth.

**circular tale** A variety of the endless tale: also called *prose round*. It is characterized by suddenly beginning again as it reaches the climax. See ENDLESS TALE.

**circumambulation** The ceremonial walking around an object, site, or person with the right hand towards it, either as a religious ceremony, act of reverence, or magical practice: also called the sunwise turn, holy round, etc., the Brāhman *pradakṣiṇa*. It brings good luck, fends off evil, cures diseases, blots out sins, and is also sometimes regarded as a kind of cosmic magic to insure the continuation of the sun in its course and with it the benefits of the solar cycle: crops, animals, human progeny, warmth, life itself. It is an ancient and widespread practice occurring and functioning variously in a number of cultures.

In India, Tibet, China, Japan, galleries or walls are

still found around Buddhist shrines so that pilgrims may make the holy rounds. Hindus and Mohammedans circumambulate the tombs of saints, believing that the act wipes out sins. The Kaaba at Mecca is an object of circumambulation; so is the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem for Oriental Christians. The Roman Catholic Stations of the Cross are also always done sunwise. Circumambulation of religious objects, shrines, etc., propitiates the god or other spirit associated with it, or imparts to the circumambulator some aura of its sanctity or power, and protects both from evil. Many North American Indians perform their rituals sunwise. The Navaho and others associate anti-sunwise motion with curses and witchcraft. The circuits of the great Midewin ceremony are performed sunwise. Eskimos, Lapps, and the peoples of northern Siberia all possess sunwise ceremonials. And certain Carib Indians perform their initiation ceremony dances sunwise.

Circumambulation of the dead or of the grave is an ancient practice found from the Central Eskimo, Lapps, Burials, to India, throughout Europe and the British Isles, and in British Guiana. Achilles made the war chariots circle the body of Patroclus three times (*Iliad*, xxiii). The Argonauts circled the body of Mopsus, the seer, three times when they buried him. In Ireland a corpse is still carried sunwise around the graveyard before burial; the graveyard is always approached sunwise (see DEISEAL). The Koryaks speed the souls of slain bears into the sun by carrying the stuffed bearskin in ceremonial sunwise circuit.

The magical power for good inherent in the act of circumambulation is seen in such practices as the turning of boats sunwise by fisherman of the Orkneys and Shetlands, Iceland, and Ireland before undertaking a trip, and the encircling of the sacred pipul tree by barren Bráhmán women to induce pregnancy. The famous fire charm of northern Europe was the sunwise circumambulation performed with the proper incantations. European balladry celebrates many a brave "fire-rider" who was burned to death with his horse before he could complete the required number of circuits.

Bráhmán and Buddhist marriage ceremonies include the circumambulation by the couple of hearth or house-pole. In early Roman marriage ceremonies they circled the family altar. In rural Europe and the British Isles they circumambulate the house or the church. In some parts of Scotland today family and friends will circle sunwise around someone who is going on a journey, to give him luck. Opler, in *Dirty Boy* (MAAA 52: 36) notes that Jicarilla Apache on the raid customarily skirt enemy camps sunwise. The Japanese believe that to advance against an enemy anti-sunwise is defying heaven. In all Celtic countries the ill encircle holy wells to be cured. The Estonian father will run around the church while his child is being baptized to make it a good runner. Moslems stir their food and pass their dishes sunwise. In China and Japan a cup of tea is given one complete sunwise turn, sip by sip, between the first sip and the last.

Circumambulation occurs in folktale for the undoing of evil spells (D787), for transformation by encircling three (or four) times (D563), the acquiring of magic power by circumambulation (D1791). See AMPHIPROMIA; DEISEAL; JERICHO; ROUND DANCES; SWASTIKA; TUATAL; WITHERSHINS.

**circumcision** The operation removing all or some portion of the prepuce or foreskin, the skin covering the glans of the penis: an almost universal custom all over the world except in Europe and non-Semitic Asia. An analogous operation is often performed on women, the clitoris and sometimes the labia being removed. Male circumcision is sometimes attended in Australia by the companion operation of subincision, the slitting of the urethra the length of the penis; and in Jewish ritual circumcision by the tearing of the mucous membrane covering the glans. The knife used is often of stone, leading some to believe that the custom originated in the stone age, before metal was worked and used by man.

The cutting of the prepuce may be only symbolic, as among the Chams of Indo-China; it may be simply a gash or cut in the prepuce, as in the Americas and parts of the Pacific; or it may be the total excision of the prepuce, the common meaning of the word. Literally, the word means "a cutting around," and perhaps it should be limited to the complete operation, but the sacrifice or test implied in the cutting of the organ of generation is so widespread that any similar operation on penis or vulva must be included in a discussion of circumcision.

Wherever it occurs, circumcision is a form of initiation. Most commonly it takes place at or before puberty; universally it precedes marriage. Many theories have been advanced explaining the reason for circumcision: it is a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility; it is a test of the ability to withstand pain; it is a mark of social distinction, setting the circumcised apart from and above the uncircumcised; it avoids the danger inherent in sexual intercourse by sacrificing a part for the whole; it is a sanitary measure; it has even been said, without evidence, that it is meant to increase sexual pleasure by making the penis less sensitive. While many of these theories hold true for one or a limited number of peoples, none answers the question fully.

However, the ritual which surrounds circumcision (e.g. Jewish, Australian, African) and its inclusion in initiation rites of some sort; the rejection of the uncircumcised from the (circumcised) group (e.g. the Masai will not permit the uncircumcised to handle iron, the term "uncircumcised" is an insult among the Arabs, etc.); the insistence that circumcision makes a man of a child, intercourse and marriage not being safe before circumcision; the inclusion of the naming rite in the circumcision ceremony—these, while of scattered occurrence, all indicate that circumcision is basically an initiation ceremony.

Who is circumcised (males, females, both; the higher classes, as among the Aztecs, or everyone but the highest class, as in Tonga), the timing of the operation (from the age of a week or so to an age immediately preceding marriage), the identity of the operator (father, uncle, father-in-law; priest, doctor, special official), what instruments are used and what they are made of, and other similar questions are too complex to be entered into here, and are of more interest to the anthropologist or the student of sociologic institutions than to the folklorist. Even the universality of several of the statements may be dubious: within recorded times the custom has been seen to be adopted and discarded by several peoples; the Zulu king, Chaka,

abolished it in the 19th century, and though of recent introduction among the central Bantu it is dying out among them.

It is of interest to the folklorist to note that myths or tales about circumcision are rare, so rare that even origin tales do not often occur. The Arunta creation myth does relate in detail the story of the origin of circumcision and subincision, which forms an important part of the Alcheringa myth. The Biblical reference to circumcision as the mark of the covenant between the Israelites and Jahweh is well known. Members of the same age group, circumcised together, are sometimes as close as blood brothers among the Kafirs, the Bechuanas, the Papuans. A seat is left for Elijah at the Jewish circumcision. Some legendary persons (Adam, Moses, Zerubbabel) were born circumcised. But apart from the types which these myths, customs, and beliefs represent—and they are few in number—the folklore of circumcision does not exist, perhaps because it has been absorbed in religious ritual, perhaps because of the tremendous tabu that must lie over a subject so closely related to the generative power and the mysterious sacrifice of manhood to attain manhood. Students of psychoanalysis applying their techniques to anthropology have professed to see in circumcision a reflection of the unconscious castration-fear complex, but this too is only tangentially related to folklore.

**Cirein Cròin** In Scottish Highland folklore, the sea serpent, believed to be the largest of all living creatures. Seven whales were an easy meal for him.

**ciriwana** A self-accompanied dance of the Aymara Indian men of Bolivia: probably so named for the Chiriguano tribe. Dressed in a white skirt and ostrich-feather crown, each dancer holds in his left hand an enormous pan-pipe and a drum; in his right hand he manipulates a drum stick. [CRK]

**Cuateteo** or **Ciuapipiltin** In Aztec belief, certain female spirits (literally "noble women") who had died in childbirth (or in their first childbirth) or who had been warriors. Their patroness was Cihuacoatl, the serpent woman, probably an aspect of Coatlicue. The Cuateteo lived in the western sky, through which, from the time it reached the meridian, they carried the sun to deliver it to the lords of the underworld. From this connection with the underworld they probably derived their dangerous character. Sometimes they flew out of the west as eagles, bringing epilepsy to children and lust to men. At certain times they scared people on the roads. From the corpse of such a woman, the stupefying thieves' candle (hand of glory) might be made, hence great precautions, in the form of armed guards and the like, had to be taken against the body being stolen or mutilated. Under Spanish influence, the cuateteo has developed into La Llorona, the weeping woman of folktale, who wanders through the streets seeking her lost children.

**cláirseac** An Irish harp, especially a festival harp of ancient times.

**Clementine** A late popular American ballad dealing with the drowning of a forty-niner's daughter.

**Clerk Saunders** A Scottish popular ballad (Child #69) in which Clerk Saunders induces his true love,

May Margaret, to take him to her bed, to his undoing. She opens the latch with Clerk Saunders' sword, so that she may swear her hand did not let him in; she blindfolds her eyes in order to say she has not seen him; she carries him to the bed, in order to say he has not crossed her floor. But after the true lovers are sound asleep, May Margaret's seven brothers appear at the foot of the bed, discussing whether or not to kill Clerk Saunders. The consensus is not to part the beautiful and loving pair. Only the seventh brother (sometimes the eldest) is unmoved; he draws his sword and runs it through Clerk Saunders. The ballad ends with May Margaret's grief and refusal to be comforted for the man she was going to marry. There is a version in the David Herd manuscript running to 41 stanzas; the story as here told plus the incident in *Sweet William's Ghost* (Child #77), i.e. May Margaret is not left to live on un comforted; she follows her lover's ghost to the graveside and dies with grief beside it. Sir Walter Scott first presented *Clerk Saunders* to the reading public in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

**cliff-ogre** The incident of a monster kicking people over a cliff so that they may be eaten by her brood, occurs in many North American Indian tales over the continent, as also in early Greek story (G321). [EWV]

**climax of relations** In folklore, ballad, and legend, the introducing of the relatives of the protagonist in the order of their importance to him and to the resolution of the action. This is a familiar motif in a number of ballads and folk songs stressing the fact that the condemned one's sweetheart (or wife or husband) is more merciful than blood relations. The English ballad *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* (Child #95) typically illustrates the sequence of refusals to ransom the condemned girl: father, mother, brother, sister, all arrive in this sequence; all refuse ransom—"For I am come to see you hanged"—until the girl's true-love arrives, who has come to see her saved. The American Negro version of this ballad, *The Gallows Pole*, names papa, brother, sister, sweetheart.

Many Negro jail songs also follow the climax of relations: "My mama don't write to me, poor me"—working up to the sweetheart's line, which is always the punch line, whether the sweetheart has written or not. A number of Negro spirituals also use the device—"My mama has gone to the Other Side," etc.—working up to the singer himself.

In the English ballad *Lord Randal* (Child #12) a sequence of bequests is the vehicle for the climax of relations: "What do you leave to your mother, Lord Randal, my son?"—then to sister, brother, and true-love, who, in sharp contrast with the first three affectionate bequests, is consigned to hell-fire for poisoning her lover. In the English and Scottish versions of *Edward* (Child #13) it is the mother who caps the climax of relations and is left with the bitter curse of the son to whom she has given murderous counsel.

**Clíodna** (pronounced *Cleena*) In Old Irish mythology, daughter of Gebann, chief druid to Manannán mac Lir, lord of the sea. Clíodna of the Fair Hair had still not given her love to any man when Ciabán (pronounced Keevan) came to Manannán's house. The way Ciabán came was this: he was sent away from Fionn's

country because of his charm for women and the jealousy of the men of the Fianna. He left Ireland in a curragh with two strange men; and a storm rose around them of such mountainous waves and din that Ciaban wished himself on land. A rider on a gray horse rose out of the sea and brought him out of danger. Ciaban was carried with the rider to Tir Tairngaire, the Land of Promise, where stood the city of Manannán.

A great feast was going on there at the time and the famous entertainers were doing their tricks. One of the tricks was to throw nine straight willow rods into the rafters of the house and catch them coming down, but standing on one leg and with one hand behind the back. The tricksters used to persuade strangers to try the trick just to see them fail. So one of them handed Ciaban the nine rods and Ciaban did the trick. Clíodna loved Ciaban from that moment and went away with him the next morning. They went in a curragh to a place on the south shore of Ireland. Ciaban pulled up the curragh on the strand and went on shore, seeking a deer in the thicket for their food. He left Clíodna waiting in the curragh with Iuchna, a musician of Manannán's who was with them. Iuchna played such music that Clíodna slept, and a huge wave rolled over the curragh and drowned her and swept her away. The surge of that place is still called Tonn Clíodna, Clíodna's Wave.

In later folklore, Clíodna is regarded as one of the three fairy queens of Munster, active in May Day celebrations and seducer of young men at fairs. She is also believed to be the special banshee of certain families in the south of Munster.

**Clootie** A Scottish name for the devil: from *clout*, meaning one division of a cleft hoof. *Old Cloots* is a variant of the epithet. *Clootie's Croft* is a piece of land left untilled (or found untillable) by the villagers, as a gift to the devil.

**Cloud People or Shiwanna** Among the Pueblo Indians, spirits with whom the dead are associated. The Cloud beings live in the four or six regions of the universe and are associated with the colors of these regions; or, they may live in towns on the shores of the encircling ocean, or in the mountains, below a spring or lake. Clouds, and the dead as clouds, are represented as kachina and impersonated by masked dancers in Pueblo kachina ceremonies. [rww]

**Clouston, William Alexander (1843-1896)** Scotch journalist and writer born in the Orkneys of an old Norse family. Most of his writing was devoted to Oriental fiction and to folklore, and his principal work from the folklore point of view was *The Book of Noodles: Stories of Simpletons, or Fools and Their Follies*, which was published in London in 1880, and appeared in a popular edition in 1903. Among his other works are an edition of *Arabian Poetry for English Readers* (1881); *A Persian Romance* (1883); *The Book of Sindbad, From the Persian and Arabic*, edited by Clouston (1884); *Popular Tales and Fictions: Their Migrations and Transformations* (1887); *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories from the Persian, Tamil and Urdu* (1889); *Book of Wise Sayings, Selected Largely from Eastern Sources* (1893); *Flowers from a Persian Garden* (1894); and *Hieroglyphic Bibles, Their Origin and History*.

**clover** Any of several species of plants (genus *Trifolium*). Farmers consider clover a sign of good soil. Because of its triple leaf it is regarded as a symbol of the Trinity, and a proof against spells and witchcraft. The druids also had a high regard for clover as a charm against evil. Pliny mentioned that when the leaves of the clover tremble and stand up it is a sign of a coming storm, a belief still held today. Also it is said that the leaves are rough before a storm. In Newfoundland an infusion of clover is used for bathing skin diseases.

Four-leafed clovers are generally considered lucky in Europe and North America, but they must not be given away. Some believe they give clairvoyance and the ability to see things as they are, or to see the fairies, elves, trolls, etc. They are protection against the Devil and his minions. Some say that one possessing a four-leafed clover will see his or her love within a short time. This is especially true of girls; they will marry the next man they see. They say in Newfoundland that wherever you see a four-leafed clover, a foal was born. Some believe the possession of one should be kept secret for it to be effective, others that it should be placed in the left shoe; in Silesia it should be sewn inside the clothes. Five-leafed clovers are bad luck if found and kept, but it is good luck to both parties to give them away. In some places to find a five-leafed clover indicates that you will soon be sick.

**clown medicine** The curing power of the clown: a religious concept among many North American Indians, especially among the Pueblo and Iroquois and certain California Indians. In the pueblos clowns are believed to have great powers of eyesight. San Juan and Hano pueblo clowns can even see the kachina in their distant places. For this reason clown medicine is believed to sharpen eyesight. The Jicarilla Apache clown wears a bandoleer of bread. From this he tears off a piece, chews it, and then transfers it to the mouth of his patient. The Jicarilla Apache believe that contact with human or animal excrement will cause sieges of vomiting. To cure vomiting the Jicarilla clown administers a herbal medicine mixed into white clay with the excrement of a dog or child. Thus public clowning with voidings is probably basically related to this curing magic. Ashes of dog voidings constitute a good stomach medicine. Many diverse clown groups possess medications for sick stomach. The Black Eyes (clowns of Taos) are regarded as especially good baby doctors. Zuni clowns, the Ne'wekwe, or Gluttons, will eat anything (green fruit, peach stones, sticks, pebbles, ashes, urine, voidings, small live animals, etc.) in token of their power to cure anything. Hano clowns also possess this "medicine."

**clowns** Ludicrous characters, who commonly use backward speech or indulge in contrary behavior and scatological practices are, quite generally, among the actors in many Plains, Southwestern, Great Basin, and California Indian ceremonies. In the Plains and Southwest clowns are often organized into societies; they are frequently masked when they perform, and wear elaborate costumes. A great deal of license is ridiculing the sacred and vested authority is allowed the clown; in at least one California tribe it was he who could talk against and depose a chief. Notable among Pueblo clowns are the Koshare or Delight Makers of the Hopi,

as the Kewashil, the masked *kachina* clowns of the Zuni. Clowning in the pueblos consists of gluttony, eating or drinking fish, drenching or being drenched with urine or water, begging, burlesquing, satirizing, distributing prizes or food, playing games, and so forth. Members of Pueblo clowning societies inspire a certain amount of fear among the people; since they are licensed to do what they please they can be punitive. Furthermore, they are generally supposed to practice witchcraft. In the Eastern Woodlands and especially among the Iroquois and neighboring tribes, the Shuck Faces who accompanied the False Faces on their rounds to rid villages of sickness, acted somewhat as clowns, amusing and frightening the people. [FWV]

Among various North American Indians, clowns are impersonators of ethionic beings with identical farcical attributes, which in the course of time have become their distinguishing features. By identification with the spirits of the dead, animals, fire, and other natural forces, clowns possess magical powers for curing, for weather control, and fertility, and have complete license of action. Their reversed action and speech are characteristic of the contrary behavior associated with ceremonies for the dead, but are specifically the mark of clown humor. Fire ordeals (*theyoka*) and ash scattering (by the *gagosa* of the Iroquois and the *no-hahluigak* of the California Pomo) exhibit their supernatural curative powers; female impersonations and obscene mime serve phallic purposes (see *AKH'ARISCARIEA*; *KOSHARE*). They also may police or completely control dances at certain times (*chapayekas*, *chapeones*).

They impersonate the supernatural by means of various types of disguise: wooden, hide, or cloth masks, or paint, or female clothes. The Iroquois False Faces, or *gagosa*, as wind and disease spirits, wear black or red wooden masks with distorted features. Wooden masks representing goats or old men are worn by the Mayo-Yaqui *pascola*, the Tarahumara *chapeones*, the Isleta *Kapio*, and the Acoma and Laguna *chapio*. Hide masks with long ears, horns, and long thin noses cover the heads of the Mayo-Yaqui *chapayekas*, the Papago *dipidjur*, Apache *Pibálu* and the *tsabyio* of San Juan, Alcalde, Cochiti, Santa Ana, and Jemez. Again, the Büngi *windigokan* cut eyeholes in sack masks; the *Koshare* and Yahgan kina clowns paint their faces with black and white stripes and tie their hair in a poke; the Zuni mudheads use mud. The Iroquois Husk Faces (*gadysah*), dressed as women, possess fertility magic for increase of crops and babies.

These North American clown types find their counterparts throughout the world in the totemic animals of the African Javara, in the theriomorphic Carnival *haloghevi* of Thrace, descended from the Dionysian *daimones*; in the Portuguese *bugios*, the Swiss *Rautscheggen* and Ueberlingen *Zottler*, descended from the wild men of the medieval Carnival; in the horned sooty devil; and in the female *Schemen* and the Bessy of the English Morris and Fool Plough. The ancient costume of shaggy fur may today be represented only by tatters (as worn by the *Zottler* and Mexican *viejo*), or may be replaced by foliage (Leafy Fool, or Jack-in-the-Green of medieval England). Various other paraphernalia have life giving properties: furry cape and tails, swords or sticks, whips (serpents), agricultural implements, water

sprinklers, flowers, gourd rattles, bells, and other demon-frightening noise makers.

Today the ghostly origin of the clown tends to fade into obscurity. The South German *Pechten*, the still ceremonial demons, have lost their ancient meaning as the followers of Berchta or Frau Holle, caretakers of the dead. The European Carnival train of *gagosa* masks, following the medieval wild men—the *Herlekin*—no longer represents *das wilde Herge*, the wild horde of the dead, but has ended on the stage as Harlequin, a semipathetic entertainer. And the springtime expulsion of death and resurrection of the ancestors have degenerated into Carnival and Halloween pranks. See DANCE; TOLE AND PRIMITIVE.

**cluracán** A diminutive old-man fairy of Ireland traditionally believed to inhabit wine cellars. He takes care that the beer barrels or wine casks are not left running, and for reward he is always given his copper. In County Cork the *cluracán* is often associated with the leprechaun, but this is because of his dwarfish appearance, and the fact that he too knows the whereabouts of hidden treasure.

**coal** This fuel which we take for granted as a part of our civilization today has been in use in the Western world for a relatively short time. The mention of coal in such early works as the Bible usually refers to wood charcoal. Coal was known to the Chinese as early as 1000 B.C. as ice charcoal, but was still in limited use at the time of Marco Polo. Aristotle's pupil, Theophrastus, mentions it in his work on stones as being occasionally used by smiths. There are indications that it was used in scattered places in Britain by the Roman soldiers, but although there were exposed seams of coal in existence in Italy at that time, its use was not carried back with the legions on their return. In England and parts of Germany, hard coal has been used to make trinkets since medieval times. There is record of crystal balls and a "Devil's mirror" made of polished canal coal. This coal was used occasionally in England for architectural carvings and panels and for a church floor.

Its use as a fuel did not begin until the 12th century and then only by a few industries and by the very poor who could not afford any other fuel. People disliked the smoke which it made (and still makes) in English fireplaces and for a time its use was banned by law. It was known to the alchemists of the Middle Ages who were familiar with some of its many byproducts.

The Venerable Bede mentions that when hurried coal drove out snakes, but in this instance it was burned as a fumigant rather than a fuel. In parts of England today it is carried in the pocket for luck and it is often carried by burglars, perhaps originally to give invisibility. Irish prisoners sometimes carry it at their trials to give them luck "with the authorities." In Kneffing, Yorkshire, it is the first thing brought into the house in the New Year. In some places Jews put a piece in a child's pocket to ward off the evil eye.

**Coatlucue** Literally, the lady of the serpent skin; in Aztec mythology, the magically impregnated mother of Huizilopochtli; an earth-serpent deity; one of the wives of Mixcoatl, the Cloud Serpent of the Milky Way. She is of especially horrible aspect: her skirt is of snakes, her necklace of hearts and hands supports a skull pendant; her hands and feet are clawed; her

breasts are flabby. She feeds on the corpses of human beings; and she is called Tonantzin, our mother, or Tlazolteotl, the devourer of filth. In the myth, as Coatlicue swept one day, she picked up on her broom a ball of feathers and put it in her bodice. From this she became impregnated. Her daughter egged on her sons to kill their mother for her supposed crime, but the child within her womb told Coatlicue to have no fear. When the brothers arrived, the child, Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec war god, sprang into the world fully armed and slew the sister and most of the brothers.

**cobra** Any of several venomous snakes (genus *Naja*) of India and Africa which can dilate their necks into a hood. The cobra, as a symbol of the life force that motivates birth and rebirth, is adored in northern India and it is never knowingly killed. If one is accidentally slain its body is cremated with the same rites as those used for a man. Childless women worship the snake on the fifth of each month for a period of a year or of three years with offerings of flowers, water, and milk. In Coorg it is believed that the cobra lives a thousand years. In its middle life its body begins to shrink and to brighten until it shines like silver. When it is only a foot long it shines like gold, and finally it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it dies and a serpent stone is left. Anyone stepping on the spot where the cobra died will be the victim of an incurable skin disease.

The cobra, as a supernatural being, plays an important part in Indian folktales and mythology. The marking on its hood is believed to be the footprint of Krishna, and Devī is frequently represented with the serpent.

**cobzar** An itinerant musician of Rumanian villages, who sings and improvises to his fiddle or guitar. Many of the songs of the cobzar are legends of ancient times or apocryphal stories of *Old and New Testament*.

**cociés or cosiers** A Majorcan ceremonial dance centered around a hobby horse. The actors consist of a *dama*, a man-woman with fan and kerchief, two demons with horns and cloven feet, and six boys in white with ribbons and elaborate floral hats. They dance figures similar to the English Morris, cross-overs and heys, periodically during the processions of Corpus Christi and the Assumption. All except the devils also dance in the church at Alaró and Montiuri. The accompanying instruments are a *chirimía* or bagpipe, *tamborino*, and *flaviol*. The dance is considered of the same type as the *Morisca* in the rest of Europe, a pagan vegetation rite in Christian garb. [crk]

**cock** The cock's origin was probably India, although the Greeks called it "the Persian bird." In these countries it was venerated and it was a desecration to put such fowls to death, both in India and in Russia. As announcer of the dawn, the cock was sacred to Apollo, the sun god; it was sometimes called the "son of Mars," on account of its fighting abilities and its pugnacity; it was also dedicated to Mercury and often associated with the chthonic gods. The Romans offered the comb of the bird to the Lares. The cock was a bird *par excellence* for sacrifice; it was offered to the sun in Mexico and it was conspicuous for its substitution for human sacrifice in building ceremonies and for other symbolic uses of its blood.

In Rome, the cock was used in auguries; in Germany and Hungary, it was a weather prophet; "hence," says an authority, "its effigy on buildings, but its place on church-spires is said to owe its place because of Peter's denial of Christ and as a reminder to Christians not to do likewise." In the mantic capacity of this bird, its crowing frequently forecast victory in war.

As a symbol of fertility, the cock played a part in marriage ceremonies among the southern Slavs and in Hungary when the bridegroom carried a cock or its image in the marriage procession. Cock-decoration of the roof of a house is another example of the bird as life-bringer.

Many omens are referred to the cock: in Wales, it is lucky to own a white cock; its crowing in the daytime announces the visit of a friend; if it crows about midnight, it is a death omen. If the cock is black, it becomes a bird of evil; an offering of a black cock appeases the devil (Hungary). It is used in black magic and in folk medicine: it is used in cases of tuberculosis (Morocco); applied to the skin to take the poison from a snake bite; a stone from the cock's stomach was supposed to inspire the one who swallowed it with strength and courage (Scotland).

The cock appears as a character in the folktale. An outstanding example may be cited in Grimm's *The Bremen Town-Musicians* (#27), versions of which are widespread—from Scandinavian countries to the Old World in India and elsewhere. He is the principal in the story, "The Cock that Wished to Become Pope" (Thomas Frederick Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (New York, 1885), pp. 272-274, after Gonzenbach). Further examples are in the simpler cumulative tales where the cock is one in a "chain." (Cf. Benjamin Thorpe, *Yule-Tide Stories* (London 1892), "The Cock and the Hen in the Nut Wood," pp. 333-335, after Ashjörnsen). The 12th century *Roman de Renart*, built on still earlier models, has served as pattern for stories of the wiles of the fox in many countries toward various creatures, including the cock. [crs]

**Cockaigne** A land of pleasure, wealth, and luxury; wholly imaginary. The name has been applied to London ("cockneydom") and also to Paris. In this fabled land, all sorts of strange things happen; roast pigs run along the street with knife and fork stuck in their backs, streets are paved with pastry, houses made of barley sugar, a kettle on a mountain of cheese is boiling macaroni and dumplings which later roll down to the waiting gourmands. This topsy-turvy land is celebrated in poem and story, especially in the Middle Ages. Grimm's tale, *The Story of Schlauraffenland* (#158) and *The Ditmars Tale of Wonders* (#159) give some idea of the extravaganzas of the "lying tale." [crs]

**cockcrow** The shrill crow of the cock which announces the rising of the sun is one of this bird's characteristics. It has been variously referred to in literature as "trumpet of the morn" (Shakespeare), "shrill clarion" (Gray), and in other similar descriptive phrases. When the cock ceases to crow, it is believed that the Day of Judgment will be at hand.

Fairly universal is the superstition that ghosts, witches, evil spirits, or whatever roams abroad at night are obliged to vanish at cockcrow; even the Devil takes flight. In this connection, the colors ascribed to the cock

are significant. When the *white* cock crows, little attention is paid to it; the crow of the *red* cock is a warning; but at the *black* cock's crow all frequenters of the night quickly disappear. Many tales and ballads illustrate such beliefs. Sometimes the *white* cock is lacking and sometimes a *gray* cock is substituted for the *red*.

It is pointed out that memorable incidents which have happened at cockcrow in the past tend to stimulate superstitions of this hour. The Nativity and the Resurrection occurred near this time and it was at cockcrow that Jesus said that Peter would deny him (*Mat.* xxvi, 34; *Mark* xiv, 30; *Luke* xxii, 34). [CRS]

**cockroach** This representative of the family *Blattidae* has an ancient tradition, since it existed in great numbers and varieties in the Carboniferous epoch and earlier. Fossils have been found in Silurian sandstone. Folktale puts its origin in Finland (*FFC* VIII:122, #125). But it is indigenous to all parts of the world except the polar regions, and there are 2250 species on the face of the earth. In general it thrives in a warm, humid environment. Many of the tropical species are brilliant green, yellow, orange, or variegated. The flying Malaysian roach, often called the Australian cockroach, has traveled the world in ships and often turns up unexpectedly in urban kitchens. The death's-head roach, named for its markings, of Florida, Mexico, the West Indies, and Central America, attains a length of 2½ inches. With its nocturnal habits and its appetite for both animal and vegetable food, nothing is safe from it. People of the Chaco keep their cotton garments in pottery jars sealed with clay to avoid their being devoured by the native cockroaches. Names given to the cockroach in Germany and France, such as *Bäcker*, *bête à pain*, suggest some of its habits.

In Russia and in France the cockroach is looked upon as a protecting spirit; its presence in the house is lucky. It portends bad luck if "the roach" leaves. In many sections of Europe and the United States methods are various for getting rid of roaches, such as sweeping them out on Good Friday or impaling one on a pin as warning for the lot. Enclosing one in a box and presenting it to a corpse, or taking one to a neighbor's house are other Continental methods.

The name "black beetle" often applied to the cockroach is incorrect entomologically, but is in keeping with many associations of the cockroach with the devil or witches. In Ireland it is thought sometimes that witches in the shape of cockroaches come to plague farmers. The Irish always kill a cockroach because it is said to have revealed the hiding place of Jesus.

The cockroach has entered folktale, although instances are infrequent compared with stories about other insects. Four cockroach stories have been reported from Jamaica in Martha Beckwith's *Jamaica Anansi Stories*, *MAFLS* 17. A story from Antigua, entitled *Why Fowl Catch Cockroach*, tells how Cockroach, who is always playing and singing, meets a tragic end suggestive of the fable of the *Ant* and the *Grasshopper*.

In folk medicine the cockroach was used in the treatment of urinary disorders, for worms in children, for epilepsy, and various other ills. To catch a witch Mississippi Negroes lay a large jar or bottle in the hearth ashes overnight. If there is a cockroach in it in the morning, that's the witch. She will die whatever death is meted out to the cockroach.

**cock's step** In Ireland, *coiscéim coilig*, a cock's step, is a term used to mean a short or imperceptible interval. The increase in the length of a day, when the days first begin to lengthen, for instance, is but a cock's step.

**coco macaque** A magic stick found among Haitian Negroes that walks by itself. The owner can send it on errands, especially punitive errands. If he hits an enemy with it, the man will die before morning.

**coconut** One of the most widely cultivated trees in the world: said to have originated in Ceylon. One story says that it sprang from the head of a slain monster, another that the king's astrologer named a certain day as auspicious for planting, and that anything planted on that day would grow into a tree beneficial to mankind. The king planted the astrologer's head. The Chinese say that when the prince of Yue was beheaded, his head caught in the branch of a palm, and became a coconut. In India it is said to have been created by the sage Sisvamiitra, who was a great thinker.

In some parts of India, coconut palms must be planted by Brāhmans because they are free from evil. In other parts there is a belief, when a tree is planted, that one of the family will die when it puts forth leaves again, and another when the first blossoms appear. In Malabar when a boy is born, his parents plant five coconut trees, enough to support him. In Mindoro if you look up when you are planting, the tree will grow very tall before it will bear, but if you comb your hair, the tree will be full of nuts. If a tree is not fruitful, it may be made so by planting a certain vine at its base.

In Nariyal in western India there is a Coconut Day, when coconuts and flowers are thrown into the sea to propitiate the sea and as a thank offering. The Parsees break a coconut on the threshold as an act of welcome to a near relative, or a bride and groom.

Among the Fijians, if a coconut is spun near a sick man, he will die if it falls to the west, but if it falls to the east he will recover. Among the Sengalese they say that a coconut will not fall on anyone unless he has displeased the divine powers. On Mindoro they claim that the nuts will yield more oil if the oil-making takes place at high tide.

**Cocoyomes** An unknown ancient people: said by the Tarahumare Indians of Mexico to have been (1) their ancient enemies, (2) their ancestors, (3) the first people in the world. The Cocoyomes lived in caves, were cannibals, and supplemented their diet with agave. Because of their wickedness, the sun came down and burned them up. The few survivors who fled and took refuge in caves at Zapuri were exterminated by the Tarahumare.

**Codrus** In Greek legend, the last king of Athens. In a war between the Dorians and the Athenians, the Delphic oracle declared that that side would win whose king died. Codrus then disguised himself as a peasant, entered the Dorian camp, and picked a quarrel with some soldiers. The Dorians gave up the hopeless war when they found who it was that had been killed, and returned home. Since this action on the part of Codrus could never be surpassed by any future king, the Athenians abolished the kingship and appointed Medon, the son of Codrus, archon for life.

**Cō-hon** In Annamese belief, the souls of those who have died a violent death on land or at sea and who have not had proper burial. There are millions of Cō-hon which hide in the shade of shrubs and trees, attacking passers-by at night or causing misfortunes to those who forget them. Businessmen, especially, try to gain their favor. Small wooden temples or stone altars at the feet of trees are erected for them, and offerings of imitation gold or silver, paper shoes, and rice are made to them.

**coin of the dead** The custom of placing "a penny piece on each eye" of the newly deceased was not confined to Dickens' England (*Martin Chuzzlewit*, ch. xix). Today in New England, where the half-dollar is the proper coin, the purpose is alleged to be to keep the eyelids closed as rigor mortis sets in, lest the open eyes become fixed in an unseemly stare. Judging from many parallel examples, however, the practice is a partial or token survival of the ancient custom of burying all a man's valuables with him in order that he might not return as a ghost and haunt his home vicinity.

By classical times that custom had already been simplified by placing a coin under the corpse's tongue or between the teeth, and rationalized by calling it "Charon's obol," the fee to the underworld deity for ferrying the soul of the deceased over the Acheron or the Styx to the realm of the dead. The custom was supposed (because of a passage in Diodorus Siculus) to have been borrowed from the Egyptians, but the Egyptians probably had no coinage at the indicated time, and Charon himself is very likely a revised and refined edition of the earlier Etruscan deity Charun, depicted on sarcophagi as a half-human, half-animal monster, holding high a threatening hammer as he tears the dead man from the bosom of his family.

The convention of using corpse coins is widespread. The Juma River tribesmen of South America think of the rainbow as the mouth of a great snake through which the soul enters heaven. To pay the toll a coin is placed in the mouth of the cadaver or, if the family is poor, a fig may be substituted. The substitution idea is general. The Pahari people of North India use either coins or other small articles of value. The Japanese, for ferry fee across the Sandzuno-gawa River, formerly put six pieces of money in the dead man's little traveling bag, but now thriftily substitute a paper with a picture of even more than six coins. The European Franks of the Middle Ages used thin silver imitation money; the Chinese permit pearls and other valuables in place of coins; the Balinese sometimes put a gold ring on the tongue.

Special sympathetic magic inheres in corpse coins. Frazer (*Golden Bough* I, 149) reports that a Serb or Bulgarian woman, looking for variety in love, will wash in wine or water the copper coins from a dead man's eyes and give her husband the solution to drink that he may be rendered as blind to her adventures as the corpse.

[crr]

**colinde** The Christmas carol of Rumania and Macedonia, chiefly in blank verse. The best known is *White Flowers*. See BARTÓK; CAROL.

**collahualla** or **collahuaya**; sometimes **kollawallas** Hereditary herbalists and magicians of the provinces of Caupolican and Muncas in Bolivia. They represent a

special subgroup within the Aymara nation. For many centuries medical arts have passed from father to child in most families of this tribe. The collahuaya were already known as ambulant and skilful practitioners at the time of the Conquest, and they seem to have formed a specialized caste by the time of the Inca empire and perhaps earlier.

The collahuaya constantly travel in the Andean region from Colombia to Argentina. Not many years ago they went as far as Buenos Aires. They may be recognized by their special costume and by the bags in which they carry their herbs. With the money received for their drugs, they bought mules which they resold at a high profit in Bolivia. The collahuaya also trade in various kinds of amulets and talismans. Most of their drugs come from the Yunga region where they go to supply themselves before starting on their long journeys. [AM]

**collasiri** Specialized magicians and medicine men among modern Aymara Indians. They are bone-setters and expert diagnosticians. One of their favorite methods of identifying the origin of an ailment is to examine the viscera of an animal which has been put into contact with the patient. They also practice various other forms of divination to ascertain the nature of the diseases. One of their usual cures consists in transferring magically the disease to an animal or object. [AM]

**colors** Everyday speech is full of color, from such expressions as "Was my face red!" to the metaphoric "That's white of you" and the symbolic "He's got a yellow streak down his back." Similar to this colloquial form of expression is the color cliché of literature, well established in folk forms like the ballad and folktale: hair black as raven's plumage, lips red as rubies, skin white as milk or ivory or snow. Not only the catalog of the charms of fair ladies but many other things have typical colors: the violent red-headed person, the black (or red) Devil or imp, the black-cat or black-dog familiar of the witch, the white ghost, pink elephants, purple patches in literature, and red hazes swimming before the eyes. The symbolism of color directs traffic on the highways—red to stop, green to go—and signals approaching storms to shipping.

Among the Pueblo Indians of the United States, color symbolism has been systematized perhaps to a greater degree than anywhere else in the world. Each of the six directions has its color: east is white, north is yellow (sometimes blue or black), west is blue (or yellow), south is red (or blue or buff), above and below are variegated or black. These colors vary from tribe to tribe, but ascription of color to compass direction appears everywhere in the pueblos. The colors and compass points have their specific gods and animals and birds. The Zuñi name for Dr. Kroeber, says Parsons, is Oriole, because he came to Zuñi from the north wearing khaki clothes; and yellow is the color of north, oriole the bird of north. The many-colored kinds of corn too are associated with the directions of the compass; in the mythology, the Corn Girls are of the specified colors.

It is not alone in the pueblos of the Southwest that this type of color symbolism is found. The Cherokee associate abstract qualities as well as direction to the colors: red is east and success, blue is north and trouble, black is west and death, white is south and happiness.




Cherokee places of refuge were called white towns, peaceful islands in time of trouble. In Mexico and Ireland, in China and Vedic India colors were assigned to the directions. Modern Europe too has its symbolism of color for qualities: white is purity, black is death, red is passion, green is life. The Western Church uses colors as symbols not only of qualities but also of days and periods. Violet is the color of the Lenten season; black of Good Friday, etc.

Color in costume is also significant. Mourning dress in Europe is generally black; but in imperial Rome and in modern China white symbolizes mourning. It has been suggested that black is worn to echo the emptiness of death; and that white, the color of purity, will ward off the jealous spirit attempting to return to its former place in the world. Similar theory equates red with the blood of war, anger, and passion; blue with the sky and the sacredness of the heavens; green with growth, etc. But so many exceptions may be noted that any such generalization is dangerous. In India black and red and yellow are all protective against spirits, which do not like these colors. Red and purple are potent in Japanese magic. The Yezidis of the Caucasus and Armenia cannot stand blue and their worst imprecation is "May you die in blue garments." Green is disliked by some peoples, perhaps because it is the color of pus and corruption, but in Islam it is the color borne by the descendants of Mohammed. The "blue-blooded" aristocracy of Europe is born to wear the purple. But in Malaya the blood of kings is white, and the purple of the ancient world was more often a shade of crimson than it was a purple (thus the fame of the Tyrian purple dye).

Flags and coats of arms have symbolic colors. The flags of Moslem countries show green; the flag of revolution is red with the dawn of a new day; the pirate's flag was black as death. The colors of the Stars and Stripes were early officially defined: white for purity and innocence; red for hardiness and valor; blue for vigilance, perseverance, and justice. Colors also have their significance in games. White and black always vie in chess, and in chess problems white always is "to move and win." The White Sox, the Red Sox, the Browns, and the Reds play major-league baseball; the Crimson of Harvard and the Blue of Yale meet on the football field, as the Blue and Light Blue of Oxford and Cambridge row against each other.

Color plays an important part in the relationship of men socially. Race, color, or previous condition of servitude are singled out in the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The "black" race is no more black than the "white" race is white, yet those are the color terms commonly in use, though the one is brown rather than black and the other pink rather than white. Colors, a striking feature of what we see, are often not discriminated clearly. Not because they are color-blind, but because they have no use for a finer distinction, some primitive peoples see no more than three or four colors in the world around them. They have no terms for many of the colors other peoples see. But the artist sees many more than the average person does, and beyond the limits of the range of human sight lie the many rich colors of dreams and fairyland.

 Ancient Maya and Aztec legends are replete with references to the symbolism of color. Colors most fre-

quently mentioned are yellow, red, white, and black, the colors of the main types of maize grown. Each cardinal direction was associated with a particular deity who helped support the sky, and who was also symbolized by one of these colors. This basic theme of color symbolism seems to have pervaded all of Middle America. Modern myths from as far south as the Cuna Indians of Panama speak of colored mists, winds, or directions. [CME]

**coltsfoot** A low perennial herb of the composite family (*Tussilago farfara*) bearing yellow flowers. The dried leaves of this plant, burnt and inhaled for lung infections, is a remedy so old as to have been known to Pliny; it still bears the popular name "coughwort." In Ireland the coltsfoot, *sponne*, is used for tinder, sometimes as a substitute for tobacco, and is said to be "good for many ills." Soldiers in Europe during World War II are known to have smoked it as a substitute for tobacco. In Bavaria a soothing poultice is made of coltsfoot leaves to relieve toothache; the white-ribbed surface of the leaves is placed against the cheek.

**columbine** A herbaceous plant (genus *Aquilegia*) with flowers of five petals: named from Latin *columba*, dove, from the remembrance of the flowers to a group of doves. It was once called lion's herb from the belief that lions fed on it, and merely rubbing the hands with the leaves imparted courage and daring. It was an herb of Venus, and also an emblem of folly and the deserted lover. A concoction made from the leaves was considered a cure for jaundice, sore mouth, and sore throat.

**combite** A cooperative agricultural work organization of Haiti: the Mirebalais form of the more general Société Congo. Whenever anyone needs help in the fields, he calls a combite, any day but a Tuesday or a Sunday. Tuesdays are reserved for work in one's own fields; Sundays are rest days. Combite gatherings are occasions of great fun and social merriment. The hard work involved is offset by the emotional stimulus of the rhythmical working together, the social contacts, the gossipy combite songs, and the big feast when the work is over.

The workers line up in long lines with their hoes, with the drummer in front of them. The work is accompanied by drum and lambi (conch-shell horns) which set the rhythm, and the songs of the simidor (song leader) who is among the workers. The rhythm of the drum is the rhythm of the work, and the rhythm first set is maintained throughout, with the result that an enormous amount of work is accomplished with marvelous speed. The women of the household that called the combite prepare the food for the evening feast. Shirkers are ridiculed, i.e. those who came late, ostensibly for the feast, or those who dawdled and fell out of the rhythm of the work. Etiquette demands that they too be fed at the feast, but they always receive small portions. Those who worked hardest are given heaping dishes, and sometimes a hard worker will discover that he has bitten down on a piece of money hidden in his food. See DOKPWE.

**combite songs** Songs sung by Haitian agricultural work groups, or combites, to set a rhythm for the hoes. They are strongly melodic in character and generally follow the pattern of a theme stated by the leader, the

simidor, with a chorus in unison by the rest of the workers. The simidor improvises on any subject of current interest, often gossip about a neighbor, sly digs at the hospitality of the household for which the work is being done, ridicule of a slacker, or the juicy details of the latest scandal. Songs of ridicule and derision are dreaded, and with reason, for the simidor is a wit and often a cruel one. Though the words are in the mixed French and Negro dialect of Haiti, the custom of such singing is rooted in Africa, where for centuries the ancestors of these work groups have used their songs to pace their labor and to keep every person in his place.

**come-all-ye** A type of narrative song, street ballad, or "vulgar" ballad, beloved of English, Irish, and American singers, so called from the characteristic opening phrase ("Come all ye loyal Union men," it may say, or "all you sons of freedom," or "all you jolly sailors," etc.) and devoted to the careers, loves, and adventures of working people—lumbermen, sailors, carpenters, miners, maid-servants. It differs from the earlier classic ballad in metric pattern and rime scheme, being in double common meter, often with syllables crowded between accents (the "accordion line"). "You have to mash some of the words together to make it come out," singers explain. It also differs from the classic ballad in narrative technique, running as a continuous, journalistic account, sometimes in the first person, with names, places, dates, weather conditions carefully detailed, with very little dialogue, and often with a pointed moral. The singing style, too, is unlike ballad-singing. The singer identifies himself emotionally with his story, and especially in the northeastern United States makes use of the dramatic *rubato-parlando* recitative manner, with the final word spoken rather than sung.

Such songs appeared widely in England in the late 17th century, peddled in the streets and country byways by itinerant broadside venders, singers and beggars, and in Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the English language was taking hold among the people. *Van Dieman's Land* and *The Girl I Left Behind Me* are examples of the type. Many of them have refrains from the Gaelic ("shule aroon," for instance) some so corrupted as to appear to be nonsense.

In America this ballad style, especially as sung to old Irish airs by Irish immigrant workmen, became the most popular and was the model for the native balladry of the shanty boys, the railroaders, the miners, and cowboys, etc. A typical career ballad such as *The Saviors' Come-All-Ye* builds up the heroism, cleverness, and stamina required for the particular calling and warns the girls against the men of any other rival trade. Other types tell of the death of heroes of the group (*The Jam on Jerry's Rocks*), of bold bad men (*Sam Bass* and the Irish *Brennan on the Moor*), of jamborees, and practical jokes, and the drinking capacity of the men.

The term "come-all-ye" is applied indiscriminately by the singers to all sorts of folk song, including survivals of ancient ballads such as *Lady Isabelle* and the *Elf Knight*, *Lord Randal*, and *Our Good Man*, several of which have been recast by Irish and American singers to a style more like the street songs. [crs]

**comet** Not only in antiquity, but through the centuries among all people, comets have aroused in man a feeling of terror and foreboding. These mysterious visi-

tors in the heavens have been thought to be connected with war, famine, the plague, the downfall of kings and monarchs, the end of the world, universal suffering, ill-luck, and sickness. Outstanding examples of the fear excited in the minds of the people are the incidents connected with the appearance and reappearance of Halley's Comet. In 218 A.D., this comet preceded the death of Emperor Macrinus; in 451 A.D., that of Attila; in 1066 it was looked upon as a "warning" against the Norman Conquest.

In the Tyrol, the comet, if white, may bring luck and peace and a change in the affairs of men. The comet may herald a divinity; the Star of Bethlehem is sometimes said to have been a comet. Early conceptions of the comet saw in it a dragon or a serpent. Throughout the world when these heavenly visitants appeared, the rites of protection against them were prayers, bell-ringing, fasting, and so on. [crs]

**comics** Cartoons or illustrations in a panel or a series of boxes arranged in a single strip or block, with speech generally enclosed in a balloon pointing to the speaker's mouth, used to tell a complete story or part of a story, amusing or exciting, about a continuing cast of characters. As a form of mass entertainment and mass communication developed in the 1890s by yellow journalism under the guise of "giving the public what it wants" and to build circulation, the comics have become a profitable and powerful American institution and industry that has spread throughout the world. By dealing with non-controversial subjects, stressing humor, sentiment, and action, and building up a strong, attractive, central personality, the comics appeal to the widest possible audience. Like other subliterary forms, the dime novel and the pulps, the comics depict a world of adventure, mystery, and love, in which, however, fun, fantasy, and action take the place of success.

The comics use familiar folk themes and motifs (e.g. the bad boy, the henpecked husband, the helpless clown, the bungler, the feuding cat and mouse, Cinderella, the little man who is always kicked around but gets his in the end), draw upon the folklore of American life (the he-man, the racing fan, the hill-billy), and transmute these universal and local elements into a gallery of folk characters that take their place beside the heroes of fairy tale, mythology, and fable.

Beginning as "funnies" (the Sunday color comics or "funny papers" antedating the daily across-the-page strip in black and white), with a strong appeal to children, the comics at first largely employed child and animal characters: James Swinnerton's *Little Bears and Tigers* (1892), R. F. Outcault's *Yellow Kid* (1896) and *Buster Brown* (1902), Rudolph Dirks' *Katzenjammer Kids* (1897), Swinnerton's *Little Jimmy* (1903), and George Herriman's *Krazy Kat* (1910). Turning to sports, business, and family life in such strips as Bud Fisher's *Mutt and Jeff* (1907), *Hall Room Boys* (1910), Harry Hershfield's *Abie the Agent*, and George McManus' *Bringing Up Father* (1913), the comics gradually became more adult, serious, and "straight" in content. In 1929, with the advent of Tarzan and Buck Rogers, cartoon gave way to illustration and humor to suspense—a change confirmed with the coming of the comic book in 1933. (See Coulton Waugh, *The Comics*, New York, 1947).

Many later strips—*Moon Mullins*, *Smoky Stover*, *Silly*

*Milly, Peter Piltown, Oaky Doaks, and Sad Sack*—continue in the slapstick and clowning tradition of earlier successes, from F. Oppen's *Happy Hooligan* (1899) to Segar's *Popeye* (1929). But recent successes tend away from gags and laughs toward action-packed adventure and romance of the illustrated story type, from the more realistic Joe Palooka, Mickey Finn, Don Winslow, and Terry, to the romantic Tarzan and Prince Valiant, the interplanetary Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon, and the supernatural Superman, Mandrake the Magician, Phantom, Wonder Woman, and Batman. In the same illustrated-story genre are the westerns (King of the Royal Mounted, The Lone Ranger, and Red Ryder), the detectives (Dick Tracy). Two strips competing for first place, *Blondie* and *Li'l Abner*, are in the earlier tradition of humor and sentiment, while Barnaby, Henry, Smitty, Nancy, and Little Lulu inherit the mantle of Skippy, Skeezix, Skinnay, Dotty Dimples, and Little Mary Mixup.

The same division of labor between humor and adventure, cartoon and illustration, is also seen in the comic book, where the favorite animal screen characters (Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, Bugs Bunny, Porky Pig, Woody Woodpecker, and Andy Panda) still delight tiny tots and appease solicitous mothers, while crime, teenage problems, love, westerns, and interplanetary adventure compete with the pulps, true confession magazines, and soap opera for the adolescent and adult audience. On the screen the animated cartoon (especially in the hands of Walt Disney) adheres more closely to the original "funnies" formula, recreates fairy tales (*Three Little Pigs, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*), and draws upon American folklore (Uncle Remus, Johnny Appleseed, Pecos Bill).

At the same time the powerful potentialities of the comic books (which have created an entirely separate industry with its own problems of editorial policy and public criticism and control) for educational and propaganda purposes have enlisted the attention of educators and psychiatrists (both as advisers and critics) as well as of advertising agencies and promotion departments of the great industrial corporations. The cultural impact of the comics may be gauged by the fact that in Crystal City, Texas, in the heart of the spinach-growing section, a monument has been erected to Popeye; and Sadie Hawkins Day is celebrated by some 40,000 groups over the country.

To American folk humor and speech the comics have contributed a wealth of gags, slang, and proverbial expressions—Mutt and Jeff's fall guy, good thing, piker; Popeye's goon, I yam what I yam; Rube Goldberg's I'm the guy, Ike and Mike they look alike; Barney Google's heebie-jeebies; Tad Dorgan's applause, 23 skidoo, cake-eater, dumb Dora, dumbbell, nobody home, you said it, the cat's pajamas, Quick Watson, the needle—and the vocabulary of violence, pow, zowie, socko, bam. To folklore too belong the "changeling personality" or transformations of Clark Kent to Superman, with the magic amulet that enables Tiny Tim to assume minute or normal size, and the magic formula, "Schazam," that changes a crippled newsboy into Captain Marvel, Jr. Alley Oop's time-machine and Buck Rogers' space ship are typical of the comics' inventions, in the Jules Verne-H. G. Wells tradition. In 1939 Buck Rogers mentioned

"atomic bombs." Even more miraculous is the ham-shaped creature, the Shmoo, which lays eggs, gives creamery butter and Grade-A milk, dies of sheer joy when looked at hungrily, tastes like chicken when fried, like steak when broiled, like pork chops when roasted, and multiplies so fast that it always keeps a half dozen ahead of you. In prolificness, versatility, and inexhaustible abundance the Shmoo is a true symbol of the comics.

B. A. BOTKIN

**commonlaw** A term used in the United States, especially in verb form (*to commonlaw*), by Negroes of lower socio-economic strata to denote the act of living in an extra-legal, but socially sanctioned mating of the type found in various New World Negro societies. See AMASIADO. [MJH]

**Common Mother** In a few South American Indian tribes, the highest deity. The Kaggaba Indians of Colombia describe her as the "mother of all human races, of the world, of the animals, fruits, trees, rivers, thunders, the Milky Way, songs, demons, sacred objects, and sanctuaries." Her sons were the ancestors of mankind. The most powerful spirit of the Chamacoco Indians was also a woman who controlled the world and sent rain. The Yaruro have a goddess from whom "everything sprang." [AM]

**compadrazgo** Throughout Middle America, the reciprocal relationships which arise through the taking of godparents: Spanish in origin. However, its importance is so great as to suggest that it takes the place of some type of pre-Conquest formalized friendship organization. It is found equally among the most remote Indians and in large cities among mestizos. Two types of relationships are set up: (1) between godparents and godchildren, and (2) between godparents and the parents of their godchildren. The latter address each other as *compadre* or *comadre*, "co-father" or "co-mother," or by Indian equivalents. Godparents are taken particularly at baptism, confirmation, and marriage, but they may be taken on many other occasions, such as fiestas and the like. One can have *compadres* and *comadres* without having godchildren. Sometimes, for example, at the completion of a new home, a housewarming ceremony is held in which the owner and his wife take *compadres* of the house, which in a sense functions itself in the place of a godchild. [GMF]

**Compair Bouki** Comrade Bouki: Louisiana Negro designation for the Bouki of Haitian folktale. What animal Bouki represents in the Louisiana stories is not indicated. The name seems to have been accepted without question or knowledge of its meaning. Dr. Alc   Fortier in *Louisiana Folk-Tales*, MAFLS 2, p. 94, says that Bouki is a Wolof word for hyena. Charles L. Edwards in *Bahama Songs and Stories*, MAFLS 3, suggests that if the B'Bouki of Bahama Negro folktale is from *bouc*, goat, the story-tellers do not know it, an assumption entirely borne out by a Bahama story in which B'Goat, B'Bouki, and B'Rabbit all start out together to go fishing. See BOUKI.

**Compair Lapin** Comrade Rabbit: Louisiana Negro name for Brer Rabbit.

**company  ** A type of extra-legal mating found among the Negroes of Cura  ao. See AMASIADO.

paniment. The strenuous performance continues at intervals all day.

At Carnival the Concheros share fiestas with other ceremonial groups. In San Miguel de Allende, on St. Michael's day (September 29), they commemorate in spectacular array the raising of the Holy Cross on Sangremal. The memorable battle of Sangremal is enacted by los Rayados, taking the parts of both the Chichimecas and the conquering Christians. The ancient indigenous symbols and this battle mime suggest an original function similar to that of the European Moriscas, i.e. vegetation rites. But the missionaries have instilled into the minds of the Indians a confused notion that the dance represents the joy of the Indians at being conquered for the realm of Christ. Although transferred to a newer Deity the ancient ritualism survives in the dance in an intense, aloof fervor of mien and gesture. [GPK]


**Conchobar mac Nessa** In Old Irish legend, king of Ulster about the beginning of the Christian era; uncle and fosterer of Cuchulain. Fergus was king before him, whose wife Nessa persuaded him to give up the throne to her son Conchobar. Some say Conchobar was the son of Cathbad the druid. His seat was at Emain Macha; the ruins of the great fort can still be seen near Armagh. It was Conchobar who spared Deirdre at her birth against the advice of Cathbad, and said he would have her for wife himself when she was grown. Conchobar did have her for wife himself for one year, after his betrayal of the three sons of Usnech. But Deirdre killed herself. For this betrayal Conchobar was doomed to see all of his sons die ahead of him. A later legend says that Conchobar died the day that Christ was crucified, in a fit of overexertion in proof of what he would do to save Christ if he were near that place.

**Concordia** The Roman goddess of peace and harmony; identified with the Greek Aphrodite Pandemos and with the deified Harmonia. Concordia had several temples in Rome, one on the Capitoline dating from the reestablishment of concord between the patricians and plebs and erected by Camillus in 367 B.C. As Concordia Augusta, she presided over the peace of the imperial household. Offerings were made to her on the birthdays of the emperors. Her symbols were the herald's staff entwined by serpents, and two clasped hands. She was represented as a matronly figure, bearing the cornucopia in her left hand, and an olive branch in her right.

**confession** Catharsis by the recital of some transgression involving an uncleanness affecting an individual or his group: a religious custom found all over the world from the Eskimos to the Bechuana in Africa, from the Tupinamba in South America to the Bataks of Sumatra, and from the most ancient times in Babylon and Egypt to the present day. Confession is sometimes direct, as by a worshipper to his god; sometimes the confessor must have the mediation of a priest (shaman, etc.); sometimes confession is made before the group assembled. Penance or sacrifice is often entailed, though sometimes simple admission of guilt effects the purification or salvation. As contrasted with positive confession of sins committed, the ancient Egyptians had a Negative Confession denying specific sins,

those sins not in the canon being ignored. Among the Eskimos, as reported by Rasmussen, a public confession takes place after a certain degree of inspiration has occurred; revival meetings in the United States are reminiscent of this "intoxication of delight" of the Eskimos. The transgression of moral or divine law is sometimes manifested by storms, earthquakes, or the like, and requires the guilty person to stand forth and confess. Personal damnation such as that undergone by the unconfessed sinner of Christianity may infect those with whom he comes in contact. Confession is therefore a necessity to the community lest it suffer blight or other disaster through divine anger, just as confession is necessary to the man ill and like to die because of his sin.

The confessional and its secrets are favorite themes of medieval European folktale. Since sincere repentance, even at the moment of death, might save the soul of the sinner from eternal damnation, tales of miraculous opportunities for the dying to confess occur: the unshriven are brought back from death that they may confess (V23.1); death is held back that a soul may be saved (V251); the dumb obtain the power of speech that they may confess (V23.2). The anticlerical motifs of the priest who hears the confession of and gives absolution to his own paramour and of the priest who discloses confessional secrets appear in various tales. Confession runs like a theme through a collection like Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Typical is the tale of the clever woman (3rd day, 3rd story) who informs her lover when and how to come to her by "confessing" to the friar that he has made advances to her. The friar in turn chides the young man, who has done nothing of the sort, and thus acts unwittingly as the go-between until his services are no longer required.

 The confession of "sins," that is to say of ritual and magical transgressions, was widely practiced among the ancient Peruvians. It was compulsory in case of illness and before certain feasts. At first confessions were made in public, but later they became secret. Certain hideous crimes were reported only to the supreme priest or to his immediate assistants. After enumerating his sins, the penitent bathed in a river to purify himself. To placate the offended supernaturals, he observed several penances, such as continence, fasts, or periods of complete isolation. Confession still plays an important part in the religious life of the Kaggaba and Ijca Indians of Colombia. It is also reported among a few tribes of the Amazonian lowlands, in particular among the ancient Tupinamba. Tabu violations were confided to shamans in order to avert greater evils. [AM]

**conflicting brothers** One of the major recurrent themes of Melanesian mythology, in which the culture hero is hampered in his beneficent, creative, or tutelary activities by one or more lazy, stupid, or sometimes antagonistic brothers. Qat in the Banks Islands, Tagaro in the Banks and New Hebrides, Warohunuga in the Solomons, To Karuvu and To Kabinana in New Britain are popular examples. R. B. Dixon in the *Mythology of All Races*, vol. 9, "Oceanic," discusses these at length. See MELANESIAN MYTHOLOGY. [EL]

**Confucius** (551-478 B.C.) Chinese sage, philosopher, and moralist. See KUNG FU TZE.

**confusion of tongues** A widespread motif of mythology and folktale (A1333) explaining why the peoples of the world speak different languages. In practically all mythologies all the people once spoke but one language and all could understand each other. Usually in punishment either for some impudence, disobedience, or broken tabu the separation of languages is visited upon them and they cannot understand each other.

The story is very widespread among North American Indians of the West and is also known among the northeastern Algonquians and among the Iroquois. Entirely apart from the Tower of Babel idea (which has found its way into North American Indian folktale) the separation of languages occurs variously. Sometimes it occurs casually without specific reason: the Chemetunne (Oregon) creator, for instance, merely "told the man" that he, his wife, and their children would speak different languages and be progenitors of the different tribes. In a Shoshonean myth Coyote did the wrong thing by opening the creator's sack in his absence; the people rushed out of the sack all shouting in different languages, and were therefore destined to fight and kill one another. Another Shoshonean story says that Cōtsipamāpot, the old woman who made the earth, caused all the tribes to speak different languages.

From Siberia to Indochina, in the Pacific, and in Africa there are explanatory myths for the difference of languages. Frazer's study of the Tower of Babel turns up a number of world myths unconnected with the Biblical story. Diversity of language is accounted for among the East African WaSamia, for instance, by the fact that once the people, crazed with famine, wandered jabbering in all directions. A hill tribe of Assam tells how the people once attacked a huge python to rescue the king's daughter, but as they struck the first blows, they were suddenly beset with confusion of tongues, and separated, each to become ancestor of a different tribe. Another Assam tale describes how three grandsons of a certain chief suddenly began to speak different languages while chasing a rat, and so great was their misunderstanding that the rat got away. The three boys parted and founded different tribes. A South Australian people were punished with confusion of tongues by an old woman named Wurruri, who used to walk among them and scatter their night fires with her stick. When she died the people rejoiced, divided, and devoured her body. Those who ate the different parts henceforth spoke different languages. (See Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, vol. 1, pp. 384 ff.)

The actual instability of some tribal languages from generation to generation is explained by a number of scholars as resulting from strict adherence to specific tabus, not from broken tabus. Among many primitive peoples, for instance, tabus against speaking the names of the dead cause many words to be dropped from a language, especially as innumerable personal names are also common nouns. See TOWER OF BABEL.

**Conga** A category of Haitian vodun deities, associated with the rada group in the organization of the vodun pantheon. [MJH]

**Congo** Among New World Negroes, the word Congo has been preserved as one of the most distinctive cultural retentions contributed by the many natives of this large area of Africa who were brought to the New

World. Cult-groups termed Congo-Angola are found in Brazil; there are Congo spirits (*loa Congo*) among the vodun deities of Haiti; and the Place Congo in New Orleans was the center of African dancing. In such context, the name derives as much from the Kingdom of Kongo, near the mouth of the Congo River, as it does from the river itself (called until the mid-18th century the Zaire) or from the present African territory of that name. [MJH]

**conjunction, conjurer, conjah, etc.** Terms used by Negroes of the United States for the process of working magic, the worker of magic, and magic itself. In its varied forms, conjunction, like magic practices among New World Negroes everywhere, shows a high degree of purity of retention of Africanisms that indicate it to have been one of the most tenacious of African carry-overs. This is to be accounted for by the personal, uninstitutionalized forms taken by magic, and the ease with which it can be done even under the most repressive circumstances. Also of significance here is the conviction which the African magic carried to those who came into contact with it, often to whites as well as Negroes. [MJH]

**Conla** In Old Irish legend, the son of Cuchulain and Aoife. When the boy was grown she sent him to Ireland to find his father, but under geis not to tell his name to a single warrior. When he arrived he met and bested every warrior who went to meet him. His request to be met by two warriors, so that he could tell his name, was refused "for the honor of Ulster," because in Ulster two warriors never went out against one. He was killed by Cuchulain, his own father, before Cuchulain knew his name.

**Con lôn** In Annamese belief, spirits which appear in short successive incarnations; literally, entering life. The Con lôn are premature or stillborn children and a series of miscarriages occurring to one woman are believed to be reincarnations of the same spirit. A woman who has produced one or more Con lôn is believed contagious. No one will touch her or mention her. To prevent a reappearance of the Con lôn a dog is killed and buried under the bed of a woman who is about to be confined. See CÂM KIAM.

**Con ma dâu** In Annamese belief, the spirits of people who have died of smallpox: the cause of all serious cases of this disease. Victims are isolated by the Annamese, not for hygienic reasons but for fear of the Con ma dâu which are residing in their bodies.

**Connla's Well** In Old Irish mythology, a well under the sea (in the Land of Youth or Promise). Over it hung nine hazel trees, which leaved, flowered, and bore fruit all at once. These were the hazels of wisdom and knowledge and inspiration, the wisdom being concentrated in the nuts. The nuts dropped into the well and the salmon swimming in it ate the nuts. One could tell how many nuts a salmon had eaten by counting the spots on its body. Whoever drank of the water of this well, or ate of the nuts, or of those salmon would be endowed with miraculous wisdom and poetic inspiration. It is told how Sinend, a granddaughter of Lir, went to this well seeking wisdom, but the waters were unwilling to give it and rose up and drowned her, and washed her body to the shores of the river

Shannon. The Shannon is named for her: Irish, *Sion-nain*. One of the *Dimshenchas* mentions a beautiful fountain near Tipperary which is called Connla's Well.

Magic wisdom acquired from drinking of a certain well (D1811.1.2) is a common motif in Irish story, as is also the inevitable punishment following on a woman's disrespect of or intrusion on a magical or sacred well.

**Conquista** Literally, the Conquest; a mimetic battle dance of Mexico and Ecuador, related to the Morisca. In Mexico it enacts the conquest and conversion of Moctezuma by Cortes, aided by his mistress, Malinche. It is performed on saints' days from Nayarit to Chiapas, especially in Jalisco, Guerrero, and Oaxaca. Usually the native dialog, which alternates with the dance, is in Spanish; sometimes it is in obsolete and unintelligible Náhuatl, as the manuscript of San Cristobal. Here as in Oaxaca, the drama is entitled *un Cuerno* or *Cuaderno*. The elaborate version in Cuicuilan, Oaxaca, is called *Danza de las Plumas*. The Indians perform waltz, mazurka, and polka steps in quadrille formations. Their gorgeous high feathered headdresses contrast vividly with the drab blue soldier suits of Cortes' followers. In Jalisco the Spaniards are often represented as selfless soldiers of the Cross. [GRK]

**Consentes Dii** The twelve major Etruscan (and Roman) gods, six male and six female, who formed the council of Jupiter: often confounded with the twelve principal gods of Greece. Only Juno, Minerva, Summanus, Vulcan, Saturn, and Mars are known to have been among them; there is no agreement concerning the names of the others.

**Constantine and Arete or The Dead Brother's Return** A Greek traditional ballad, stemming from the ancient balladry of Asia Minor current when Hellenic civilization reached as far as the Euphrates. It features the dead rider motif: the demands of his mother compelled Constantine to return from the grave and fetch home his sister, Arete, from a distant land. Arete had married a foreign lover against her mother's will; the mother had finally consented to the match only because of Constantine's promise that he would go and bring her back when necessary, whatever the circumstances. Plague fell on the city; Arete's nine brothers all died; the mother sickened and called for her daughter. The dead Constantine, true to his promise, rode to the foreign country and brought his sister to the mother's bedside. But the girl and mother both died from the terror of the experience.

The Albanian *Constantine, the Dead Voyager*, the Rumanian *Voichita*, Bulgarian *Lazar and Petkana*, and the Serbian *Jovo and His Sister* are all separate (from each other) developments of this ballad. The English *Suffolk Miracle* (Child #272) is also a direct descendant from the Greek ballad, having been brought in by seafarers in the 18th century. See **DEAD RIDER**.

**Consus** An ancient Roman god, originally an agricultural deity, variously conceived of as the god of good counsel, of secret deliberations, of the stored harvest, of the underworld. There were two Consualia, festivals of Consus, one on August 21, another on December 15. At the August festival, among other countrylike amusements, there were horse-racing and racing of chariots drawn by mules. This connection with horses made

later writers identify Consus with Neptune (Poseidon Hippios), but there is no real parallel between the two. Ops was the consort of Consus.

The altar of Consus stood in the Circus Maximus and it was from the races at the Consualia that the horse-racing at the Circus arose. The games were believed founded by Romulus, and the famous rape of the Sabines' women occurred at the first of these celebrations.

**Contes de ma Mère l'Oye** "Tales of Mother Goose," a collection of fairy tales by Charles Perrault published in 1697 as *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé avec des Moralités*, and then credited to Perrault d'Armancoeur, Perrault's ten-year-old son. These tales, written by Perrault, were collected from his contributions to the *Recueil de pieces curieuses et nouvelles*, a periodical published at The Hague from 1694 on. Among the prose tales thus reprinted in the *Histoires* were: The Sleeping Beauty (*La Belle au Bois Dormant*), Little Red Riding Hood (*Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*), Bluebeard (*La Barbe Bleue*), Puss in Boots (*Le Maître Chat ou Le Chat Botté*), and Cinderella (*Cendrillon, ou la petite pantoufle de verre*). The popular name *Contes de ma Mère l'Oye* appears on a placard in the frontispiece of the *Histoires* as a subtitle. Perrault's stories are considered the telling *par excellence* of the French fairy tale.

**contests** Contests of many varieties are repeatedly mentioned in North American Indian myths, and serve either as self-contained incidents in tales, or as the central element and *raison d'être* for a tale. This plethora of contest material reflects, in a general way, the popularity of games of skill and chance among American Indians. The contests mentioned in tales may however be of quite a different order from those indulged in for stakes by actual men and women. Some of the contests described in tales which coincide with actual practices are: shooting, jumping, and wrestling matches, climbing a smooth pole, racing, ball games, diving, gambling, shinny, and sweating contests. More imaginative ones are: backscratching contest, contest for daylight, contests to keep awake, to spit up more fat than one's opponent, to eat more than one's opponent, to walk on water, and contests between heat and cold, sun and wind, etc. Many of the contests which reflect actual practices are won by deception in the tales, and the winner is often Trickster. Contests which involve the use of magical power are less likely to contain any elements of deception. [EWV]

**Con-tinh** In Annamese belief, the malevolent spirits of maidens who have died prematurely. The Con-tinh hide in old trees and laugh weirdly, rob passers-by of their souls and drive them insane. They also take vengeance on those who cut their trees, so the Annamese often persuade Christians to strike the first blow when they are forced to cut such a tree.

**contradance** Literally, dance of opposition; a dance performed by many couples face to face, line facing line, in square or longways. It developed in the 17th century and reached its height of popularity in the 18th century, only to give way to the waltz in the romantic era. The principle of this dance form is, however, by no means an innovation of the 17th century,

but involves the principle of sexual attraction, approach, separation, and uniting, multiplied into communal participation. Such dances are very ancient and still exist among primitive peoples.

European peasantry and bourgeois society developed the contradance to its highest possible complexity. The corresponding country dances of England, numbering some 900 in 1728, and intensely popular to this day, explore every form of crossover and interweaving, with numbers of participants varying from four to an indefinite number. Sometimes each couple in succession leads through the figures, sometimes alternate couples, sometimes the whole group performs simultaneously.

The elaborate Spanish *contradanza* includes quadrille and longways types. The Italian *cuntradanza* is usually danced in longways form. There are variants in every province, as the *cuntradanza muntanaera* of Bologna, which ends with a grand right and left. The German and Scandinavian *Kontra* is usually a quadrille, often having unique figures. The *Föhringer Kontra* contains circling, swinging of partners, and a wheelbarrow step of the boy pushing the girl backwards. Offsprings of the French contredanse were the cotillon and quadrille, which developed into the American square dance. [CPR]

**contradanza** In Spain and Latin America, a figure dance for eight, sixteen, or thirty-two couples, corresponding to the French contredanse and the English country dance. The *contradanza* includes almost every possible kind of group pattern: *cruz* (crossover), *esquinas* (corners), *cadenas* (heys), *latigazos* (whips), *molinos* (mills), *cacarol* (snails), etc.

The *contradanza cuadrada* is performed by four couples in square formation, as indicated by the name. The *contradanza de dos parejas* involves two couples face to face. The *contradanza larga* (long) is performed in longways formation.

These same formations occur in less complete array in ritual dances for men, especially in sword dances. But the *contradanza* proper is a social dance, which displaced the minuet in the 18th century. The music is in duple time, in phrases of eight regular measures. [CPR]

**Con trâm nu'ôc** In Annamese belief, a fabulous water buffalo. Anyone who possesses a hair of the Con trâm nu'ôc and holds it in his hand can cross a river dryshod.

**contrapás** A Catalan round dance for men and young women, holding hands in alternation, the woman to the right of her partner. It is related to the Greek *sirtos*, Rumanian *sarba*, and Serbian *kolo*, and particularly resembles the Catalan national dance, the *sardana*. It is as popular in the streets and plazas of the cities as in rural districts. In the province of Gerona the progression of the *empurdanés* (named after Ampurdán) is predominantly to the left; that of the *selvatá* (after Selva), to the right. At times the *cap* and *cua* (head and tail), who direct the steps, break their hold and convert the closed round into an open round. The grapevine-type steps, called punts, are of two kinds. The first part of the dance consists of *curts* (shorts) with two steps to each side, the second part of *llargs* (longs) with four steps each way, usually dwindling to combinations of two and three at the end of a section,

to fit the irregular phrasing of the music. The *trencats* are rapid, bouncing elaborations. The *camadas* and *girats* are high kicks and turns by men at the end of a phrase. As a climax the men may hoist the ladies into the air, a figure called *lo salt*, the leap.

The music of the special ensemble, the *cobla*, was originally scored for a *cornemusa* or bagpipe, also called *criatura verde* (green creature) because of its green color, a one-man drum and flaviol, and a cornet. Nowadays the ten musicians play the drum-flaviol, four woodwinds, four brass winds, and a double bass. The tunes, new and old, are original and in a Mixolydian mode. The tunes for the *llargs* are livelier than for the *curts*.

A chant precedes the dance, commemorating the Passion of Our Lord, possibly at one time a joyful psalm. A century ago the *contrapás* was still part of the liturgical drama enacted in the church or atrium; today, though secularized, it retains much of its ceremonial absorption. Its origin is probably a pre-Christian rite adapted to ecclesiastical purposes. [CPR]

**controversies** Controversial arguments between two characters usually revolve, in North American Indian tales, around such questions as whether people shall stay dead after they die; whether life shall be easy or difficult; whether childbirth shall be easy or hard; how long day and night, or the seasons will last. Generally two animals, one of them Trickster, argue these matters out; usually the proponent for the negative or more disagreeable side wins. Occasionally a certain poetic justice manifests itself when the winner of the controversy is himself distressed, as in the tale of the origin of death, in which Coyote argues that people shall die and stay dead, but later when his own child dies regrets his decision. [EWV]

**conundrums** The petty and more trifling riddles, especially those containing puns, are commonly termed conundrums. They are usually based upon a single point of fanciful resemblance, often forced, between objects or persons, or upon a play on words, stated in brief question and answer form; whereas riddles *per se* are apt to be longer, more complex in imagery, and more pretentiously literary in structure, frequently in rime.

Punning questions were widely known, of course, long before the word conundrum was used to designate them, and have always been common, particularly in the folklore of the illiterate and semi-literate. Many of them depend upon oral presentation for their force, and lose it when written.

Radio and video programs today repeat "wheezes," "gags," and "screams" (so named colloquially from the effect supposedly induced in the listener) which are merely revamped conundrums from the minstrel and vaudeville shows of the 19th century, conundrums which had already suffered several previous incarnations. A few samples are sufficient:

Why is the letter K like a pig's tail?  
Because it is the end of pork.

Why is it easier to read in October?  
Because then the leaves turn themselves.

Why is no one hungry in the Sahara Desert?  
Because of the sand which is there.

The fact that for centuries many people had no book but the Bible led to the growth and wide circulation of a number of Biblical conundrums. (The writer has collected 153 from correspondents who got them by word of mouth from older folk and had usually never seen them written.) Some of these Biblical conundrums are atrocious puns, and several must needs abide in the oral tradition. There was evidently seldom if ever any conscious irreverence in their use, however, but rather an attitude of friendly familiarity with the Bible characters. The following are representative:

At what time of day was Adam created?  
A little before Eve.

When was salt meat introduced into the navy?  
When Noah took Ham into the ark.

Who was the best wrestler in the Bible?  
Jonah, because even the whale couldn't hold him after he got him down.

How do we know Moses wore a wig?  
Because sometimes he was seen with Aaron, and sometimes without.

It may be noted that this last conundrum and the previously given Sahara Desert one illustrate the essentially oral character of these trick questions. See RIDDLES.

[CFF]

**cooked cock crows** The motif (E528.2.1) of a Christian legend very widespread in western Ireland. A group of soldiers, set to guard the tomb of Christ, were sitting on the ground around their fire. They were boiling a cock in the pot for their morning meal. And they were troubled in their minds, for it was said that Christ would rise from the dead and walk out of the tomb. One of them, however, believed no foolish tales; he declared Christ would not rise, "no more than the cock in the pot." Whereupon the cock jumped out of the pot and crowed, and at daybreak Christ rose and came out to them. Certain variants put the fatal words in the mouth of Judas's wife, to comfort her husband who was worried lest Christ should rise. The incident occurs also in European, English, and Scottish balladry and carol. See CAROL.

**copal** The native Middle American incense, used in pre-Conquest times, and widely used today in many ceremonies, both Christian and pagan. It is a gum secreted from trees of the genus *Elaphrium*. [GMF]

**copeo** A popular couple dance from the island of Majorca, performed by one couple alone or by many. The woman leads, dictating the various vigorous movements, jumps, turns, etc. The man may imitate her or improvise. [GPK]

**Cophetua** Hero of an English ballad, *Cophetua and the Beggar Maid*, found in the Percy manuscript; a traditional African king and misogynist, who fell in love with a beggar maid whom he happened to see. They were married and lived uneventfully. The girl's name was Penelophon. The story is referred to by both Shakespeare and Jonson, and it is the subject of Tennyson's poem, *The Beggar Maid*.

**copper** This metal, which is sometimes found in pure state, has been known to man since a very early age. Unlike pure gold, copper was suitable for use as a tool or weapon, and so among early peoples it was

often more highly prized. It was in use in the world long before the discovery of iron. In Asia it was the metal of the Queen of Heaven (Astarte, etc.); astrologers and alchemists assigned it to Venus; it was sacred to the Fire God and the Seven Gods of Babylonia and Assyria; North Pacific Coast Indians and several other groups assigned it to the Sun; in India and parts of North America it was a sacred metal used principally for ornaments and sacrificial instruments; the Indians of the Lake Superior region regarded the lumps of copper they found as divinities or as the gift of gods that dwelt beneath the water.

In India, especially in the Punjab, copper earrings were worn to ward off the demons of sciatica, and in Europe in the Middle Ages it was believed that copper wire bound about the waist would relieve rheumatism. In some places there is a custom of placing copper on a corpse (in Ireland, pennies on the eyes; in Dharwar, 21 engraved pieces). Among the Swahili a Balderlike myth tells of a chief who could be killed only by a copper needle driven through his navel. Pliny mentions that in Arcadia the yew tree is fatal to anyone sleeping under it unless a copper nail is driven into the tree. As late as the middle of the 18th century the Spaniards believed that copper grew in the ground, and that if a mine was left alone, it would become productive again.

**Coquena** The supernatural protector of the vicuñas in the Quechua folklore of the Puna de Atacama. He is a little man dressed in white who travels at night driving large herds of vicuña. He punishes those who wantonly destroy these animals. [AM]

**Cora** The Maiden, a name of Persephone. In some variants of the Persephone legend, Cora becomes mother, without there being a father, of Corybas, the ancestor of the Corybantes. See PERSEPHONE.

**coral** A calcareous treelike structure formed by colonies of marine skeletons, and used as a gem. While usually red in color, it may be white, pink, yellow, blue, brown, or black. It has been highly valued as an amulet everywhere it occurs and a list of its properties reads like a catalog of the ills suffered by mankind from the mind, the body, and the elements. It is so desirable that in Africa human sacrifice is offered to induce it to remain and reproduce. The Chinese and Hindus use it to adorn their gods. It guards those who wear it from fascination, bewitchment, and lunacy. Pure red coral is effective against evil eye, demons, and furies; in Italy where conditions are worse, witches, wizards, incubi, succubi, and phantasmata were added to the list. Brown coral is not so used, however; the evil spirits like that. Hung in the house coral prevents discord, disharmony, envy, and evil influences; hung on the bedpost it prevents nightmare, terror in the night, and night sweats; carried about the person it guards against feuds, guile, scorn, etc. In the Middle Ages it was a must in every pharmacy, and moreover care had to be used in its preparation. Coral ground in a brass mortar was very dangerous to the patient, only marble could be used. It was used medicinally in various forms as a charm, amulet, or talisman; by rubbing the affected part, internally as a powder, in solution, or as a tincture in alcohol. In any event, administered according to the whim of the doctor, it checks hemorrhages, cures diseases of the eyes, stomach



complaint, plague, poison, teething troubles, disorders of the spleen, whooping cough, sore feet, diseased gums, gout, blood-spitting, epilepsy; it also fortifies the heart, and relieves indigestion. Sewed up in a dog-collar with a flint arrowhead, it cures rabies (in the dog). Bound with a sealskin to the masthead of a vessel, it averts wind and tempest, and is generally effective against thunder, lightning, storm, whirlwind, and hail. In India it is supposed to ward off the evil effects of the strong sun. The ancient Persians thought that genuine coral smelled of seawater; the Hindus claimed that it tasted both sweet and sour. It is tied on fruit trees to insure fruitfulness. Yellow coral is the gem of everlasting life in Arabia. White coral is used in Italy to increase the supply of milk. Dancers, especially in the ballet, still carry it for luck.

**Cordão** A Brazilian carnival dancing group. The cordões of Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Recife are famous for the elaborateness of their costuming and the excellence of their singing and dancing. The name derives from the fact that, in the crowded streets of carnival time, it was necessary for some members of the group to keep onlookers away from their fellows by a rope held taut, thus affording room for the performance. [MJH]

**Cormac Connlonges** In Old Irish legend, son of Conchobar, king of Ulster. He went into voluntary exile in Connacht in protest against the treacherous killing of the sons of Usnech, because he had been one of the sureties. Conchobar, on his deathbed, sent for Cormac to come and take the kingship of Ulster after him. Cormac started on the journey; but one night on the way he was murdered by a band of Connachtmen on their way home from raiding Ulster. This fulfilled the curse that Cathbad, the druid, put on Conchobar after the slaying of Usnech's three sons: that none of Conchobar's line should have the kingship after him forever.

**Cormac Mac Airt** Cormac, son of Art son of Conn of the Hundred Battles: most famous of the ancient Irish kings, now thought to be an authentic historical king. He ruled in Tara for forty years (probably 227-266) and Tara prospered under his hand. Cormac is famous for his true and generous judgments and has been likened to Solomon for wisdom. It was during the reign of Cormac that Fionn Mac Cumal and the Fianna walked and talked and intermarried with the ancient gods and performed the marvels that made them famous. See BIRTH OF CORMAC.

**Cormac's cup** The wonderful golden cup given to Cormac Mac Airt by Manannán Mac Lir in the Land of the Living. If three lies were spoken over it, it would break in three; three truths told made it whole again. Cormac used it during his kingship to distinguish falsehood from truth in Ireland. But when Cormac died the cup vanished, just as Manannán Mac Lir had said. See ACT OF TRUTH; ECHTRAÉ CORMAIG.

**corn or maize** A pre-Columbian staple cultivated food plant of the American Indians of the Southwest, Southeast, and Eastern Woodlands, and of the village tribes of the Plains, including the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara on the upper Missouri River. Corn enters widely into the mythology and religious practices of all these tribes. The plant is usually personified either as

Corn Mother(s) or Corn Maidens. The Hopi corn god of the underworld is however a male personage, Muy-ingwa; the Keresan underworld corn deity is Iyatiku, Corn Mother. Among the Iroquois of New York state, Corn, Beans, and Squash are referred to as the three sisters, always mentioned together. Origin myths concerned with the disappearance of Corn person and her return, are told among all the maize-growing tribes. Various parts of the plant are used ritually, especially in the Southwest: corn husks, pollen, silk, smut, etc., as well as whole ears, kernels, and prepared corn meal. Major ceremonies are often held prior to corn-planting and after the harvest, especially among the tribes of the eastern United States. [EWV]

➤ On Mindoro (P. I.) if you laugh while planting corn there will be space between the kernels. Corn should be planted as soon as the hardwood leaves are as large as a squirrel's (or mouse's) ear, or when you see the first bobolink or oriole. The Negroes of South Carolina say that it should be planted during the light of the moon. Others say that if it is planted when the sign of the zodiac points to the bowels, it will rot, and if planted when the sign is at the head, it will grow tall and slender, with few ears. One of the traditional corn-planting rimes goes, as each kernel is planted,

One for the cut worm  
One for the crow  
One for the blackbird  
And three to grow.

Warts will go away if you take a kernel for each wart and throw them over the left shoulder into a river or bayou, or if you bury them too deep for them to sprout. [JWH]

**corn dance** An American Indian ceremonial dance series addressed to the powers which control the germination and growth of maize; thus it includes prayers for rain, and thanks for harvest. It is naturally confined to those American Indians dependent on maize for sustenance; it is performed from the Andean tribes to the Iroquois, and has reached a most elaborate development in the desert country of the Rio Grande pueblos.

The Aztecs performed innumerable seasonal rites with human sacrifice, serpentine dances, and skirmishes by priestesses, for the agricultural deities, for the corn deities, the male Cinteotl (son of Xipe Totec), Chicomecoatl (seven serpent), Xilonen (goddess of young corn), and Tonantzin (mother of gods, now identified with the Virgin Mary but formerly conceived of in three aspects: Coatlicue, Cihuacoatl, and Tlazolteotl). The spring festivals for Xipe, during Tlacaxipehualiztli, approximately coincide with Carnival. They featured the *ayacachpixolo* or rattle-strewing ceremony, a mimetic seed strewing with a stick rattle or *chichahuastli*. The festivals for Cinteotl and Chicomecoatl, during the month of Huey Tozoztli (in April), correspond to Easter. These corn rites survive in the Mexican Carnival and Easter fiestas, but without the ancient features. Only the Tarascans preserve a corn-sowing dance in the now mestizo *sebradora* or sowing dance.

The Tarahumara and Huichols still carry on their ancient rain ceremonies for the sprouting seeds. As the Huichol equate corn, deer, and *hikuli*, their hikuli dances are also addressed to agricultural powers.

The famous Green Corn Dance of the Pueblo Indians are fragments of major ceremonies, now enacted secretly in the kivas. They perform many beautiful dances for the crops, rainbow, rain cloud, basket, snake, yellow corn, the corn maidens, harvest; but the *tablita*, or saints' day dances, are the most spectacular. These are so called because of the high tablet crowns worn by the women. The *tablitas* in San Felipe (May 1) and Santo Domingo (August 4) are the best preserved; in marginal Taos these festivals are degenerating. They are apparently addressed to the image of the patron saint, but this is a purely superficial concession to Catholicism. The traditional dance begins with the entrance of the *koshare*, the impersonators of ancestral spirits (clowns outside the dance). Then follows a defense of the crops from invaders. Finally the men and women of the summer and winter kivas alternate until sundown in a mass dance. An impressive men's chorus drums and chants in shifting rhythms. The shuffling women tag slightly behind the trotting men in a huge double circle, long double lines, or small circlings for one or two couples.

The Corn Dance is built on similar patterns among the Shawnee, Cherokee, Creek, Yuchi, and Iroquois Indians. Among the Cherokee-Shawnee in Oklahoma the Green Corn Dance is still celebrated as one of the bread dances, a thanksgiving for crops, and is a form of worship of Our Grandmother. Among the eastern Cherokee and the Creek it has died out as a vegetation rite, and survives among the former as a curative ceremony, including animal and "social" dances and divination. These follow the peculiar serpentine and spiral course of typical Cherokee dance with planting gestures.

The Iroquois Green Corn Festival (*ahdake'wāo*) lasts four days in early September and includes various rites of thanksgiving: the Great Feather Dance (*ostowégowa*), women's *tpwāsas*, and many social dances, including the corn dance proper (*onéonténoq*). This is addressed to the spirit of corn, the most important of the three life-sustaining sisters, corn, beans, and squash. It progresses in a circle or serpentine. In contrast with the male-dominated dances of hunting cultures, these corn dances feature women as prominent actors, both in the dance and in the underlying mythology. [crk]

**cornflower** Any flower growing in grainfields; especially the bachelor's-button or bluebottle (*Centaurea cyanus*). In Greek legend the youth *Cyanus* worshipped *Chloris* (Flora) and spent his time gathering flowers for her altars. When he died the goddess gave his name to this plant or transformed him into it. The Centaur *Chiron* cured the wound made with an arrow dipped in the blood of the *Hydra* by covering it with the flowers of the *Centaurea* and thus gave it its name and its reputation for great healing properties.

The cornflower was burned to drive away serpents according to Lucian. In Russian legend the plant is known as *Basilek*. A young man of this name was enticed by the nymph *Russalka* into the fields and there transformed into the cornflower. In Jamaica the flower is boiled with the leaves of the "Gungo pea" and used as a gargle or with alum to cure toothache. The cornflower is also called bluecap, bluebonnet, bluet, and hurtsickle. The last name is used because it turns the edges of the reapers' sickles.

corn from body of slain person A folktale motif (A2611.1) explaining the origin of corn, especially typical of North American Indian mythology. The Abnaki myth is representative, in which a beautiful golden-haired woman appeared to a lonely and hungry man.

She would not let him approach her, but instructed him to burn a patch of ground and drag her body across the burned patch, promising that if he would do this, she would be with him forever. The man did as he was told. When he saw the lovely hair of the woman shining between the leaves of the plant that grew up where her body had touched the ground, he understood that she was keeping her promise in the gift of the corn. The Cherokees have a version of this story in which *Sélu* (Corn) instructs her child and his little "wild brother" (who intend to kill her) to drag her body over the ground and corn will come up. Further details of this tale explain why corn grows in spots instead of all over, and why the Cherokees work their corn crops only twice. In the Huron origin myth corn sprang from the breast of the dead mother of the twin culture heroes. The story varies little in the many eastern Indian versions. Longfellow's *Hiawatha* tells the tale with little change. It is also known in many variants in the West and among certain South American Indians where maize is known. The gift of food to the people from the body of a slain food-goddess occurs also in Babylonian and Japanese mythology (A1420.1).

**corns** Aching corns are a sign of rain in all countries. In Ireland applications of hot ivy-leaves or houseleek are said to relieve painful corns. An early English folk device for extracting corns was to steep a pearl button in lemon juice until dissolved, then to place a piece of lemon soaked in this liquor upon the corn every day until the corn could be easily extracted. Another English prescription says to steal a small piece of beef and bury it. As the meat rots, the corn will diminish. Both of these remedies have traveled as far as Mississippi where they are recommended by the Negroes of that section. Another southern U.S. Negro corn cure is to rub a kernel of corn on the toe-corn and feed it to an old rooster.

**cornucopia or cornu copiae** In classical mythology, the horn of abundance, always filled with fruit and self-replenishing according to the wishes of its possessor. It is an attribute of many deities, such as *Flora*, *Concordia*, *Plutus*. The horn itself was broken from the goat *Amalthea* which nourished the infant *Zeus*; or, by some accounts, was torn from *Achelous* by *Hercules*. The never-empty horn is related to the self-setting table of folktale.

**Corona Borealis** The Northern Crown: a bright circle of stars lying between *Boötes* and *Hercules*; variously interpreted in different mythologies as the Wreath (early Greek), the Crown of *Ariadne* (later Greek), *Al Fakkah*, the dish (Arabian), the *Woomera* or boomerang (Australian), *Caer Arionrod*, the House of *Arionrod* (Brythonic), twelve dancing star maidens, of whom one was the wife of *White Hawk* or *Arcturus* (North American Shawnee Indian), the cave into which the *Great Bear* entered in his flight from the world up the northern sky (also North American Indian), the Crown of *Thorns* (Christian).

**coronach** A type of song of lamentation composed by Scottish bards and sung or chanted at funeral ceremonies of clan heads or other important persons. The words eulogized the dead and brought forth bursts of wailing from the women of the clan. See COMPLAINT.

**corpse bleeds in presence of murderer** A very old folk belief, especially in England, Ireland, and Scotland, occurring as motif (D1318.5;2) in the popular ballads of Scandinavia, England, and Scotland. The motif appears typically in *Young Riedan*, a variant of *Young Hunting* (Child #68):

White, white waur his wounds washen,  
As white as ony lawn;  
But sune's the traitor stude afore,  
Then oot the red blude sprang.

The belief that the wound of a dead man would open and bleed at the approach of or at the touch of his murderer was often put to the test in ordeals to detect the criminal. The belief is also fairly general in the United States, especially among some groups of southern Negroes, who claim that blood will flow even from the dry bones of a dead man in the presence of his murderer. Alabama Negroes say that the intestines of the dead will grumble and be heard when the murderer approaches the corpse. In Mississippi it is said that dried bloodstains at the scene of a murder will moisten and stain the murderer's feet if he walks in the place.

**corpse light** A phosphorescent light seen over marshes, etc.: called variously *ignis fatuus*, jack o' lantern, *corposant*, and by other names. The mysterious phenomenon of strange lights seen at different places and at different times in the British Isles and elsewhere has been explained as caused by, possibly, an atmospheric condition or gaseous emanation from the ground. These lights are seen in the air and near the earth, in the house and out-of-doors, on the lake or on the sea, sometimes white, red, or blue. They are fickle and erratic; they recede if a person approaches them, then reappear behind.

A light of this sort betokens death. Sometimes the light goes from the churchyard to the house of a person sick or near death; sometimes one is seen on the breast of a dying person; often, it appears on the rooftop signifying a death in the family of the house over which it hovers. Many stories are related of the appearance of these lights in connection with the death omen. In this capacity and in their elusive wanderings they parallel the *ignis fatuus*. Compare FETCH CANDLE. [GPs]

**Corpus Christi** Literally, body of Christ (in German, *Fronleichnam*); a Catholic holiday dedicated to the body of Christ in the form of the Host. It is a movable feast occurring on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday and commemorating the institution of the Eucharist. In 1246 it was officially instituted following a vision of the nun Juliana in the diocese of Liège. Juliana saw in her vision a full moon representing the Church, and one black spot on the moon which represented the lack of a feast honoring the Eucharist. The feast was extended to the entire world in 1264. Though of such recent origin, it has become one of the most splendid of Catholic celebrations, especially in Spain, Portugal, and Provence. Its stupendous processions follow the Host-bearing clergy; yet they include figures that date back

to paganism. There are fantastic cardboard masks of *gigantes*, giants, *enanos*, dwarfs, *águilas*, eagles, *serpes*, dragons, *tarascos*, or floats, on a great water serpent. Formerly, as at Penafiel and Oporto, Portugal, there were processions, dances of professional guilds, and mystery and miracle plays performed by the various guilds. A Provençal celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi features a parade of the saints, with St. Simeon carrying a basket of eggs.

Special traditional features were the symbolic battles of the Moors and Christians, and the sacred plays called *autos sacramentales* representing Biblical and allegorical subjects. Some of these survive. In Seville Cathedral, and until recently in Toledo, the famous dance of the *seises* is performed on Corpus Christi as well as on other holidays. In Majorca the related *cociés* dance in the processional as well as before and in the church, at Alaró and Montuiri. Mexico also has splendid processions in the cities. In the remote pueblos of the Sierras de Puebla and Veracruz, the *Moros* battle with the *Cristianos* or *Santiagos*. The most elaborate celebration of the indigenous *voladores* or Flying Pole dance at Papantla, Veracruz, takes place on Corpus Christi. Native *quetzales* and imported *moros* and *negritos* participate. The Tarascans of Michoacán celebrate with mock markets and a harvest procession.

In Europe and the New World Corpus Christi probably corresponded with and was grafted onto an old harvest festival. It coincides with the Inca winter solstice, *Inti raimi*, and with the Aztec seventh month, *Tecuilhuitontli*, for *Huixtocihuatl*, older sister of the *Tlalocques* or rain gods. [GPK]

**corranda** A North Catalan couple dance, popular on both slopes of the Pyrenees. In the *corrandas bajas* (low *corrandas*), the couples, arm in arm, skip and jump through the streets. In the *corrandas altas* (high *corrandas*), two or four couples dance in a square. The men jump with a high hitchkick, the *camada rodona*. Sometimes they enact a pursuit of their lady. Sometimes all join in a kind of *contrapas*. As a finale the four men lift the four ladies to form a human pyramid; sometimes the man sustains his lady, sitting on his hand, in the air above his head. The name derives from the running steps, advancing and retreating. The term *corranda* is also applied to a song of four verses. See COUPLE DANCE; LIFT DANCE. [GPK]

**corri-corri** A Spanish dance from the province of Asturias, danced especially on St. John's Day by six women with one man in pursuit. This running dance with its flight and pursuit motif of sexual mating is reminiscent of the fertility rites associated with St. John's Day. [GPK]

**corrido** A characteristic ballad type of Mexico, derived from the Spanish *romance*, but set in quatrains and sung to melodies which repeat certain phrases over and over. The narrative deals with tragedies of love, with calamities, fights, revolution, with heroes, strong men, and outlaws. Even ballads from literary sources are often quickly taken over and reshaped into *corridos* by illiterate singers.

**corrigan** In the folklore of Brittany, a female fairy: said to have been one of the ancient druidesses, and therefore malicious towards Christian priests. She is

fond of pretty human children, and usually gets the blame for all changeling substitutions.

**corroborree** The Australian East Coast native term for ceremonies: now applied by Australian whites to any native ceremony, dance, or gathering. See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY. [E.L.]

**Cosquin, Emmanuel (1841-1921)** French scholar and follower of Benfey. The Grimms encouraged him to collect folktales, and his principal work, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, is generally considered to be the representative French collection, holding a similar position in France to that of the Grimms' *Household Tales* in Germany. Like Benfey he considered India the reservoir of old tales, but he qualified that theory in two respects: he disagreed with Benfey as to the importance of the Mongols as disseminators of the Indian stories over Europe, and he did not believe that every folktale everywhere was of Indian provenience, though many were. He admitted that the Egyptian tales antedated those of India. Cosquin, Gaston Paris, and Gédéon Huet were the three principal representatives in France of the literary school of folklorists, originated by Benfey. Cosquin's numerous special studies have been gathered into two volumes, *Études folkloriques* (1922) and *Les contes indiens et l'occident* (1922).

**cotton** It was grown and used for cloth in India in early times, and spread from there to the East. After the conquests of Alexander it began to be known in Greece and the West. Now it is grown principally in the United States, India, and Egypt. The Khonds always plant cotton immediately on moving to a new settlement. In the Punjab, just as the bolls begin to burst, they select the largest plant in the field and sprinkle buttermilk and rice-water on it and offer prayers that the others may be as large and strong. Before the women begin to pick, they circle the field eating rice-milk. The first mouthful they spit on the field from the west. They exchange the first cotton picked for its weight in salt, which they keep in the house during the picking and pray over it. The Negroes of South Carolina claim dew on the cotton produces plant lice. A piece of cotton stuck to a dress indicates a letter, and the shape of the cotton shows the initial of the person from whom the letter will come. The bark of the cotton root was used by the American slaves as a stimulant, and was credited with causing abortion.

**Cotys or Cotytto** The Thracian Great Mother goddess, whose festival, the Cotytia, was notorious in later classical times for its licentiousness, being like that of the Phrygian Cybele. The worship of Cotys spread throughout Greece and Italy, among other places to Athens and Corinth. Her worship was celebrated at night on hills.

**coulín** Ancient folk tunes and airs of Ireland, said to be *ceol síde*, fairy music, learned by Irish harpers who overheard the playing of the harpers of the síde.

**counting-out rimes** To determine who shall be "It" and chase the rest or take some other unwanted part in a game, children have universally and from time immemorial used various sortilegic devices usually requiring the recitation of magic rimes. When rimes are used the process generally begins with a self-appointed leader standing in front of the other children and reciting the

verse, during which he points to each player in turn. one child to a word or syllable, until the end.

The player upon whom the last word (usually "buck" or "out") falls is out of the counting, which is continued until but one player is left, who is automatically and undeniably "It." Adult observers have noted that the dictum is obeyed with more alacrity than the average child obeys a parent's command. If any child refuses, or is even reluctant, he is ostracized by the others until he learns to accept his fate when the lot falls on him.

The practice is called counting-out or telling-out in America and England, and chapping-out or titting-out in Scotland. On the Continent, the child who is It is called in Germany the Wolf, and, correspondingly, in France, the Loup, a nomenclature which may derive from the deep racial fear of the animal. In Japan the child chosen by counting out is called Oni, that is, the devil or evil spirit; in the Malagasy tribe of Madagascar he is the Boka or leper; and in Hawaii the Pupule or crazy one.

There is a rich field for research in anthropology, lexicography, comparative religion, and folklore in the rather neglected game-rimes of children of the world. At this moment millions of children in playgrounds and farmyards, schoolyards and alleys are saying these verses. The writer in a brief period has collected over 2000 different counting-out rimes from forty states and thirty foreign lands in many different languages. You can tell them at a glance from other kinds of child-rimes, for they have a characteristic rhythm and are full of quaint word-fossils worn smooth by much repetition. They are strangely alike and practically interchangeable, forming a sort of international language of their own. Say one in any tongue to an American playgroup and they will adopt it and adapt it to their vocal organs immediately, as they have already done to many rimes brought here by immigrants.

Counting-out rimes resemble another favorite of children, the tongue twisters, for both seem at first hearing to be mere gibberish, but the very real difference between them is that the latter are deliberately contrived or accidentally discovered to be difficult to say, whereas the former have been smoothed down by frequent and rapid repetition until they almost say themselves. In such a rime, for instance, as the twenty-one type, which ends with the word "twenty-one" and originally contained that number of stressed syllables, we find that an early form:

One-ery, two-ery, six and seven,  
Holy bone, crack-a-bone, ten and eleven;  
Spit, spot, it must be done,  
Twiddle-um, twaddle-um, twenty-one,

is so changed by use that six and seven becomes ziggery, zan; Holy bone is known in such variants as Hollow-bone, Hallabone, Arrabone, Halibo, Halibut, Alibo, and even Alibi; and the third line becomes Spin, span, muskidan.

In other counting-out rimes, or to use the old oral tradition word for them, rimbles (see EENY, MEENY, MINY, MO), we have interesting changes from

One is all, two is all, six is all, seven,  
Bobtail dominicker, little poll ram;  
Harum, squarum, Virgin Marum,  
Sinctum, sanctum, buck!

to the obviously related but distant cousin:

One erzoll, two erzoll, zickerzoll zan,  
Bobtail vinegar, tickle and tan;  
Harum, scarum, merchant marum,  
Stingelum, stangelum, stuck!

The dominicker is in variants from Georgia, Tennessee, and Colorado, and the vinegar from Delaware, Indiana, New York, and several other northern states, while the second line became in Philadelphia:

Baptist minister, good Irish man.

Considering the many words with Latin endings and religious connotations in these variants, it is likely that the Georgia dominicker rooster was probably originally nearer the old prayer form so frequently occurring in such rimes as this one from North Carolina:

Haley, maley, tippy tee,  
Harley, barley, Dominee;  
Hotchy, potchy, cotchy, notchy,  
Hom, pom, tuskee.

This rible serves well to illustrate how in changed but recognizable sounds the children have unconsciously preserved old church chants and holy phrases, for we know from other variants of this particular jingle that not only is Dominee obviously of church origin, but also that Haley Maley is Hail, Mary, and that Hotchy potchy, which also occurs as Ochre, poker; Oka, poka; Hocca, proach; and Otcha, potcha; is definitely from Hocus pocus, which in turn is from the *hoc est corpus* phrase of the mass.

The age of these rimes which have come down by the schoolyard grapevine is discussed in the article on Eeny, meeny, miny, mo, the best known one. Let it be added here, just to show the rich fossil bed which awaits folklore explorers in this particular field, that the writer has identified in these rimbles such fascinating old word relics as:

Passwords of the wide-roaming freemasons of the Middle Ages,  
"Juggles" from the jongleurs of Provence,  
Sanskrit sacred syllables and mantras,  
Secret magic formulas for telling fortunes,  
Irish filid (poet-wizard) death-rimes and druid exorcisms,  
Bible characters and popular saints' names,  
Prayers, paternosters black and white,  
Cymric shepherd's score numerals,  
Romany gipsy charms and patter.

Following are a few representative rimbles:

Onery, twoery, tickery, tabery,  
Alabo, cackabo, tennery, labery,  
Hustadang, bangalang,  
Humpty Dumpty is ninety-nine,  
And one's a hundred.

Onery, oery, ickery Ann,  
Phillisy, phollisy, Nicholas John,  
Quevy, quavy, English Navy,  
Stinkelum, stankelum, buck!

The two above were, according to a correspondent, current in Indiana about 1910. The Phillisy, phollisy, Nicholas John line occurs in many variants, and sounds suspiciously like the Pharos and Colossus at Rhodes, always of considerable interest to freemasons. It is worth noting that Masons from six different states sent versions

of this particular rime to a collector of children's rimes in the 80's, although Masons of today appear to know nothing about its ever having been in the Masonic ritual.

An old English rible, popular in many similar forms in Nova Scotia and New England, runs musically:

Intra, mintra, cutra, corn,  
Apple-seed and apple-thorn;  
Wire, brier, limber lock,<sup>1</sup>  
Three geese in a flock  
Sit and sing by a spring,  
One flew east and one flew west,  
And one flew over the cuckoo's nest,  
Crying, one, two, three,  
Out goes he.

In their wanderings these three geese become Three wires in a clock (Yorkshire, England) and even Five mice on a rock (Florida).

A more modern counting-out rime which has been sent the writer from all English-speaking countries and is apparently quite popular is:

A bee, a bee, a Bumble bee  
Stung a man upon the knee,  
Stung a pig upon the snout,  
I'll be dogged if you ain't out!

But, more popular and rivalling even Eeny, meeny, is:

Monkey, monkey, bottle of beer,  
How many monkeys are there here?  
One, two, three, Out goes he!

See TONGUE TWISTERS.

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

*Country Maid and Her Milk Pail* One of Aesop's fables (Jacobs #77) in which a Country Maid planned to turn the proceeds of her can of milk first into eggs, then chickens, and finally into a new gown in which she would flirt at the next year's fair. Carried away by her thoughts she tossed her head and dropped the pail. Moral: Don't count your chickens until they are hatched.

**couple dance** Any mimetic courtship dance: performed usually by a man and a woman, sometimes by two men, one in women's clothes. The usual pattern is the wooing dance of the man around his lady. The most ancient form, still performed in Asia, even into the Caucasus, and in Mexico, in which the woman dances in one place while the man dances or dances and sings around her, has gradually developed everywhere into the traditional courtship pantomime in which both partners perform the steps and enact the sequence of flirtation or enticement, pursuit, retreat, and final love embrace or conquest.

A few of the most famous contemporary couple dances of this pattern are: the *cueca* of Chile and its Peruvian analog, the *marinera*, the Mexican *chilena*, the Spanish *bolero*, *fandango*, and *jota*, the Venetian *furlana*, the Hungarian *friss*, the Russian *lezghinka*, the Moravian *rozék*, the Colombian *cumbia* and *guabina*, and the Balinese *djoged*.

The original function and intent of the couple dance was not mere representation of sexual mating, however, but through the pantomime of sexual mating to invoke fertility upon crops, animals, and the tribe or community. The appearance of a man dressed as a woman

is always a phallic symbol in primitive and folk dance, and for this reason the couple (or fertility) dance performed by two men, one in woman's clothes, is often prominent among many primitive peoples. [GPK]

**couvade** A birth custom, found in many parts of the world, requiring certain abstentions by the father of a newly born child, and typically observed by the lying-in of the father. Protection of the child from injurious acts of the father seems to be the underlying reason for the couvade; certain food and drink, hunting or working, may be too much for the child to survive, and since the child is part of the father, the father must guard against certain customary actions which might prove injurious. Since so much of his activity is circumscribed, the father repairs to the couch or hammock as the safest place under the circumstances. The mother, on the other hand, returns to her daily round as soon as possible. The custom is widespread in South America, from the tropical tribes to the Yaghan in the far south; it is found among the Ainus, in Assam and Borneo, in Africa, India, and China. It is mentioned among the Celts and the Basques, but the only reliable reports of it in Europe are from among the Corsicans and the Albanians. According to Tylor, the custom is found among peoples whose matrilineal system is changing to patrilineal. During the period of transition, the father, by means of the couvade, asserts his rights in the child. Another theory holds that the child has been separated from the father and that both are weak and in need of care and nursing. Whatever be the reasoning, the couvade period stretches sometimes for weeks, as among the Indians of Guiana; sometimes it lasts only until the mother is ceremoniously purified after birth, a week, as among the Ainus, more or less. The couvade may also be suspected in less striking action on the part of the father than the going to bed: abstentions from certain foods or actions may be considered milder forms of the birth tabu so bizarrely exemplified by the couvade.

➤ The word couvade has been applied in South America to customs which are somewhat different from the European couvade, which is a symbolic lying-in of the father after childbirth. In practically all South American tribes, with the exception of the people of the Andean region, both parents refrain from performing certain activities and eating certain foods before and after the birth of a child.

The avoidance of food is based on the belief that some unfavorable characteristics of an animal or a plant may be transmitted magically to the infant. The activities which are tabooed are those which may render childbirth difficult.

There exists also a strong belief in the mystic relationship between a newly born baby and his father. The father must therefore give up for a short period all violent activities which can endanger the life of his offspring. He must refrain from hunting, fishing, swimming, handling cutting instruments, etc. The fact that most fathers in the tropical area spend this idle time in their hammocks should not be construed as a mock confinement. It is the normal behavior of any Indian who has nothing to do. These tabus end generally when the baby's navel cord falls off. Among the Guiana Indians, if the father of a newly born child has to travel, he is obliged to take great precautions lest the soul of

the child that follows him suffer any harm. For instance, he will clearly mark the path for the child and avoid getting near rivers where bad spirits lurk.

The couvade is still observed by most Indian tribes of the Guiana and by many members of the Tupi Guarani family. [AM]

➤ This custom is not widespread in Middle America, and where it is found, it probably represents a survival from earlier cultural strata. Among the Tarahumara of northern Mexico and the Cuna of Panama, the father does not work for three days following the birth of a child. Among the Sumu and Mosquito of Nicaragua the father refrains from hard work for several days following the birth of a child, and avoids certain foods, especially salt and chiles. [CMF]

**Coventry Carol** An English lullaby carol originally sung in the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors at Coventry. In the play, it was sung by the women of Bethlehem to their children just before the troops of Herod appeared on the scene to kill them. The melody as sung in 1591 has been preserved, and the text survives as reworked and written down by Robert Croo in 1534. The song has been recovered from folk singers in both England and the United States. It has the characteristic crooning burden, "lully, lulla," of numerous lullaby carols. See CAROL.

**cow** Although cows are still sacred in India these animals were once of considerable importance in the theology of the Egyptian and Greco-Roman peoples. Ethnologists have found traces of this importance in some customs of comparatively recent times. Authorities differ as to whether the worship of the cow in India originated in historic or in prehistoric times.

The Indian myth is that Prithu, a culture hero, wished to recover edible plants for his subjects. He attacked the earth which assumed the shape of a cow and fled through the heavenly regions. Finally she yielded and promised to fecundate the earth with milk. "Having made Svâyambhuva Manu, the calf, he milked the Earth and received the milk in his own hands." The antecedents of this myth are obscure. N. M. Penzer's summary is in brief that the Vedic Indians ate the flesh of the ox, sheep, and goat, though because of their value oxen were slaughtered only on festival occasions such as great entertainments and wedding festivals. The *Rig-Veda* has several allusions to the mystic relation between the cow and the earth. The prohibition against killing or molesting cows became general only after the general views of transmigration had been formulated. Though the offer in some of the early sutras to kill a cow for an honored guest is thought to have been merely a polite formula and the guest was supposed to refuse in formal language, it may be a survival from an earlier period. By the time of the *Mahābhārata* the sacredness of the cow was fully recognized: its great purity, the merit acquired by gifts of cows. The five products of the cow, milk, curds, clarified butter, urine, and cow dung, are also pure and are used in the purification ceremonies.

The cow cult of Egypt is possibly older than the cow cult of India. Egyptian princesses were assimilated to cows and when one died her body was buried in a cow-shaped sarcophagus. Apis, the bull, represented Osiris. During the first days after a new bull had been installed

in the temple the women stood before him and according to Greek reporters lifted their clothes to expose their sexual parts, a fact which in view of the general visibility afforded by the costume of the Egyptian upper classes may be of some ritualistic importance. In Thebes, Hathor was the cow-form of Isis and was served by Egyptian princesses who were buried with sacred bulls, a custom which some have interpreted as a symbolic marriage. The discovery of a mummified bull's phallus in one of the tombs might strengthen this view, particularly if the object is correctly described or it might lead to other explanations.

Pausanias, the Greek archeologist of the 2nd century A.D., did little to clarify the confusions about cow-worship and the symbolism of cows which have been transmitted by sophisticated writers of highly civilized periods of Greece and Rome. Thus Pausanias identified an image in Io's temple at Thalamai with the cow goddess Pasiphae. Io who aroused the desires of Zeus was transformed into a heifer. She is said to be one of the components or aliases of Demeter and is scarcely distinguished from the cow goddess Europa, who according to Moschus was seduced by Zeus after Zeus had transformed himself into a bull. Pasiphae by entering an artificial cow had intercourse with the bull of Minos.

The words of the bride at Roman weddings have been rendered, "Where thou art the Bull, I am the Cow." A similar formula has been reported from the heroic literature of the Celts, and Briffault quotes authorities about fertility ceremonies among the Kurds. Here the priest announced to the congregation that he was the Great Bull and a woman recently married replied that she was the Young Cow. At this point lights were lowered and the congregation indulged in promiscuous sexual intercourse. [Roj]

**Cowboy's Lament** An American cowboy ballad of the fate of a "young cowboy who done wrong" on the trail of wine, women, and cards, and who is dying of a shot in the breast. A favorite of the cowpunchers, and set in almost any town of the West, according to the loyalty of the singer, it is drawn from an Irish song, *The Unfortunate Rake*, current about 1790, which was the lament of a dissolute soldier dying of syphilis and requesting a military funeral. The drums and the fife were preserved in the cowboy version. Another song from the same source, *The Maiden's Lament*, was sung in both England and the United States.

**cowboy songs** Work and recreational songs of the American cowhand, made up of bits and scraps of older ballads and come-all-ye's, music-hall and minstrel ditties, and mingling the lyric singing style of the South (from which many cowboys came) with the true-speaking workmen's songs of the Northwest, and a touch of Spanish influence from over the southwestern border as well as a trace of Indian warwhoops in the refrains. They deal with the hard and dangerous life on the cattle range (*The Horse Wrangler*, *The Night Herding Song*, etc.), with violent death in cattle stampedes (*When the Work's All Done Next Fall*) or from "lead poisoning" or gunshot (*The Cowboy's Lament*), with the heroes of their kind who generally died saving someone in a stampede, with their unrequited love and their faithless sweethearts back home, with tall tales and

boasting and practical jokes on the greenhorns, and occasionally with religion (*The Great Round-up*).

**cowslip** A wildflower of the primrose family sometimes called palsy- or Peter-wort. It was used in all manner of folk remedies, especially for palsy. It was recommended that the leaves be put in wounds. The roots if crushed and strained, made excellent nose-drops for purifying the brain and curing migraine. The odor of the flowers calmed the heart and nerves and strengthened the brain. Either wine made from the flowers or an infusion in milk at bedtime cured insomnia. The flowers mixed with linseed oil are good for burns. This plant is also good for skin blemishes and wrinkles, and for cramps, convulsions, and muscular disorders. It is sometimes made into tea, or used as a pot herb.

**Cox, John Harrington** (1863-1945) American educator, philologist, and folklorist. After studying under Kittredge at Harvard, he became, in 1902, professor of English philology at West Virginia University, where he fostered an interest in early narrative poetry, among other things founding the Beowulf Club. In 1925, he published *Folk-Songs of the South*, a development of his dissertation at Harvard. This work, edited by Cox, was a collection made under the auspices of the West Virginia Folklore Society of which he was the organizer. Among the other works of Professor Cox are *Traditional Ballads, Mainly from West Virginia* (1939); *Folk-Songs, Mainly from West Virginia* (1939).

**Cox, Marian Emily Roalfe** (1860-1916) Folklore scholar. Her *Cinderella*, published in London in 1893, is a massive study of a single folktale cycle. It is a detailed, comparative and analytical presentation of 318 *Cinderella* variants, with reference also to their diffusion.

**Coyote** Trickster par excellence of the Great Basin, Plains, central Californian, and some Plateau and Southwestern North American Indian groups; also, for the majority of these tribes, creator or culture hero. Usually, as a trickster, Coyote is accompanied by a companion—very often by Wolf, less frequently by Wildcat, Fox, Rabbit, Porcupine, Badger, or some other animal. Both Coyote and his companion are presented as behaving and talking like human beings; sometimes they are represented as looking like men, at other times, like animals. Coyote's activities as a trickster-culture hero almost always belong to the pre-human mythical age, when animals lived and talked as people. Some groups, however, depict Coyote as a trickster whose existence and foolhardy escapades continue to the present time. The dual character of Coyote—as the culture hero who releases impounded game, imparts knowledge of arts and crafts, secures fire or daylight or the sun, etc., and as a bullying, licentious, greedy, erotic, fumbling dupe,—is hard for Indian narrators of tales to resolve, and is frequently commented upon by them. Trickster Coyote stories may form the bulk of some groups' repertory of tales (as in the Basin), or only a small part of the total repertory (as among some Southwestern groups). Among the Navaho of the Southwest, Coyote as a Holy Being is referred to by one name; as Trickster by another, "Trotting Coyote." Many Coyote trickster stories are of the short, single-incident variety; such short discrete tales may however be strung together into what amounts to loosely knit cycles. In longer Coyote trickster tales

the action in one incident often depends on previous action, and furthers that of succeeding incidents. Trickster stories are often erotic or obscene. They can be counted upon to arouse general amusement, but they are also often told to point a moral. Children, or human beings in general, should *not* behave as Coyote behaves in the stories. Some of the most widespread Coyote trickster stories, which may also be told of different tricksters of other regions of North America, are: *Coyote Steals or Marries his Mother-in-Law* (Daughter, or Daughter-in-Law), *Coyote and Porcupine*, *Coyote and Wildcat*, *Dancing Ducks*, *Dancing Bulrushes*. [ewv]

**Coyote and Porcupine** Title of a North American Indian folktale popular among the Plains, Plateau, and some California and Southwestern groups. The tale falls usually into two parts: (1) Porcupine kills a buffalo by climbing into his paunch (or killing him with a knife) as he is being carried across a stream by the buffalo (K952.1); (2) Coyote cheats Porcupine out of the buffalo meat in a jumping contest (K17). They agree that whichever one jumps over the buffalo carcass shall have all the meat, the other none. Coyote jumps over; Porcupine cannot. Porcupine gets even for this by killing Coyote's child (or children) and in some versions by killing the whole family. [ewv]

**Coyote and the Acorns** One day Coyote went visiting and the people fed him sour acorns. He liked them so much that he asked how they were prepared. The people answered, "Put water on them, press them down hard, and in two days, look." That sounded so easy that Coyote would not believe them. "There must be another way," he said. And he pestered them with questions until in anger they said, "All right! You load a canoe with acorns, tip it over and drown them. Then walk along the river bank and pick them up." Coyote was gleeful. He had the secret at last.

So he ran home to tell his grandmother. Sour acorns? Of course! "You damp them and press them," she said. "Oh, no! You drown them!" said Coyote. He took all his grandmother's acorns to the river and dumped them. That was certainly an angry old woman. Then Coyote walked along the river bank, but of course he never found a one. He got hungrier and hungrier because his grandmother would not feed him. "Go eat all those acorns of yours," she would say. Of course one day he smelled and found the acorns his grandmother was boiling. She declared it was excrement, but he knew the difference and ate them, so of course he did not starve.

In addition to having significance as a story of Yurok acorn culture, this story also belongs to the extensive Coyote Trickster cycle with Coyote as numskull.

**coyote dance** A ceremonial dance of the Yaqui and Mayo Indians (Cáhtas) of southern Arizona and Mexico; the go'imye'e: performed for the death of all soldiers, pueblo officials, and matachini chiefs, and at certain specific fiestas. Although definitely a soldiers' dance, performed by soldiers for soldiers, it does not seem to have any significance of war. It is a feature of the special soldiers' fiestas: Guadalupe, Dec. 12, and the Fiesta de la Cruz, and the great Yaqui national fiesta, Santa Isobel, on July 4. It is also danced in the churches on the day before Easter.

It is performed by three men to the accompaniment of a kind of water drum. Each wears the head and hide

of a coyote, the head held in place on the dancer's head by a headband crested with eagle, hawk, or buzzard feathers, the hide swinging loosely down his back. Cocoon rattles are also worn. He holds a bow in his left hand which he strikes with a piece of incised cane of a certain length. The step is slow, stamped with the flat of the foot, and performed in crouching position. The dancers advance and retreat from the drum, hour after hour, all night, and finish just at dawn. An irregular, very complicated rhythm-beat signifies the *retreat*; a rapid, regular rhythm-beat signifies the *advance*. All the motions of the dancers mime the coyote; they toss their heads, look swiftly over their shoulders, etc. The drummer sings into a small hole in the side of the drum, which he holds in his hands. The dance is always watched from beginning to end by the pueblo officials. Just as dawn is about to break a plate of meat is placed in front of each of the three dancers, halfway between him and the drum. Each man picks it up in his teeth and delivers it to the drum.

**crab** The natives of the island of Nias have a legend of origin in which the first men, having descended from the moon, became mortal because they ate bananas instead of crabs which shed their skins and hence would have made them immortal. In Manipur crabs in a pot of water can make rain. In New Caledonia a goddess in the form of a giant land crab hates married people, and causes elephantiasis; little crabs are her messengers. She lives in a tree in a special grove, and offerings of food are hung on the tree for her. In Tahiti crabs are regarded as the shadows of local gods. The sea hermit-crab is a god himself, and to eat him under the wrong circumstances causes swollen glands, or even death. A Tahitian legendary hero once escaped from his pursuers on the back of a fresh-water crab; hence the fresh-water crab is held to be the shadow of the god of fugitives.

Bahama Negroes pour water from the claw of a crab into the earhole to cure earache. The famous Gullah Jack (conjure-man of the 1882 South Carolina Vesey Insurrection) made himself and others invulnerable by means of a crab claw held in the mouth. It is no good to go crabbing on a moonlight night: that is the one time when crabs are "poor," i.e. not meaty. [RDJ]

**cracks and slams** Popular reproaches, traditional taunts and insults, local witticisms, and wisecracks belonging to the general class of aggressive humor and social criticism in folklore. In folk speech, terms of disparagement outnumber terms of approbation and deal most frequently with such subjects as personal appearance, mental gifts or capacities (or their lack), intoxication, and the countryman or rustic (Marie Gladys Hayden, *Dialect Notes*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, 1915, pp. 194-223). Even more interesting to the folklorist than terms applied to individuals are those applied to a group, place, class, occupation, etc., which are expressive of group attitudes and regional folkways. For slurs and insults aimed at ethnic groups A. A. Roback (*Dictionary of International Slurs*, 1944) coined the term *ethnophobiaism*. Earlier terms for proverbial local witticisms and reproaches are *blason populaire* and *Ortsneckereien*.

As the American equivalent of the latter terms, the term "local cracks and slams" was first employed by B. A. Botkin in *A Treasury of American Folklore* (1944,



p. 317) to denote "terms, phrases, sayings, allusions, rhymes, songs, and jokes that poke fun at a particular locality or group." Local gibes and taunts in the United States are related to the "geography of culture" or ethnocentrism as reflected in provincialism, sectionalism, and localism, and are an integral part of place lore and local-color humor. They range from uncomplicated or derivative nicknames for cities, states, and regions and their inhabitants (e.g. Beaneater for Bostonian, Puke for Missourian, Sucker for Illinoian, Bluenose for Nova Scotian or New Brunswicker) to legends (Nantucket was known as "The Devil's Ash Heap" from the Indian tradition that it was formed by the giant Maushope's emptying his pipe after smoking), jingles ("Cohasset for beauty, Hingham for pride; If not for its herring, Weymouth had died"), and bywords ("A rib was taken off Billerica to make Bedford").

As applied to extreme types of country (dry, wet, hilly, flat), cracks and slams are the product of "boosting in reverse" and "laughing it off." Although many local cracks and slams have their origin in actual economic and political feuds and rivalries, such as divide North and South, East and West, others are associated with regional and ethnic stereotypes (the close-mouthed or scheming Yankee, the feuding, moon-shining Kentucky mountaineer, the wild and woolly Westerner, the "dumb" Irishman, the frugal Scotchman). In still other cases, the popular reproach is simply a localization of an old joke or migratory tradition, as in drolleries of the Gothamite type, which regard the inhabitants of a certain village or region as outrageous fools.

B. A. BOTKIN

**crane** In China the crane, much used in decorative art, is a symbol of longevity, though fragmentary reports from Confucian historians indicate that members of what appears to have been a crane cult came to a bad end (in the Chou and later Han Dynasties). Greek farmers began their autumn plowing with the southern migrations of the cranes. The crane dance, which Plutarch reported as associated with the Cretan labyrinth, is thought by some to have been part of a solar mythology. In folktales from Russia, Sicily, India, a crane is the animal guide who leads a younger brother into many adventures. In another series of tales the sly crane tricks the fish in a pond by offering to transport them to a spot where there are no fishermen, and eats them while pretending to save them. Not only is the slyness of cranes featured in North American Indian tales, but Old Grandfather Crane can usually be depended upon to help fugitives across rivers (by stretching out his long leg for a bridge) and to dump their pursuers into the water. Alabama Negroes believe that if a crane circles three times over the house, some one in the family will die soon. [RBJ]

**Crane, Thomas Frederick (1844-1927)** Teacher, scholar, and author, pioneer in the United States in folklore study as well as in that of medieval literature. He pointed out to Americans the work of European scholars in these fields. Crane was born in New York City, was graduated at Princeton University in 1864 and received his degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Letters there. He was admitted to the bar in 1866, but became assistant professor of Spanish and German at Cornell University when it was opened in 1868, was

Professor of Romance languages from 1882 to his retirement in 1909. He was a member of the board of editors of *Journal of American Folklore* at its beginning. Among Crane's works are *The Exempla, or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (1890); *Medieval Sermons—Books and Stories* (1883); *Medieval Sermons—Books and Stories and Their Study since 1883* (1917); *Italian Popular Tales* (1885); and a carefully edited edition of *Liber Miraculis Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae, Published at Vienna, 1731*, by B. Pez (1925).

**cranes of Ibycus** A motif of legend and folktale (N271.3) of ancient Greece based on the idea that "murder will out" and "the sun brings all to light." Ibycus, a poet of Rhegium, who lived about 550 B.C., was waylaid and slain by robbers near Corinth. As he died, he called on some cranes flying overhead for vengeance. Soon after, one of the murderers, at the theater in Corinth, saw the cranes flying by, and cried involuntarily, "Behold the avengers of Ibycus!" Immediate investigation brought the crime to light and the killers were punished. The exclamation of the murderer became a proverbial expression. Similar stories are common in the oral tradition of Europe from Spain to Russia.

**creaking limbs** In the North American trickster tales of the Central Woodland, Plains, and Plateau areas, the cause of one of the absurd predicaments into which the trickster gets himself. He hears two trees scraping their branches together in the wind. Out of sympathy he climbs the tree to see if he can help them and gets caught between them, while passers-by eat his food on the ground below. See BLIND TRICKSTER.

**creation** True creation myths in which something is created out of nothing are rare among the North American Indians and non-existent among the Eskimo. Only among the Zuñi, a Pueblo group of the Southwest, among certain southern California tribes and perhaps one or two of northern California, and in the Eastern Woodlands, are anything like true creation stories recorded. For an outline of the Zuñi myth see AWONAWILONA. References to a "Master of Life" (Delaware), "Great God" (Shawnee), or "Great Spirit" in the Eastern Woodlands are to a supreme deity or high god who is assigned the role of creator; however this being is usually an otiose deity and does not enter into the mythology. There is always doubt whether such a being represents a native concept or a borrowing from Christianity in post-Columbian times. Origin myths do however abound among the North American Indians and to a much lesser degree among the Eskimo; such myths explain the origin of the world, of people, of animals, of death, of social groups, customs, arts and crafts.

Interest in origins varies however, from very little interest among the Eskimo, the Mackenzie, and the Great Basin tribes, to great interest in the Plains and Eastern Woodlands; evidence of this interest is shown in the number of features accounted for. The Eskimo, for example, account only for the origin of sea animals (see SEDNA), and the Great Basin tribes only for the origin of the earth, human beings, a few customs; whereas the Plains and Eastern Woodlands tribes have origin myths not only for the earth, people, animals,

but also for tribal divisions, for clans, for ceremonies, cultivated plants, religious bundles, and so forth.

The most widely distributed of all North American Indian origin myths is that accounting for the creation of the world from a few grains of sand or a bit of mud which an animal brings up from the primeval waters or after a world flood, and which the culture hero then enlarges into the earth. This particular tale of earth-diving is told from California through the Great Basin, Plains, and Eastern Woodlands to the Atlantic Coast, either in simple or elaborated form. On the North Pacific Coast and among the present-day western Eskimo, the transformation of the earth to its present state commands more interest than the actual creation of the world. The origin of human beings is not so widely accounted for; when explained at all, they are said to have been made from sticks, mud, feathers, cuticle, but in many North American Indian mythologies people are simply existent, or appear, their origin being left unexplained. The origin of tribal divisions or of clans and gentes is of concern in the Southwest, and in the Eastern Woodlands; in the Plains where sacred bundles were so numerous, each bundle had an origin myth attached to it and when the bundle was sold the myth was considered part of the sale.

The culture hero is responsible for the origin of many phenomena, for the fact that death must be final, for menstruation. Origins of celestial phenomena, the sun, moon, certain constellations receive considerable attention, especially among certain Plains tribes. The Star Husband tale, however, is not restricted to this region. Explanatory elements within tales or attached to the end of tales point out the origin of animal characteristics. Quite restricted in distribution are such origin stories as those of wailing (Apache), or of the division of labor between the sexes (Tübatulabal). For creation myths of other areas of the world, see *specific entries*. [EWV]

**creator** In North American Indian mythology, creation of the earth and mankind is generally attributed to a character who combines the attributes of creator with those of a culture-hero-trickster-transformer. In a few tribes, however, such as some Pacific Coast, California, and Pueblo groups, and among certain Eastern Woodlands Algonquians a creator, or supreme being, is referred to in the mythology. Such a creator or high god is generally an otiose deity, and many of the details involved in bringing the world to its present order are relegated to more active subordinate deities. The presence of a "high god concept" among some of the most primitive North American tribes has been used to support the thesis that monotheism is a primary concept in the history of religion. [EWV]

**creator born at bottom of ocean** A concept typical of the origin myth of the Yuman tribes of southern California. In the beginning two brothers were born at the bottom of the ocean: one the creator of life and mankind, Tuchaipa (Chakumat, Chaipa-Komat, or Mayoha among the Diegueño; Kwikumat among the Yuma; Matavilya among the Mohave); the other his opponent and causer of death, Kokomat or Yokomatis (Blind Old Man among the Yuma). The younger brother was blinded by the salt water as he emerged.

The creator fashioned mankind out of clay; the

brother imitated him, but his creatures turned out web-footed, and from them are descended all the web-footed birds of the earth. The creator offended his daughter, Frog, and she killed him by swallowing his excrement. The consequent mourning of the people for his death and the whole dying god concept is one of the most dominant (and probably indigenous) themes in all Yuman mythology.

**Creator's Grandmother** The grandmother of the creator or culture hero, casually mentioned and taken for granted in certain North American Indian mythologies, especially in Micmac and other Eastern Woodland Indian tales. When Glooscap first appeared among the Micmacs, for instance, his grandmother was with him. Among the Shawnee of this region the grandmother assumes a leading role in the mythology as well as in the religious observances, overshadowing her grandson, Habotchkilawetha. The culture hero's grandmother also figures in the myths of the northern California Shasta (she helps Coyote make the first snowshoes, directs the packing and storing of meat, etc.) and also in the tales of northern California Hupa and Wintun Indians. [EWV]

**cremation** The burning of the dead. Cremation, which destroys the corpse, may be contrasted with disposal of the dead by burial and its more or less elaborate techniques of preserving the body as long as possible. When they can be shown to have developed successively in the same culture they may be evidence that views of death and afterlife have undergone a profound revolution, or they may have been diffusions from immigrant cultures. Funerary evidence in the form of funeral mounds and bone-fires (bonfires) from south Russia to the Scandinavian peninsula shows the spread of the custom. The Greeks of the Homeric period are thought by some to have introduced the custom into the eastern Mediterranean. Cremation is customary among the Hindus, some tribes in Siberia and North America, northern tribes of South America, and in the Bismarck Archipelago. Tribes with no fixed abode sometimes cremate their dead to protect the corpses from molestation by enemies who might work magic on them. This is an explanation given by the American Cocopa Indians. Natives of East Africa cremate their dead to free the ghosts and enable them to enter the society of spirits. A potent reason for cremation is to get quit of the ghost, at times thought of as the animal spirit and distinguished from the spiritual soul. The burning of witches with consequent destruction of their powers is common in many communities. Elsewhere, as among the natives near Tanganyika, cremation kept the bones from coming to life after the bodies had decomposed. Fire worshippers have special views about entering the new life through fire. [RWJ]

**Cretan bull** In Greek legend, the bull, thought to be Pasiphae's, sent by Poseidon as a sacrifice but kept by Minos for its beauty and captured by Hercules as the seventh of his labors. After the hero released the bull, it settled at Marathon, first wandering over all of Greece.

**cricket** The cricket was much esteemed in antiquity and it is said that our modern superstition concerning it and our attitudes toward it have probably been trans-

mitted to us from ancient times. The common house-cricket has a very wide distribution in the Old World, but nothing is known as to its original habitat. Some of the widespread beliefs about this representative of the  *Gryllidæ*  may be mentioned:

1. *As bringer of good or bad luck* It is good to have a cricket in the house; if it leaves the chimney it is a fatal sign; if you kill it, it is a breach of hospitality; it is dangerous to imitate the chirp of the cricket; it will eat your clothes if you kill it; in Silesia, the cricket's cry indicates ill-luck, the presence of a dead person in the house, or a theft committed. In Ireland, if a cricket is heard chirping on Christmas Eve, he is called "the king of all luck."

2. *As prognosticator* The cricket forecasts rain, death, or the approach of an absent lover.

3. *As a nostrum in folk medicine* In antiquity, the cricket was used as a cure for asthma (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXX: 49: the prescription was 20 insects in sweet wine); powdered crickets were used in certain ills. The Cherokee Indians believed that a tea brewed from crickets would make them good singers like that insect.

4. *As personification of the house-spirit* It is in this capacity that the cricket is usually thought of in the United States and in England. The well-known story by Charles Dickens, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, expresses this relation of cricket to hearth and home in a simple but effective pattern. [crrs]

**St. Crispin's Day** October 25, anniversary of the translation of the relics of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian from Soissons to Rome in the 9th century. In Westphalia, the festival day is June 20, anniversary of an earlier translation of the brother saints' relics there by Charlemagne.

In both France and England, until the end of the 18th century, the day was an occasion for processions, feasting, and merrymaking on the part of the shoemakers' guilds. In England, the day coincides with the anniversary of the Battle of Agincourt, and has therefore a double significance.

At Soissons, at Rogations, the St. Crispin processions are still held and still pause before a certain house in the Rue de la Congrégation, the site of a chapel, St. Crépin-le-Petit, which once stood there. At Bourges similar celebrations took place in olden times, and master-cobblers who absented themselves from the ceremonies were fined a pound of wax to be delivered to the chapel. At Moncontour the day was celebrated until 1870 by a procession of shoemakers who walked two by two from the tavern to the church, where holy bread was distributed to them. The bread was used at the banquet at the tavern subsequently.

A song is still sung by French children which recalls these processions and celebrations, and which runs something as follows:

Aujourd'hui  
les cordonniers, bien mises,  
vont visiter le Saint-Crépin  
qui, lui,  
travaillait en bras-de-chemise.

Today the shoemakers, all dressed up, pay a visit to Saint Crispin, who himself worked in his shirt sleeves!

A Provençal legend accounts for the number of cripples and hunchbacks practicing the craft of shoe-

making. St. Crispin was so pleased by the first celebrations in his honor that he asked God to reward the shoemakers by giving them a glimpse of Heaven. The request was granted; St. Crispin lowered a long ladder; but only the pious dared to climb it. When they reached Paradise, the festival of St. Peter was being celebrated, and the *Sursum corda* was being sung. St. Paul, in charge of the heavenly gates, being deaf, mistook the words for a command to cut the cord—in Provençal, *Zou sus la cordo!*—which he did. The shoemakers tumbled to earth, and many of them were crippled.

In Tanby, Wales, on St. Crispin's Eve an effigy of the saint was suspended from a steeple. In the morning it was cut down and carried through the streets by the shoemakers. They stopped at the door of each member of the guild, where a mock will and testament of St. Crispin was read aloud, and a portion of the effigy's dress, bequeathed to the inmate, was cut off and left behind. When nothing was left but the stuffing, that was rolled into a ball, and thrown to the crowd to be kicked around. On St. Clement's Day the shoemakers avenged St. Crispin by making an effigy of a carpenter, which was given the same treatment.

Crockett, Davy Backwoods hero of history, legend, and myth. With the motto, "Be always sure you're right, then go ahead," David Crockett (1786-1836), Tennessee born and bred, rose to fame as hunter and Indian fighter, "coonskin congressman" and backwoods humorist. In Congress he was determined to "wear no man's collar" (that is, Jackson's) and to represent the interests of small farmers and new settlers (having been one of them himself) when they were threatened by speculators. In 1835, having stood defeat in two elections, this irrepressible champion of lost causes went to Texas and was one of six survivors of the Alamo to be shot at the command of Santa Ana, March 6, 1836.

Crockett's personal popularity rested not only on his good sense and courage but also on his backwoods picturesqueness of action and speech, uncouth and salty, half natural, half assumed—qualities that lent themselves easily to ridicule and to exploitation by the Jackson and anti-Jackson forces. Provoked by the inaccuracies and gibes in the anonymous *Sketches and Eccentricities of Col. David Crockett of West Tennessee* (1833), some of the best stories in which were his own, he wrote, or had a hand in writing, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee* (1834) and *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East* (1835).

The legend that he himself thus helped to create and perpetuate—of the homespun orator and the rustic clown—soon passed into myth. He himself boasted that he was so ugly that his grin could bring a coon down from a tree (once he grinned the bark off a knot which he had mistaken for a coon), and claimed that in less than a year he killed 105 bears. And in 1835, when the people fearfully awaited Halley's Comet, they said that Crockett was going to mount the highest peak in the Allegheny mountains and wring the fiery tail off the comet to save the world from death and destruction.

After his death he continued to grow in mythical stature until the comic backwoodsman had won out over the homely statesman, and horseplay triumphed

over horse sense. In the "Crockett" almanacs (1835-1856) he became a giant and a superman performing impossible feats in a "backwoods fairyland," along with other bullies and boasters, such as Mike Fink and Ben Hardin (named for the Kentucky congressman).

As in the case of Paul Bunyan, Crockett's character merged with that of other heroes, some of the same stories being told about John Sevier and Andrew Jackson. He and his tall tales, tall talk, and practical jokes, real, legendary, or mythical, served as the inspiration of much of the humor of the Old Southwest in the 1830's and '40's, including the character of Col. Nimrod Wildfire in James K. Paulding's play *The Lion of the West* (1831). Folk memories of Crockett linger in hunting yarns told in Tennessee and Arkansas. And he started a long line of politicians who tell stories to get votes.

Perhaps he will be remembered most for his coonskin trick, his encounter with a sensible coon, and his morning hunt. During the campaign of 1827, finding himself without cash or credit and obliged to stand treat to his thirsty constituents at a stump-speaking, he went out and shot a coon and traded the skin for a quart of rum. Every time the Yankee rum vendor threw the skin under the bar, Crockett surreptitiously pulled it through the cracks between the supporting logs, so that before the day was over he had managed to buy ten quarts of rum with the same coonskin. The joke won him the election.

The sensible coon, recognizing Crockett, gave himself up without a struggle, for he considered himself shot. And when Crockett, charmed by the compliment, patted him on the head, saying, "I hope I may be shot myself before I hurt a hair of your head," the coon calmly walked off—"not doubting your word a bit, d'ye see, but lest you should kinder happen to change your mind."

One cold January morning, when the daybreak froze fast as it was trying to dawn, the earth froze fast in its axis, and the sun got jammed between two cakes of ice, Crockett unfroze them with hot oil squeezed from a fresh twenty-pound bear that he had picked up on the road. Then, as the sun came up, "I lit my pipe by the blaze o' his topknot, shouldered my bear, an' walked home, introducin' the people to fresh daylight with a piece of sunrise in my pocket, with which I cooked my bear steaks, an' enjoyed one o' the best breakfasts I had tasted for some time." [BAB]

**crocodile** The Egyptians regularly fed the crocodiles of the god Souchos who was a crocodile himself. At one period in Egypt crocodiles were thought of as oracles and were embalmed when dead. The custom of ordeal by crocodiles has been used as a motif (H224) in Arabian folktale (i.e. judgment depended upon whether the accused was eaten or rejected by the crocodiles). In some parts of Africa crocodiles are the homes of dead ancestors. In West Africa a person attacked by a crocodile is believed to be the victim of the vengeance of someone he has harmed, now incarnate in the crocodile. He who kills a crocodile becomes a crocodile. The Basutos believe that crocodiles can seize a man's shadow and drag him into their pool. The regular feeding of crocodiles in some parts of West Africa may be for religious reasons, though

one observer has remarked that a well-fed crocodile is a better neighbor than a hungry one. "The strength of the crocodile is in the water," says a South African Vandaau proverb. Some Bantu tribes banish a man who has been splashed by a crocodile. The peoples of Borneo, Sumatra, and the Philippines treat crocodiles with great respect. The numerous popular tales from the Pacific about women who have had crocodiles as lovers belong to the large cycle of tales about women with serpent lovers to be examined elsewhere. See AFTERBIRTH; ALLIGATOR; NAME TABU. [RDJ]

**Crocodile** The villain of a folktale told by the Vandaau people of Portuguese South Africa. One day a big crocodile arrived in the river; it killed sheep, cattle, herders, travelers. The people feared it greatly, but did not know how to kill it. One day the king called a meeting of his chiefs and people to discuss how they might rid themselves of Crocodile. Fox came to the meeting. Fox jumped up on a log and said to the king, "O King, I am small, but wisdom surpasses bravery. Why do you wait for your enemy to grow strong? What do I do? I eat crocodiles while they are still in the eggs. Get rid of your enemy before he is stronger than you."

**Crocodile and Hen** Title of a Fjort Negro folktale classified as a legal story. A little fat hen went daily to the river bank to pick up food. Crocodile saw her, was about to eat her, when the little hen cried out, "O brother, don't." Crocodile was troubled in his mind. Why did she call him brother? But he gave up puzzling and decided to eat the hen. Next day little fat Hen was on the river bank picking up food. Crocodile was going to eat her. Hen cried out, "O brother, don't." And Crocodile turned away. Was he her brother? Crocodile decided to go ask Nzambi (Mother Earth, the creator). On the way, he met Mbambi, the big lizard, and told him his dilemma. "Don't you know," said the lizard, "that all who lay eggs are brothers—Duck, Hen, you, me?"

**crocodile tears** Simulated or pretended weeping; hypocritical grief: from the tale of ancient travelers that the crocodile weeps over those he devours.

**Cræsus** The last king of Lydia, 6th century BC; proverbial as the richest of all men, superseding in this the mythical Tantalus. Solon the wise came to Cræsus' court and told the king that no man might be considered happy until he finished his life happily. When Sardis, the capital of Lydia, fell to Cyrus, and Cræsus was condemned to be burned to death, he remembered Solon's words and repeated his name three times. Cyrus overheard and was told the story by Cræsus. He ordered the fire put out, but no one could extinguish it. Cræsus, already in pain from the heat of the blaze, prayed in tears to Apollo, and a rainstorm arose to quench the pyre. The two kings became friends, and after the death of Cyrus, Cræsus remained at the court of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus. For the wanton shooting of the son of Prexaspes, Cræsus rebuked Cambyses, then fled from his anger and was hidden by some of the courtiers. Cambyses recovered from his rage and when Cræsus made his reappearance greeted him warmly. At the same time, however, he ordered those courtiers who had aided Cræsus killed.

**Cromm Crúac** A huge idol which stood on the plain of Mag Sleacht (the plain of adoration or prostrations) in County Cavan, in Ulster, near the present village of Ballymagauran; also called *rig-lodal h-Eireann*, the king idol of Ireland. "Around him were twelve idols made of stone but he was of gold" and to him the early Irish sacrificed one third of their children on Samain (Nov. 1) in return for "milk and corn" and the good weather which insured the fertility of cattle and crops. The idol and the sacrifices are mentioned in the 6th century Dinnsenchus in the *Book of Leinster*. Cromm Crúac was held in horror for his terrible exactions; it was dangerous even to worship him, for the worshippers themselves often perished in the act of worship. A pre-Christian king named Tigernmus is said to have introduced the worship of Cromm Crúac to Ireland and to have been destroyed himself with three fourths of his people one Samain night during the prostrations.

The twelve lesser idols encircling the golden image have led to the assumption that Cromm Crúac was a solar deity; certainly he was a fertility god. But he has not been identified with any ancient Irish god. Dagda, in his agricultural aspect, has been suggested for this role, but no identity can be substantiated.

The *Dinnsenchus* names the idol Cromm Crúac (bloody crescent or bloody bent one); it is referred to as Cenn Crúac (bloody head) in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick*. Legend says that Patrick cursed and destroyed it. The *Dinnsenchus* story tells how Patrick preached to the people on Mag Sleacht against the burning of milk-cows and their first-born progeny.

**Cromm Dub's Sunday** In Irish folklore, the first Sunday in August: anniversary of the destruction of the famous idol known as Cromm Dub. On this date flowers were still offered at his place on Mt. Callan in County Clare, as late as the mid-19th century. For this reason the day is also called Garland Sunday. The flower offerings were reminiscent of a time when more bloody sacrifices were prepared. Compare CROMM CRÚAC. See CELTIC FOLKLORE.

**crónán** Literally, humming; in Irish folk song, a kind of humming, often a chorus, probably imitative of the drone of a bagpipe. Crónán is the Irish word for the drone of the bagpipe, and also for the purring of a cat. The song *Ballinderry* has a crónán burden of three notes running throughout. This kind of singing is often done for children, for cows at milking, and for plow horses. It demands considerable stamina to produce the long, continuous sound.

Crónán snagac was the difficult slow humming demanded of the poet Senchán by Marbán, Guaire's swineherd, during the great visitation of the poets to Guaire. Senchán had promised any form of minstrelsy desired. But the crónán snagac was so exhausting (and Marbán would not let them stop) that the 27 hummers in the group fell prostrate. Senchán himself "raised his beard in the air" and hummed the crónán snagac till one of his eyes burst out. Not till then would Marbán give him respite.

**Cronus** In Greek mythology, the youngest of the Titans, son of Uranus and Ge, and father by Rhea of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus:

probably a pre-Hellenic deity, superseded, as outlined in the myth, by the cult of Zeus and the Olympians. Cronus, together with the other children of Uranus, was imprisoned in the body of his mother, the earth. She induced him to repay this jealousy by dethroning his father; and after castrating Uranus with a sickle and tossing the severed member into the sea, Cronus became ruler of the universe. During his reign, happiness and peace made the time a Golden Age. But Cronus was warned by his parents that one of his own children would supplant him and as his sons were born he swallowed them. At the time Zeus, his youngest, was born, he was given a stone to swallow instead of the infant, and Zeus was taken away to be reared by the Curetes in secret. At last, with the aid of the Titans (excepting Themis and Prometheus), Zeus overthrew Cronus and obtained the regency. Some commentators say Cronus was imprisoned in Tartarus; Plutarch places him on a far-western island, near Britain, where he sleeps with his followers, the Cyclopes and the Hecatoncheires, guarded by Briareus.

The only important festival of Cronus in classical times was the Cronia, celebrated as a typical harvest festival with class distinctions abolished, in Athens, Rhodes, and Thebes. Cronus was represented holding a curved object, perhaps the reaping-hook, the castration of Uranus being an explanatory story. The Greeks identified him with such foreign gods as Moloch; the Romans with their own Saturn. The name was in later times etymologically linked to Chronos, time, but there is no justification for this linkage.

The swallow story so prominent in the myth is not mentioned in Homer and may be a later addition. A younger son theme may be traced in the succession of Cronus and Zeus to the rule of the universe, the same sort of sequence found in the mythology of other lands of the Mediterranean ancient world.

**cross** The term "cross" has been applied to many symbols. The *Encyclopaedia Heraldica* is said to list 385 different varieties. Although specialists are not in agreement on the terms used to designate them, the following list may be found useful: In the Greek cross a vertical line is bisected by a horizontal line of equal length. In the Latin cross the lower part of the vertical is longer than the upper part and the two lines are often not of equal length. In the tau cross the horizontal line runs across, not through, the top of the vertical. The looped or handled cross has a circle above the horizontal line. St. Andrew's cross is in the form of an X. The Maltese forms have four triangles joined at their apex. The gammate or swastika has lines running at right angles to and at the ends of the four lines of the Greek cross. The archiepiscopal cross is a Latin cross with two horizontal lines; the papal cross has three horizontals. These general types have many subtypes, each with a different name. Thus if in the swastika the horizontal line runs toward the left of the top of the vertical it is called by some a "sauvastika." The swastika has also been called the "gammate" cross because it is formed by joining four gammas together, or the "fylfot," presumably because it was used to fill the foot or base of a figured window. Crosses are further distinguished by their functions in ritual, such as the altar cross, the processional cross. For the last

thousand years Christians have designated the Latin cross with the image of Christ on it, the crucifix.

The importance of the cross in Christian cultures and the lore which Christians attach to it as a symbol of death and resurrection have led many people to investigate crosses in non-Christian cultures and to formulate views about them. The central questions in this as in other inquiries about the habits of thought and feeling of human beings living in social groups in many parts of the world are: What, in fact, is the symbol to be studied? Which groups know or use the symbol? What meanings do they attach to it? What is its value, function, and importance in their community?

The statement that "the use of the cross as a religious symbol in pre-Christian times and among many non-Christian peoples may probably be regarded as almost universal and in many cases was connected with some form of nature worship," though both obscure and misleading, is representative of the sorts of confusion to be guarded against. Confusion is increased by the statement of another authority that the "swastika or gammate cross is the most primitive form of the symbol and always had a symbolico-religious sense." Definitions are in order. Although the swastika is a complex symbol of which the cross is a part, it may, for purposes of analysis, be included in the group of symbols designated by the term "cross." The author of the statement does not make it clear whether the word "primitive" is to mean that the swastika is the first form of the cross to appear on the surface of the earth, i.e. first in time, or whether, though different cultures began their use of crosses at different times, the first cross they made was the swastika which they later simplified into a simple cross. In this case the word "primitive" would refer to something about "first in terms of 'cultural evolution'" and subtly commit the reader to views about the nature of social groups. Speculation on these questions of origin which has occupied many excellent scholars is diverting but inasmuch as the answers are lost in the miasmas of prehistory the speculation is futile.

The symbolico-religious meanings which cultures in the several parts of the world have attached to crosses in their 385 or more complex forms have been elaborated further by modern students of crosses. Thus ethnologists have suggested that the form of cross, the looped cross (see ANKH), found frequently on ancient Egyptian artifacts symbolized variously, and depending on the ethnologist, a nilometer, a key to a canal lock, a loin cloth, a phallus, a uterus, etc., and thus from the things symbolized derived a religious or magic value. Clearly accounts of the cross and its meaning present semantic problems of considerable complexity.

The simplicity of a symbol formed by the intersection of two lines makes it useful for a number of separate purposes and thus gives it a number of separate meanings. Thus the cross in the margin of an American husband's shopping list may mean either that the article must under no circumstances be forgotten, and thus has a symbolico-social meaning, or that the article has been purchased, and thus has a symbolico-historical meaning. Crosses used by newspapers to mark the spot where an event occurred, usually of the Maltese, Greek, or St. Andrew's variety, have an adverbial function indicating position where. Geographers use lines formed

by crosses to indicate boundaries and economists to compare one set of values with others. The cross as illiterate John Doe uses as his mark has a socio-legal meaning. When the point of intersection is important the cross is useful to indicate exact location. When the direction in which the arms point is important, the cross is used to indicate directions, particularly directions of the winds, as in weather-vanes. To this practical meaning of a cross as wind-pointer other meanings have been added. It then becomes a "wind-symbol" and may be used to call up winds when they are needed. Lines radiating from the point of intersection may symbolize the sun. Thus students of the cross in non-Christian cultures have seen in it symbols of the wind, the storm, therefore the rains, the sun, and fertility. That these values have been associated with the cross in some cultures is incontestable; but the exact relation to each other of these symbolic values must be determined by an examination of each culture and ritual.

The crosses used by meteorologists to determine the speed of the winds might be called wind symbols but have practical values far removed from Christian dogma. The market crosses in European towns are probably of Christian origin and legends have been attached to them as the places where miracles were performed or saints martyred but they are principally useful as place-markers: the social center of community life, the geographical center of the village, the center of municipal authority. The use of crosses as decorations on Bronze Age artifacts and elsewhere raises similar questions and leads to the confused problem of the relations between esthetic and religious values and functions.

Crosses have been found on the artifacts of most known cultures. The difficulties of interpreting the Egyptian cross have been mentioned. The Phoenicians and other Semitic peoples are said to have added magical powers and associated this cross with Ashtar as the Greeks associated crosses with Aphrodite, the Ephesian Artemis, and others. The Elamite and Sumerian cultures used crosses. The Assyrian kings wore crosses as pendants.

In the Near East Schlegelmann turned up crosses in his excavations on the site of Troy. A cross on the pubic region of a female figure from this site, like crosses painted or tattooed on the pubic regions of women of other cultures, may be decoration, a defense against the entry of devils into the vagina, or it may serve other purposes. Plato in a somewhat Pythagorean mood says the soul of the world was created in the form of a cross, and Saint Jerome in a platonic mood says the cross is the form of the world in its four directions. Pre-Christian crosses have been found in Europe as far north as Sweden and the Irish crosses may well have the combination of Christian and pagan meanings characteristic of peripheral cultures. The hammer of the Gaulish Thor was a cross which destroyed by storm, and after storm produced fecundity. Phallic symbols in Greece, Rome, and Japan are sometimes in the form of inverted tau crosses though some students of sexual folklore tend to draw from this fact the extreme view that inverted tau crosses are always sexual symbols.

In India the swastika, which was one of the body marks of the Lord Buddha, is thought to be a good

symbol as the *sauvastika* is bad, but it has other associations such as an apparatus for making fire, "a symbol for the living flame whose mother is the Goddess Maia, personification of the productive power," as well as the sun, the lightning, the storm. The spread of Buddhism is said to have brought this form of cross into many parts of Asia. In China long before Buddhism, crosses of one sort or another were radicals which either alone or combined with other strokes formed the pictograms which later became the Chinese ideographs. From the earliest times Chinese etymologists have used great ingenuity in rationalizing these and some have thought them connected with the directions, the soil, fertility, etc.

The cross is known in Africa. The women of the Hottentots keep wooden crosses above them during confinement, and because moon ceremonies are important among these peoples such crosses are thought to be moon symbols. The Maori of New Zealand wore greenstone crosses as amulets or decorations. Crosses are on the statues of Easter Island and on the sacred stones of eastern New Guinea. Crosses were widely used in North and South America, Mexico, and Central America. In North America on trees, crosses marked the limits of camps. The Athapascans used crosses in their sacrifices to the new moon. Certain Indians of California showed the Great Mother with her limbs extended on the form of a cross.

Early explorers of Mexico were astonished to find that there the cross had an unquestionable religious significance. In one form the cross is surmounted by a large bird (turkey? parrot?) and on another in the form of a tree the worshipper seems to be offering sacrifice. By anticipating the diffusionist theory of cultural growth these adventurers decided that it had been introduced by Saint Thomas or by Spaniards driven across the sea by the Moors. The Mexican cross carried by the Aztec goddess of the rains is now thought to have been associated with the sun or wind. When in the form of a tree with its roots in the water it is called the "tree of life." Crosses have been found in the shell mounds of New Mexico and among the pictographs of the Dakotas.

The history of the cross as a religious symbol among Christians is obscure. It became important as a symbol for Christianity in the 4th or 5th century; the crucifix bearing the image of the crucified Christ appeared in the 8th, and the cult of the cross was epidemic in the 13th century. Each of these moments in the movements of Christian thought and feeling should be taken as approximate. Each occurred at a time when the complex of Christianity was undergoing rapid change and for each the antecedents whether immediate or remote are obscure.

Punishment by crucifixion was a Roman custom applied usually to slaves or to non-Romans and is associated with the custom of tying victims to a stake or tree and allowing them to die of hunger and thirst. Though this punishment is known to savages of all cultures including the modern Euro-American, the term "arbor infelix" was a useful foil to the term "arbor vite" after the cross had become a symbol of resurrection and human salvation. In the 3rd century Saint Clement of Alexandria called the cross the sign of Christ, and Tertullian at about the same time

referred to Christians as *crucis religiosi*. In this century too the monogram of Christ was devised. It was the first two letters of *Iesus Xristi* and was written  $\text{X}\rho$ . The author of the article in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* asserts without further explanation that the early Christians did not openly worship the cross because the pagans worshipped cruciform objects, and that the sign of the cross, first made over the forehead and later over the whole body, was a secret sign by which Christians identified themselves to each other.


The vision of Christ and the cross attributed to Saint Constantine, the first Christian Roman emperor, in the beginning of the 4th century together with the command to conquer with this sign marks the beginning of another moment in the thought and feeling about the cross. St. Helena, Constantine's 80-year-old mother, undertook to excavate Christ's tomb near which it was later said the Jews had buried the true cross in order to keep relic-hunters from defacing it and profiting from the miracles it could produce. Only a few Jews knew the site. One of them, Judas, later called Cyriacus, identified it. Three crosses were found and none knew which was the true cross until, when taken to the bedside of a dying old woman, one of them restored her to health. Fragments of this object, thought to be the true cross, produced miracles. Even nails from it had great power. It was housed in the Basilica Saint Constantinus over the site of "Christ's tomb," was destroyed by the infidels, and in Christian legend is said to have reappeared in many places. Large numbers of chips of wood thought to be taken from the true cross and reverently worshipped in many places has led to the assertion that the cross can miraculously reproduce itself. Eusebius, a contemporary of St. Helena, does not mention her discovery of the true cross. The feasts of special adoration of the cross are on Good Friday and on September 18, anniversary of the date when the Basilica Saint Constantinus was dedicated. At this period people began to build churches in the form of crosses.

The crucifix or the Roman cross containing the image of the crucified Christ became popular in the 7th and 8th centuries when it took its place with other images as an object of worship. This worship is explained by the view that veneration paid to a symbol is transferred to the thing symbolized.

Although Bede in the 7th century reported that Saint Augustine of England carried a processional cross, the altar cross appeared in the 13th century, a period of considerable religious tension when Jacopo of Voragine by his *Golden Legend* greatly stimulated the growth of Christian folklore. In this period too, an elaborate account of the history of the cross reported that Seth got the Tree of Life from the Garden of Eden and planted it over Adam's grave. Wood from this tree served many purposes until finally it was made into the cross on which Christ was crucified.

The miracles attributed to the cross are innumerable but generally have to do with physical or spiritual salvation. Thus the cross will frighten away devils and protect against evil. A cross surreptitiously introduced into contracts with Satan will make the contract void. A cross grasped or venerated at the moment of damnation may save the soul or at the moment of death may restore life and health.

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 The cross is sometimes the symbol of the four heavenly directions. The Tarahumara Indians of Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico, in whom the ancient religion is strong, still use the traditional directional crosses in their ceremonial patios. The Concheros pray to the four directions. The sorcerer in the Negritos dance of the Sierra de Puebla invokes the four winds. This already deep-rooted religious significance of the cross facilitated adoption of the Christian symbol. [CRK]

**cross-eyes** It is bad luck to meet a cross-eyed person. It is good luck to meet a cross-eyed person of the opposite sex. To avert the bad luck in wait for you from meeting a cross-eyed person, spit through your fingers, but do not let him see you do it. If you are a fisherman you must spit in your hat. One way to keep a cross-eyed person from injuring you, is to outstare him. This is quite easy to do. You will lose at cards if you play with a cross-eyed partner. There is no available information as to whether a cross-eyed person ever wins.

Negroes in some sections of the southern United States say it is bad luck to meet a cross-eyed woman. If you meet one in the morning, things will "get crossed" all day. If you meet one on a Monday morning, you can expect a bad week. Never look one in the eye, they advise. They also warn against letting a baby look into a mirror before he is a year old, lest he become cross-eyed. If he does, however, the bad result can be averted by rubbing blood from a black chicken on the back of his neck. For a rabbit foot to be really effective as a luck charm, it must be the left hind foot of a graveyard rabbit killed by a cross-eyed Negro at midnight.

**crossroads** The place where two or more roads intersect. Something sinister about crossroads has made such conjunction of highways a matter of interest for superstitions, beliefs, and customs connected with this particular spot. Crossroads superstition was prevalent generally through Europe, in India, Japan, Greece, among the Mongols and the American Indians. Here were to be found demons, evil spirits, ghosts and witches, sprites, kobolds, and fairies. It was the burial place of suicides and murderers, a dump-heap for parricides, and a rendezvous for witches who frequently used this uncanny place for their Sabbath revels. Anything might plainly happen here. People feared and avoided this meeting of the ways.

Divinities were sometimes associated with the crossroads, perhaps to repel or neutralize the evil influences attached to the locality. In Greek mythology, both Hermes and Hecate were connected with the crossroads. Such ceremonies were practiced at this spot as sacrifice, offerings, divination, and many magic rites. [CRS]

**Crow** The crow enters into the mythology of North American Indians to some extent, but is by no means mentioned as frequently as is Eagle, and has not the definite character of the greedy and voracious Raven, trickster of the northern North Pacific Coast tribes. Among the Chipewyan of eastern Canada, Crow is the trickster, and references to Crow as a character occur in various Southwestern, Plains Indian, and other tales. Originally white, Crow turned black when he ate snakes' eyes (Kiowa and other tribes). Pueblo groups refer to crows as chickens. The Crow-Water society of

the northern Plains Blackfoot was a ceremonial organization for men and women, membership in which enabled persons to become wealthy and to cure the sick. Another northern Plains group, a Siouan-speaking tribe, is now known as the Crow Indians; this is a translation through French *gens des corbeaux* for their own name for themselves, *Absa'roke*, which means crow, sparrow hawk, or bird people. Among the Navaho of the Southwest, missionaries are humorously referred to as crows, because of their black garments. [EWY]

**Cruel Brother** A Scottish popular ballad (Child #11) in which the main theme is the revenge of a brother whose consent has not been asked to his sister's marriage. The young suitor asked the consent of parents and sisters, but forgot to ask brother John. It was the brother, however, who set the bride on her horse to go to her new home, and as she leaned to kiss him goodbye he stabbed her to the heart. As the journey progressed the lady grew paler and weaker, until she could go no further. The ballad ends with the incremental repetition of bequests, to mother, sisters, brother John, brother John's wife, and sometimes brother John's bairns. This hardly seems like the climax of relations motif, with brother John's wife and bairns following as anticlimax to the gallows-tree bequeathed to brother John. But Phillips Barry has made a suggestion (*JAF*, 28:300) that ill-will on the part of John's wife toward the young bride motivated the murder.

Some of the Scottish manuscripts give the title of this ballad as *The Bride's Testament*. It was extremely popular both in Scotland and the west of England, and is known to have been current in Ireland in 1860. Compare EDWARD; LORD RANDAL.

**cruit** Irish word for harp, especially the ancient bardic instrument. *Slod-éruit* is the fairy harp, the harp of the side.

**csárdás or crárdás** A Hungarian couple dance, consisting of a slow and a quick part. In the peasant version the slow *lassan* consists of two-steps with heel-click in ballroom position, and of turns shoulder to shoulder; the fast *gyors* consists of vertical jumps and jump-hops. The titled version has acquired technical labels. In the slow *lassú* the two-step and click are called *andalgó*; the turn, *páros forgó*; the *bokázó* is a triple heel-click for the man and a twisting heel-change for the woman. The fast *friss* introduces the *ingó*, a side-to-side balance, the *kis harang*, a coupé or cutting step, two varieties of forward leaps (the *cifra* and *tétovázó*), a toe-heel hop (the *csillag*), and a number of more complex steps. The style is characterized by flexibility in the knees, emphatic stamping, heel-clicking, in-and-out foot twists, a proud bearing, elegant in the women, martial in the men. [CRK]

**Cuailgne** (pronounced Cooley) An ancient hilly district in County Louth in Ulster, Ireland; scene of the famous táin, or cattle raid, led by Méib and Aillill of Connacht to steal the famous Brown Bull of Cuailgne. The district was defended by Cuchulain alone while the Ulstermen were in their weakness. See TÁIN BÓ CUAILGNE.

**Cucaracha, La** The Cockroach; a Mexican revolutionary song with innumerable stanzas, some devoted to Villa, Zapata, and Carranza, some consisting of pro-



verbal or epigrammatic statements about women, love, etc., which are older than the song. The chorus, from which the title is derived, says that the cockroach can't go on his way because he has no marihuana to smoke. Various explanations have been offered for the significance of the cockroach: that it may also be an old maid, a pet name for a dancer, a nickname for Carranza, etc. The song has achieved considerable popularity across the border in the United States, becoming a radio and juke-box favorite in the early 1940's.

**Cuchulain** Hero of the Ulster cycle of Old Irish epic and romance: said to have lived about the first century A.D. He was the son of Dechtire, sister of Conchobar, king of Ulster, by whom he was fostered. Lug of the Tuatha Dé Danann was his father. Cuchulain was of extraordinary beauty, growth, and achievement. At the age of seven he ran away and sought training with Conchobar at Emain Macha, and was tutored by Ulster's seven greatest heroes and poets. He was called Setanta until he was 12, when he earned the name Cuchulain, the Hound of Culann. The boy was attacked by the fierce hound of Culann, the smith, killed it, and then served as watch and guard for Culann until a pup "just as good" could be reared to take its place. Among other boyhood deeds, he killed the three sons of Nechtan before their own dún: three huge brothers whom no Ulsterman had ever challenged and come away alive. He wooed and won Emer, daughter of Forgall the Wily, who contrived to send Cuchulain alone to the Isle of Skye to take training under Scathac. Forgall believed that Cuchulain would either perish on the journey or be killed by Scathac herself, who hated strangers. But Cuchulain won his way to the woman warrior's presence, took her training, and endeared himself to her by his skill and courage.

Cuchulain is hero of the *Táin bó Cuailgne*, the *Cattle Raid of Cuailgne*, called the War for the Brown Bull. Queen Medb of Connacht coveted the famous Brown Bull of Cuailgne, and while the Ulstermen were in their weakness (see EMAIN MACHA) raided Ulster with her hosts to take it. Cuchulain alone was immune to the curse of Macha, because his parentage was half supernatural. Single-handed he held off Medb's forces, killing them from ambush, sometimes at the rate of twenty a day, and finally, by agreement with Medb, meeting one warrior a day in single combat, during which time Medb agreed to halt her advance. (See FERDIAD; FINDABAIR.) Medb finally captured the bull, but in the end Conchobar and the Ulster warriors rallied to Cuchulain's aid and drove the forces of Connacht out of Ulster.

Some years later Cuchulain met his death in one famous battle against all Ireland. In vengeance Medb had gathered together the sons of three kings whom Cuchulain had killed. Three satirists among the hosts tricked Cuchulain out of the three spears he carried; and when he gave up the famous Gae Bulg, he was killed himself. Cuchulain's charioteer, Loeg, was killed in that battle; so was the Gray of Macha, the wonderful horse that loved Cuchulain and fought off his enemies with his hooves. The story of this last fight against odds, Cuchulain's last stand tied to a pillar-post so that he would die standing up, the fear of each king's son to approach him, until finally a raven lighted on his head to take the eyes, thus proving he was dead, is

probably the most stirring story in all west European literature. See BRICRIU'S FEAST; CONLA; SATIRE; TÁIN BÓ CUAILGNE.

**cucking-stool** A chair in which disorderly, and especially scolding, women or cheating shopkeepers were exposed and sometimes immersed for punishment by public derision: often confused with ducking-stool and sometimes called choking-stool. The original idea was evidently to punish by the embarrassment of being seen publicly on a stool intended for private use, since the cucking-stool was made to resemble a close-stool and since, more particularly, the word "cuck" meant to defecate. The ducking of the prisoner, chair and all, in a stagnant pond, was a later refinement. The "coking-stole" was in use in Cornwall in the 13th century and is frequently referred to in English literature thereafter until the 18th. The latest recorded punishment thereby was in Leominster in 1809. The practice was confined largely to England until, in the 17th century, in the form of the ducking-stool, it was adopted by the American colonies, where it seems to have served more as a warning than as an engine of punishment. [CFF]

**cuckoo** Any member of the family *Cuculidae* of birds. The *Cuculus canorus*, "messenger of Spring," is familiar in Britain and in nearly all the Old World; one American species ranges roughly from Canada and the Great Plains to Argentina.

The cry of the cuckoo as it returns every year about the same time is greeted everywhere with excitement. In Germany, peasants roll on the grass for joy and their greeting is not "Wie geht's!" but "Der Kuckuck hat gerufen!" It is then that if they have money in their pocket, they turn it over for this will ensure them plenty in the future and general good luck. In the British Isles on this occasion, workmen stop work for a time to enjoy "cuckoo-ale."

No bird is ascribed more oracular ability; it prophesies the hour of the day, the number of years of life, how long a maid will remain unmarried, and so on. It is looked to as a love-oracle, the sight and sound of the cuckoo being a good omen for marriage. It will be recalled that the Indian god, Indra, took the form of a cuckoo in his love adventures as did the Greek Zeus. From its well-known habits, e.g. laying its eggs in other birds' nests for them to hatch, it is in ill repute as an adulterer (the English word "cuckold" is derived from *cuculus*) and is connected with phallic symbolism. Further, it is said that ghosts and the Devil can assume the form of the cuckoo. An insane person, one who is "batty" or has "bats in his belfry," is also "cuckoo," perhaps in reference to the traditional cuckoo clock which always is out of order and tweets at the wrong time, etc.

In folk-literature, the apolog, "The Cockoo and the Nightingale" is well-known; tales of the stupid ogre in which the cuckoo appears are found in Norway, Finland, Sweden, Greece and the Cape Verde Islands (Type 1029). An amusing English tale recounts the effort of the Wise Men of Gotham to enjoy perpetual spring by "hedging in" the cuckoo (William A. Clouston, *The Book of Noodles*, New York, 1888, pp. 26-27).


**cueca or zamacueca** A courting dance of the Chilean Indians and mestizos, more individualistic and violent than many analogous European couple dances. There

is much coquettish play with kerchiefs, approach, flight, beckoning, pursuit, escape, and final love conquest. This dance is distinctive in that the man whose lady retreats from him must be quick enough to turn his back on her at the same moment. If he is not as quick as she, he is ridiculed by the audience. The music for this dance (guitar, tambourine, and harp) begins softly and tenderly, and increases to passionate intensity. [cork]


**Cult of the Friendly Dead** One of the oldest strata of belief among Ceylon Veddas. It includes a cult of the spirits of recent ancestors (Nae Yaku) who, if well treated, will care for their survivors with kindness, and of spirits (yaku) of certain heroic Veddas, long dead, of whom the most important is Kande Yake. Kande before death was Kande Wanniya, the great hunter. Associated with his spirit, which is invoked for hunting success, is that of his younger brother, Bilindi, whom Kande killed in a fit of temper. Both are now invoked with other Nae Yaku by a shaman through whom they accept food offerings and communicate hunting advice.

Later strata of belief, originating among the Tamils and Sinhalese, concern foreign spirits naturalized among the Veddas. Some of these have been made into friendly spirits like the Nae Yaku while others have remained hostile and occasionally influence adversely the interpretation of the Friendly Dead. See YAKA. [KL]

**culture hero** In the mythology, folklore, and legend of any people, a character (human or animal, prehistoric or not) regarded as the giver of a culture to its people. All good and useful things are either given by him, invented, originated, or taught by him: the foods, arts, devices, and usages of a people. The typical culture hero steals or liberates the sun, fire, or summer for his people, regulates the winds, originates corn, acorns, beans, and other foods, marks the animals and plants with their characteristic marks, determines the courses of rivers, teaches men to plant and plow, hunt, hold their ceremonies with efficacious songs and dances, invents alphabets, gives to men their medicines and magic, and usually sometime before the world becomes as it is now, he goes away into the west to await a certain time appointed for his return.

 The culture hero is a familiar figure in nearly all North American Indian mythologies, often identical with the trickster (also Coyote) and transformer, and also with the creator. In the majority of cases the culture-hero-transformer-trickster is an animal or bird (Raven, Mink, or Bluejay: North Pacific Coast; Coyote: California, Great Basin, Southwest, Plains; Hare: Eastern Woodlands; Rabbit: Southeast); in a few instances he is apparently human in form (Gluskabe: northeastern United States; Child-of-the-Water, and Killer-of-Enemies: Apache groups of the Southwest; White Man: Blackfoot; and Sendeh: Kiowa of the Plains). Among the deeds beneficial to mankind which the culture hero performs are: securing daylight for the people, releasing impounded water and game, teaching useful arts and crafts, instituting ceremonies, ridding the world of dangerous monsters. The culture hero is pictured as living on earth during the mythical age, or before the advent of human beings, and retiring to a region above the earth after humans appear; sometimes this region is located in the west. Whether animal or human, the culture hero generally has a companion who travels

about with him and shares in his beneficent ~~deeds~~ as well as in his antics as trickster. [Ewy]

 The prominent character of South American Indian mythology is the culture hero who is often the Creator or the first Ancestor. His great deeds and adventures follow, in the Fuegian Indian myth the identical pattern of those of the highly civilized Indians of the Andes.

After creating the world and man, the culture hero wanders up and down the tribal territory performing great miracles. He is a transformer *par excellence* and takes special delight in changing the shape of things and in turning people into animals or vice versa. Many features of the landscape are explained by some of the metamorphoses he performed. He is always regarded as a benefactor of mankind, to whom he often gave food, plants, the basic arts and crafts, and the religious and social laws. The culture hero is also father of the Twins who, like him, are great transformers and benefactors of mankind. Therefore it is not always easy to distinguish between the role of the Twins and that of their father.

Once he has performed his task the culture hero departs toward the west, to the end of the world where he takes his abode among the dead. He waits there for the time when he will return to destroy the universe he has made.

The culture hero of the Toba was a hawk (*Polyborus plancus*) a wise and generous being who helped them in their struggle against cruel monsters. One of the best known South American culture heroes is Bochica who was worshipped by the ancient Chibcha of Colombia. [LW]

**cumin** A plant of the carrot family whose seeds are used as a condiment in the East. It symbolized meanness and cupidity in Greece. In Germany and Italy it is put in the bread to keep the wood spirits from stealing it. In Italy it is fed to fowl to tame them and make them content with their homes. It was believed good for stopping hemorrhage. As a poultice it is effective against boils, swellings, pleurisy, and the stitch. In a broth it is good for chest colds. Pliny mentions that it makes the countenance pallid, and that if it is fed to lovers, they will remain faithful.

**cumulative song** A type of folk song common in many languages, both ancient and modern, and in many parts of the world, consisting generally of a statement to which each stanza adds a new element and every refrain is the enumeration of all the elements from the last to the first. Most of these songs are sung purely for fun and go to rollicking tunes. An example is the familiar carol, *The Twelve Days of Christmas*, which lists day by day the gifts "my true love sent to me," ending in the twelfth refrain with "Twelve drummers drumming." Eleven pipers piping/ Ten lords a-leaping/ Nine ladies dancing/ Eight maids a-milking/ Seven swans a-swimming/ Six geese a-laying/ Five gold rings/ Four calling birds/ Three French hens/ Two turtle doves/ And a partridge in a pear tree." Others well-known in English are *The Tree in the Valley*, or *The Green Grass Growing All Around* ("The nest was on the twig/ And the twig was on the branch/ And the branch was on the tree/ And the tree was away down in the valley, etc.") and the very similar song *There's a Hole in the Bottom*

*the Sea*. One of the most widely distributed songs of this type is *The Twelve Apostles* (also called *The Ten Commandments* and *The Dilly Song*) which has been sung in many tongues, including Hebrew. *Alouette*, for example, turns up in group-singing almost anywhere to this day. In Mexico they sing *La Rana*, a story about a frog singing under the water, which runs somewhat like the nursery tale about the pig that couldn't get over the stile, involving bull, water, fire, tick, dog, cat, mouse, etc., all to quiet the frog.

**Cumulative story** A type of folktale found among all peoples, primitive and sophisticated, ancient and modern, having many forms and variations, but everywhere usually evincing an animistic attitude. Most of the tales take for granted that all things (human, animal, vegetable, and inanimate) are equally possessed of intelligence, emotion, and reason. The more sophisticated the group, however, the nearer the story has degenerated into nursery tale or trivial jingle.

The action, characters, names, speeches, or whatever is the feature of the accumulation, builds up to an impasse or a climax, and often, but not always goes through the list again in reverse in order to resolve the plot. This is the pattern of the well-known *Old Woman and her Pig* (Z41.1). The pig would not go under the fence (or over the stile). In despair of getting home before dark, the old woman appealed to a dog to bite the pig; but dog won't bite pig, stick won't beat dog, fire won't burn stick, water won't quench fire, ox won't drink water, butcher won't kill ox, rope won't hang butcher, at won't gnaw rope, cat won't kill rat," until finally the cat is given some milk and attacks the rat, "the rat begins to gnaw the rope, the rope begins to hang the butcher, the butcher begins to kill the ox, the ox begins to drink the water, etc., each object doing as requested until the dog bites the pig, the pig goes under the fence, and the old woman gets home before dark.

Among cumulative stories which do not reverse the accumulation are found the general European tale of the pancake which runs away as soon as it is made (Z31.3.1). A series of animals try to stop its flight, but cannot, until at last the fox catches and eats it. See **MAIN TALE; FORMULA TALE; HORSESHOE NAIL**.

**čunča or chuncho** A longways dance of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, performed by men and women in long lines, dancing in unison. They wear huge feather headdresses and carry bows and arrows. The men's rousers are decorated with many feathers, and their armbands with festoons of gray-black beans called *čunča* or *čunču*. Their faces are masked by strings of beads, beans, and ancient silver coins. Three flutes and three drums accompany the dance. The dance is supposedly an imitation of the tropical Chunchu Indians. [GRK]

**Cupid and Psyche** A classical beast-marriage folktale (Type 425A) told by Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses* (*The Golden Ass*), and perhaps the only example in Latin literature of such only slightly embellished folktale telling: undoubtedly a much earlier Greek story etold in Latin. The story of Cupid and Psyche is very similar to the tales of Melusina, Beauty and the Beast, Jirvaši and Purūravas, and other familiar examples of the beast marriage, nuptial tabu tale. In *Cupid and Psyche*, however, the emphasis is distinctly on the breaking of the tabu, whereas emphasis in the others

is on the beast form and the transformation from beast into human being; *Cupid and Psyche* is relatively uncomplicated with other great folktale themes, as for example the swan maiden incident in *Urvaši and Purūravas*.

In Apuleius, this "pleasant old wives' tale" is recited by an old woman in the thieves' den. Psyche's beauty had aroused such adoration that the worship of Venus all but disappeared. The goddess asked Cupid, her son, to cause Psyche to fall in love with some loathsome old man, but Cupid fell in love with the girl himself. Since Psyche's two sisters had married well, although they were not so beautiful as she, the anger of the gods against her was suspected. Her father sent to the oracle of Apollo at Miletus, which replied that her destined husband was a dragon (serpent) who would receive her corpse from a high hill. From the hill Psyche was carried by zephyrs to a secluded valley containing a wonderful palace. There, at night, her husband came, and eventually she grew to love this unseen being. She contradicted herself in describing her husband to her sisters, and they, jealous, aroused her fear that he was really a monster. One night, in disobedience to the tabu, she lit a lamp. But nervously, she spilled a drop of hot oil on the sleeping Cupid, no dragon but a handsome youth, and he awoke. The tabu broken, he flew off. Psyche realized how great was her loss and searched through the world for him. But neither Ceres nor Juno, at whose temples she made offerings, dared help, knowing of Venus' wrath. At last Psyche approached the temple of Venus and was seized by one of the servants of the goddess. Venus arrived and struck and reviled the girl, though Psyche was pregnant with Cupid's child. Venus set her three tasks: to separate a mixed heap of grain (the ants did this for Psyche); to gather fleece from a flock of wild sheep (she picked it from reeds the flock went through); and to collect some water from the waterfall source of the Styx (an eagle dipped some up while flying above it). Finally Venus sent Psyche to Hades to bring back a container with some of Proserpina's beauty in it. Psyche made the perilous journey, giving Charon and Cerberus their due, but when she returned above ground curiosity again got the better of her and she opened the container. Inside had been sleep, which spread over Psyche. Cupid in the meanwhile had escaped from the imprisonment in which Venus had been keeping him, and he discovered Psyche sleeping. He wiped the sleep from her, replaced it in the container, and sent her on to Venus. Then he obtained Jupiter's consent to the marriage, Psyche was made immortal, and the wrath of Venus was appeased, since Psyche was now her son's equal and no longer a mortal being.

Familiar motifs abound in this tale. Central to the story is C32.1, the tabu against looking at the supernatural husband. C32, offending the supernatural husband in some way, is found in such tales as Grimm's #88, *The Singing, Soaring Lark*, where the wife permits light to fall on her husband. Parallel are the broken tabu against looking at the wife in the tale of Melusina, and the broken tabu against being seen unclothed by the supernatural wife in *Urvaši and Purūravas*. Examples can be multiplied. The search for the lost husband and the tasks assigned by Venus are both in threes: she goes to three goddesses, and she

accomplishes three tasks successfully. The sorting of the grain by ants (H1091.1) is found for example in many stories of the grateful animals and, in the form of gathering scattered grain, in widespread tales (e.g. the British North Borneo [Indonesia] story of Serungal, in which the grateful ants refill the basket with rice spilled from it all over the field). The incident of the dripping lamp (C916.1) is repeated in *The Three Black Princesses* (Grimm #137), where the hero deliberately drops wax from a holy candle on the faces of the sleeping princesses.

In the Aarne-Thompson study of folktale types, *Cupid and Psyche* is a specific form of the more general tale of the search for the lost husband, containing most of the incidents (in its widespread occurrence if not in Apuleius' version) of the latter story. Sometimes the monster is monster by day and man by night. The girl (or her father) promises herself to the monster in return for a favor. The bride removes the enchantment by a kiss and destroys the animal skin. But this is done too soon, or she tells her sisters or otherwise breaks the nuptial tabu (here by looking at him), and is forced to search for him until she wears out a pair of iron shoes. She gets help from various agencies—an old woman, the wind and the stars. Finally she climbs the glass mountain and, in exchange for jewels that she has, is permitted to sit for three nights in her husband's bedroom. On the last night he awakens and they are joyfully reunited.

Such a tale is *Bull-of-all-the-Land* of Jamaica. King Henry is bull by day, but man at night. His wife burns his bull clothes and he leaves her. She accomplishes the task of washing his shirt, is cheated of recognition of the feat by another woman, and at last calls King Henry Bull-of-all-the-Land, a name of his that only she knows.

**curandero** Literally, one who cures; a Spanish term generally used in Middle America to designate the medicine man. The feminine form, *curandera*, is used for women. [GMF]

**cures** The lore of cures leads into the complexities of folk medicine, a science which is the personal property of witch doctors, barbers, shamans, priests, physicians, and surgeons, who in each *Kulturkreis* tend to form corporations which compete with each other and establish conditions under which new members are to be admitted. Folk medicine and folk pharmacopeia are centrally concerned with cures. Their structures are determined by the social, economic, and theological structures of the communities which evolve them. The people of the United States, for example, accept many superstitions about cures and healing if they are disguised. The specific which is "nature" spelled backwards is not presented as something opposed to "nature" but makes use of a device, well known in most of the popular *materia medica*, which involves the reversal of natural (in the sense of customary) acts. This is connected with another set of appeals for specifics that contain "no harsh chemicals" and work the easy, that is to say the natural and good, way. Another set of specifics in folk medicine is made acceptable by the phrases "statistics show . . ." or "science has proved . . ." or "prescribed by many . . ." doctors or hospitals.

The folklore of vitamins is another rich field for the

study of American superstitions about cures and healing. Among communities which are not scientific in the American sense, cures consist in transferring the illness to inanimate objects. An example of this is that warts can be transferred to a stone, to animals, to other human beings, sometimes even to the doctor himself, or in ritualistic performances at times and places which are usually inconvenient, the eating of substances which are not commonly part of the community diet and are often disgusting, distasteful, or hard to get.

Folk ideas about healing, cures, and health are contained in innumerable proverbs and saws: One should eat spinach for iron; sulfur will cleanse the blood in the spring; health will be acquired by going to bed early and getting up early. Sometimes these proverbial instructions work in two directions at the same time. Thus it is argued that "Feed a cold and starve a fever" means that it is proper to feed a cold and proper to starve a fever, or conversely that if you feed a cold you will have a fever to starve. Cures for jaundice touch on a number of salient beliefs in "unscientific" communities. The ancient Hindus are said to have banished yellow jaundice to the yellow sun. Plutarch cured it by looking at a stone curlew with yellow eyes. The modern Greeks are said to put a piece of yellow gold into a jug of wine, expose the wine to the stars for three nights, and then drink the wine at the rate of three glasses a day. Reports from all parts of the world indicate that cures have been effected by the intervention of saints or gods or by faith, prayer, or meditation. [RJS]

The cures performed by shamans from the Guianas to Tierra del Fuego consist essentially in massaging, blowing, and sucking the patients. These operations are often preceded, north of the Amazon, by consultations with spirits. The shaman puts himself into a state of trance and then flies to the land of the spirits to ask their advice or to fight against the witch who caused the illness.

The climax of each cure is however the energetic and often brutal sucking of that region of the body in which the dart or the stone causing the disease is supposed to have lodged. After a while the shaman extracts the pathogenic object and destroys it. This treatment is usually followed by strict fasting on the part of the patient and his family, and by the administration of various drugs. If the patient's soul has been kidnapped, the shaman sends his own soul to discover its whereabouts and to fight against the spirit or the witch who keeps it in captivity. [AM]

**Curetes** In Greek mythology, a group of demigods associated with the Cretan Zeus Curo, the boy-Zeus, and sometimes confused with the Corybantes. The infant Zeus was brought to them to care for and to hide from the jealous Cronus. With the clashing of arms in their war dance, they drowned the infant's cries so that Cronus could not hear him. They may originally have been Cretan youths associated with the celebration of the infant Zeus in a cult manifestation.

**Cú Roi** In Old Irish legend a great wizard of the south of Ireland to whom the three champions of Ulster (Conall, Loegaire, and Cuchulain) went seeking judgment between them. Cú Roi gave the judgment to Cuchulain as first of the heroes of Ireland but the cause was not settled until after the famous beheading

bargain in the *bachlach* (Cú Roi in disguise) and *Cuchulainn*, in which the latter was proved to be the greatest in bravery and integrity of the heroes of Ireland. See *BRICRIU'S FEAST*; *CHAMPION'S PORTION*.

**curse** A malediction; the wishing of evil upon a person; also, the effect of such wishing, and, loosely, any persistent evil. Cursing is practiced by almost every people in the world. A curse invokes a power—divine, demonic, or magical—against which the person cursed has no defense, unless he in some manner propitiates the power or brings to bear against it a stronger power. The curse is dangerous; it must alight, even if after seven years (Irish); it may affect later generations (Greek, Hebrew), or, if laid upon an ancestor, all the relations of the person cursed (Maori). It may however return on the head of the curser, or if sufficiently strong injure both curser and victim, or anyone who hears it. Some curses, a father's or the curse of the dying, are more potent than others; some are intended to affect only the belongings of the accursed, or they may make him ill, or kill him and perhaps damn him to hell forever, depending not only on the strength of the formula used but also on the counterspells of the one cursed. The curse may be a formula with symbol or image accompanying it, and be part of a ritual to secure the death or illness of someone or some group. Curses are thus a kind of spoken magic, spells of evil wished upon others. With the loss of belief in the efficacy of magic, curses become either blasphemy—the fruitless and irreverent invocation of the gods—or a meaningless ritual unless performed by the divine being himself, since man cannot force his will upon the gods.

**Curupira** A famous demon in the mythology of the Tupi-Guarani tribes of the Brazilian coast, who has become very important in the folklore of the *caboclos* (mestizos) of modern Brazil. Curupira is a small demon who walks with upturned feet. As the protector of game animals he is often generous toward those who propitiate him with gifts, but he punishes severely those who show disrespect. Strange noises in the forest are attributed to him. [AM]

**Cwn Annwn** The dogs or hounds of Annwn; in Brythonic mythology, a pack of snow-white, red-eared spectral hounds which sometimes took part in the kidnappings and raids occasionally made on this world by the inhabitants of Annwn. They are associated in Wales with the sound of migrating wild geese, and are said to be leading the souls of the damned to hell. In England, they are called the Gabriel Hounds or Ratchets, sometimes the Yell Hounds. The hunter who rides with them is Gwyn, or Bran, or Arthur, sometimes Gabriel, sometimes Herne the Hunter.

**Cybele** The Great Mother of Phrygia; the Anatolian name of the ancient Mediterranean goddess of nature; goddess of the mountains and forests, of the earth, of reproduction. (Compare *ISHTAR*; *ISIS*; *MA*.) Cybele was identified by the Greeks with Rhea as the wife of Cronus and mother of Zeus; the Romans equated her with Ops. Her cult was brought to Rome in 204 B.C. during the wars against Carthage; it spread throughout the Empire as one of the more important Oriental cults, and existed in Gaul as late as the time of Martin of Tours, the goddess there being known as *Berecynthia*. Cybele, Magna

Mater, appeared in Rome as a black meteoric stone (set as the face of a silver statue); her temple was on the Palatine. Attis, her lover or son, was the human being linked with her, as Tammuz was with Ishtar, etc. The myth of the self-castration of Attis explained the eunuchized priests of the goddess. A wild orgiastic celebration marked the Cybele festival at the Spring equinox. Among the attributes of Cybele were the diadem of towers (she was the founder of cities), the cypress or pine, the lion, and cymbals. See *EUNUCH*.

**Cyclops** (plural *Cyclops* or *Cyclopes*) In Greek mythology, one of a race of giants with one eye in the middle of their foreheads. In Homer, they are wild cannibalistic shepherds, uncivilized, caring nothing for the gods or for men. Their chief is Polyphemus, in whose cave Ulysses and his men were imprisoned. In Hesiod, the Cyclopes are Titanic sons of Uranus and Ge, storm gods, three in number—Arges (the Shiner), Steropes (the Lightning), Brontes (the Thunder)—who were thrown into Tartarus by both Uranus and Cronus and released by Zeus to help him in the battle against Cronus. In gratitude they gave him his thunderbolts and the lightning. They were killed by Apollo for giving Zeus the thunderbolt with which he killed *Æsculapius*. In later tradition, the Cyclopes were the assistants of Hephaestus at his forges under Etna and other volcanoes, helping him make the arms, armor, and metal ornaments of the gods. Their number was increased, new names were added to the old, e.g. Pyracmon, Acamas. Later still, the full circle from Homeric savagery was completed and they were said to have been the builders of the great fortifications of Argos, Tiryns, Mycenæ, who lived in Thrace under their king Cyclops.

The Cyclopes are thought to have been a development of certain Pelasgian quarriers who wore a lantern on the forehead, but this euhemeristic explanation is not quite satisfactory. One-eyed giants are no rarity in folklore. In myths of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Slovenia, there is a variety of div which has only one eye and dwells in caves. The one-eyed giant is found in Welsh and Irish folktales; for example, the Surly One of Lachlann who guards the quicken-tree and is slain by Diarmuid in his flight with Grainne has one eye; the Ainu also have a one-eyed giant. The ascription of prehistoric walls to the Cyclopes finds parallels in the *Riesenstein* or *Teufelsmauer* of Germany, which perhaps are the remnants of Roman walls, but huge ruins in many parts of the world are always "built by giants."

**Cygnus** The Swan; a spectacular constellation "in full flight" in the Milky Way; also called the Northern Cross. It is named from the Greek myth of the boy Cynus, friend of Phaethon, who dove and dove into the river Po trying to retrieve the remnants of his comrade's body. He was transformed by the gods into a celestial swan (Cygnus) as a reward for his devotion. Cygnus is also associated with the myth of Zeus incarnate as the swan who visited and wooed Leda.

But the designation of this constellation is much more ancient than the Greek myths. Possibly our Cygnus, it is thought, is the constellation known as *Urakhga* among the Arabs, prototype of *Sindbad the Sailor's Roc*. Early Christians saw it as the cross of Christ, *Christi Crux*. Today it is as often called the Northern Cross as Cygnus. In China it is sometimes interpreted as one

of the maggies which form the bridge across the Celestial River so that Chih Nü may make her annual visit to her lover.

**cymbals** Paired concave metal plates, with or without rims, sounded by being struck together: used to accompany dancing, dramatic performances, religious ceremonies, prophecy, military processions, etc. They may be held one in each hand, or, in small sizes, clapped together by two fingers of one hand in the manner of castanets. Probably originating in central or western Asia, they were carried east and west by Turkic peoples, noted for their metalworking skill.

Two different sounds are distinguished in many cultures: tinkling and clashing, the former associated with indoor religious or chamber music or dancing, the latter generally with more exciting outdoor rites and processions. There are also two main methods of striking the cymbals with special significance. In Tibet, for example, one type of cymbals is held horizontally and clashed together with a vertical motion in the worship of celestial gods; a second type is held vertically and clapped together with a horizontal motion for earthly divinities. Similar distinctions in playing are noted in ancient Assyria and in kinds of cymbals used in Java and in medieval Europe.

In Israel of the time of David and Solomon, cymbals were a part of the ritual accompaniment for such occasions as the installation of the ark of the covenant, the consecration of the Temple, daily services in the Temple, and prophecies of the priests.

Cymbals were introduced into Greece along with the worship of various western Asiatic goddesses, such as the Phrygian Cybele, whose cult included rites of self-emasculation as a sacrifice for fertility. The clashing metallic music of these ceremonies whipped the participants into an ecstatic state. The feasts of Dionysus took on a similar orgiastic character, and cymbals played a part in the Cretan ceremony of the death and resurrection of this god. Cymbals were also adopted for use in the Greek theater, where they were regarded as effeminate, as are many other types of clappers elsewhere traditionally used by women.

In Rome, cymbals played an important part in the spring festival of Attis, the lover or son of Cybele, and in the march of the eunuch priests of the cult. The self-emasculation, death, and resurrection of Attis were dramatized by a wholesale castration of priests and by a secret sacrament in which the novice ate from a drum and drank from a cymbal, instruments associated with Attis.

China adopted cymbals, probably from Turkestan, early in the Middle Ages, and for centuries they have served in temples there. Examples found in Mongolian temples are unusually large.

Invading Huns may have carried cymbals to India about the 5th century A.D. The instrument has become associated in Hindu mythology with the sirenlike Kinaras, with Ravana, king of the demons of night, and

even with Vishnu, who clashes cymbals to the dance of the death goddess, Bhadrakali, and Isvara the Destroyer.

The marionette or shadow plays of Burma are performed to tinkling music in which cymbals figure prominently, and Balinese orchestras include a number of cymbalists, whose instruments, onomatopoeically named *tjeng-tjeng*, produce an elaborate polyrhythm.

Both Ethiopian and Coptic churches use cymbals, blind singers of the Coptic chant accompanying themselves. The instrument was used by dancers in ancient Egypt also, where it was imported from Greece.

Origen, a father of the early Christian Church, gave symbolic interpretations to the instruments used in the services of his time (3rd century A.D.), and to him the cymbals represented "the eager soul enamored of Christ." In England, a 12th century writer, Ailred, complained of the noise of cymbals in church, where, he said, the simple folk stood bewildered.

Europe first saw cymbals in the hands of invading Avars and Huns, and later associated them with the battle music of Turkish janissaries, so that even now cymbals are used in musical composition to give a barbaric, oriental, or "Turkish" atmosphere. [rch]

**Cynthia** In classical mythology, a name of Artemis from Mount Cynthus on the island of Delos, where she was born; hence, the moon. Apollo who also was born there is sometimes called Cynthius. There are on Mount Cynthus the remains of a temple to Zeus Cynthus and Athena Cynthia.

**cypress** An evergreen tree of southern Europe, western Asia, and the southern United States. It is the emblem of generation, death, the immortal soul, and woe. The island of Cyprus was named for this tree and the early inhabitants worshipped it as a personification of the goddess Beroth. The Greeks and Romans assigned it to the god of the underworld, the Fates, and the Furies. In the *Zend-Avesta* it was sacred because Ormazd's word was first carved on it. According to Parsi tradition Zoroaster planted a cypress, so they are planted at the gates of Zoroastrian temples. According to Ovid it was sacred to Apollo. It is revered by the Chinese because its roots grow in the form of a seated man.

The Athenians used cypress wood for the coffins of heroes and it was used by the Egyptians for mummy cases. From it were made Cupid's darts, Jove's scepter, the club of Hercules, the pillars of Solomon's temple, and the cross of Christ.

If a man ate the seeds for a long time he was sure to become strong, healthy, and young, and it sharpened his senses. The fruit is good for dysentery, diarrhea, and will stop blood-spitting, bleeding of the gums, and will tighten loose teeth.

There are many stories as to its origin: it is one of the three seeds given to Seth by an angel to plant under Adam's tongue after he had died; Zoroaster brought a shoot from Heaven; in other places it is believed to be any one of various people who were turned into trees by the gods.



**Dā** The serpent deity of Dahomey, West Africa: symbol of all that is dā, i.e. living and sinuous, and thus by extension, of fortune, which is conceptualized as sinuous, in the sense that it slips away and is, therefore, treacherous. Everything that has life has the quality of dā, the roots of a tree, the umbilical cord of animal and human forms being examples of this. Compare DAM-BALLA; DANGBÈ. [MJH]

**Da or Dab-lha** The enemy-defeating god who sits on the right shoulder of every Tibetan: the greatest of the familiars by whose worship enemies are overcome. The Da is clothed in golden mail, flies through the clouds on a white horse, and carries in his left hand a blue-bladed, flame-bordered spear with two eyes. He is accompanied by a black dog, a black bear, and a man-monkey. From his shoulders spring a lion and a tiger.

**da-cha or dar-lch'og** The Tibetan luck or prayer flag: inscribed with pious sentences, prayers, and charms, and flown above every Lāmaist settlement as a luck-commanding talisman. The prayer flags are printed on unglazed, tough paper and sold by the lāmas. The planting of such flags confers merit on the planter and benefits the entire countryside. There are four types of flags: the Lung-rta or airy horse, the Chō-pén, the Gyal-tsan dsemo, and the gLañ-po stob-rgyas.

The airy horse or Lung-rta is four to six inches long with the figure of a horse in the center surrounded by text. It is hung on ridges of houses and near dwellings. One for each member of a household is flown on the third day of each lunar month. The Lung-rta is also sometimes hung on the branch of a tree or on a bridge, and a little flour, grain, flesh, and beer are offered to the local god at the same time. The Chō-pén is eight to ten inches long and narrow in width. It contains only texts and is fastened to twigs or bridges or planted on sticks on the tops of hills. The Gyal-tsan dsemo is similar to the Lung-rta, but contains more holy texts and usually includes the eight glorious symbols (the Golden Fish, Umbrella, Conch-shell Trumpet, Lucky Diagram, Victorious Banner, Vase, Lotus, and Wheel). It promotes power, health, and wealth. The gLañ-po stob-rgyas is the vast flag pasted to the walls of houses or worn folded up as a charm and is planted at specified times whenever anyone is unhappy or troubled by demons.

**Dactyls** In Greek mythology, fabulous smiths who dwelt on Mount Ida in Phrygia or in Crete: often confused with the Curetes, Corybantes, Cabeiri, Telchines. Their number is indefinite: five, ten, fifty-two, one hundred; six giants and their five sisters, or 32 magicians and 20 countermagicians; their names are just as vague. Perhaps originally there were three: Celmus, Damnameus, Acmon. They were connected with the worship of Rhea in Phrygia. The Dactyls discovered iron and the means of working it; they were magicians, the inventors of the Ephesian incantations. Their names

had a certain potency, being uttered as magical words when people were suddenly frightened.

**daddy-long-legs or granddaddy-long-legs** A long and slender-legged, insect-eating arachnid of the order *Phalangida*: in some sections of America, called straddlebug, in England called harvestman. In England harvesters take care not to injure one. If one is killed, there will be a poor harvest, or one of the reapers will be injured. In England and America generally, the belief is that killing a daddy-long-legs causes the cows to go dry. It is also quite general folk belief that a daddy-long-legs will point out lost cattle. They say "Granddaddy, granddaddy, which way did my old cows go?" at the same time holding it by one or more legs. In answer Granddaddy lifts up one or more legs and that is the direction to go to find the cattle. Another rime goes: Grandfather gray/ tell me right away/ Where the cows are/ Or I'll kill you./ In New England children wish on a daddy-long-legs for good luck. In the Ozarks, they say the daddy-long-legs deposits its eggs on bats which hatch out into bedbugs. Some say that the odor of the Granddaddy when trodden upon is similar to that of a bedbug. [GFS]

**Dædala** The name of certain festivals in ancient Bœotia. The explanatory myth says that Hera and Zeus once quarreled and Hera fled in a huff to Eubœa. Zeus was unable to get her to come back and decided to trick her. He dressed a carved oak-trunk as a bride and had the news spread that he would remarry. As the procession with the mock bride passed Mt. Cithæron, Hera descended in fury, ripping the clothes from the statue. She was so pleased at the deception that the two were reconciled.

Every six years or so, the people of Platæa went to an ancient oak grove where, by means of food snatched by ravens, they would decide which trees to fell for images. These dædala were then carried in a cart to the river Asopus and back to Platæa. This Little Dædala was succeeded every sixty years by the Great Dædala. Then all Bœotia joined in the celebration; all fourteen images collected during the minor festivals were apportioned to the different cities; the images were transported to the top of Mt. Cithæron where they were burned on a carefully constructed altar along with sacrifices to Zeus and Hera.

**Dædalus** The cunning great craftsman of the mythology of Greece, especially that of Athens and Crete, the first artist and sculptor, a descendant of Hephestus. His nephew Talus (sometimes called Calos or Perdix) was his first pupil, and in time surpassed his master, inventing the saw and the potter's wheel. The jealous Dædalus threw him from the Acropolis, or tossed him into the sea. Condemned to death for the crime by the Areopagus, Dædalus fled to the court of Minos in Crete. There he constructed the cow-disguise for Pasiphae and built the Labyrinth for the Minotaur. Because of his

complicity in this affair, or because he helped Theseus escape from the maze, he was imprisoned in it with his son Icarus. Escaping, perhaps with Pasiphae's aid, he found all shipping barred to him by Minos' order. With wax, he fashioned wings for himself and the boy, and although Icarus fell to his death Dædalus escaped to Italy and then to Sicily, where he was entertained by Cocalus. The pursuing Minos was killed by Cocalus and his daughters.

Throughout the Mediterranean lands, many buildings and works of art were attributed to Dædalus. The name Dædala was given to a type of gilded wooden statuery, colored and draped; his name was applied to a whole period of early Greek art. Compare JEALOUS CRAFTSMAN AND HIS APPRENTICE.

**Daemon Lover** A variant title, e.g. used by Scott, for the ballad *James Harris*.

**daēva** (1) In Hinduism and Buddhism, a *dēva*; a divine being.

(2) In Zoroastrianism, a demon, personification of sin, distress, and disease: etymologically identical with the Sanskrit *dēva* but diametrically opposite in meaning. The *daēvas* are the seed of darkness created by Angra Mainyu from evil thought to war against mankind and good. They are usually bodiless but can appear in human form and lurk about ready to pounce upon anyone who comes under their power. The *daēvas* abound in the vicinity of dakhmahs and haunt foul places. They are especially numerous in the Alburz chain and south of the Caspian Sea. Their number is infinite but they equal the number of divine forces created by Ahura Mazda. Zoroaster's mission was to banish the *daēvas*. They hid beneath the earth at his birth, but later returned. Their leader is Angra Mainyu whose six archfiends command the legions of *daēvas*. The modern Persian name for them is *div*.

**daffodil**, **Lent Lily**, or **goose lek** A plant (genus *Narcissus*) having solitary yellow flowers. Pliny and others wrote that the asphodel, whose name has been corrupted into daffodil, grew on the banks of Acheron, delighting the spirits of the dead. It was also said to cover the Elysian Fields which may account for the practice of planting daffodils on graves. There is the childhood jingle common to English-speaking countries:

Daffadowndilly has come to town

In a yellow petticoat and a green gown.

In Maine they say that if you point at a daffodil it will not bloom. On the Isle of Man daffodils are called goose leeks, and it is considered unlucky to bring them into the house until the goslings are hatched. In Wales they say that if you find the first bloom of the season, you will have more gold than silver that year.

**dagā'ōnq** The chicken dance of the Iroquois Indians; a social dance. At the end of each song the singer crows like a cock. The step formation and music are as for the *gēdzōnq*, the fish dance, with a few added special features. The women line up in the beginning, join in the singing, and each chooses a male partner. They dance in single, not in double couples. [GPK]

**Dagda** The "good god" of Old Irish mythology; chief of the Tuatha Dé Danann; father of Angus Og and Brigit. He possessed an inexhaustible caldron, which came from the mythical city of Murias and was counted

as one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann. He also had two marvelous swine (one always cooking, the other always living), and ever-laden fruit trees.

He is said to be named for his prowess: he boasted that he alone would perform all the wonders which the druids were promising that the Tuatha Dé were to work against the Fomorians. "Thou art *dag dae*, the good hand," they said to him. But J. A. MacCulloch states that the name more likely means good god. He is also referred to as creator and great father.

In the Battle of Mag Tured the Dagda killed uncountable numbers of the Fomorians. Wherever his spear trailed on the ground a deep ditch was marked. After the Battle of Mag Tured the Fomorians took captive the harper of the Dagda. Lúg, Dagda, and Ogma went after them into their camp. When they entered the building, Dagda saw his harp hanging on the wall, invoked it, and it flew into his hand and killed nine Fomorians as it passed. He then played "the three strains," i.e. the strain of Sorrowing, the strain of Laughter, and of Sleep. The last put the Fomorians to sleep, and the Dagda, with Lúg and Ogma, passed out unchallenged. After this he divided up the hills and mounds (*side*) of Ireland among the Tuatha Dé Danann. His own *sid* was the Brú na Boinne, later taken over by his son Angus Og. Later myth says that the Dagda died, that Bodb Dearg divided the *side* among them, and that Manannán gave them immortality.

MacCulloch states that Dagda is probably an early agricultural deity, since he is known to have had power over corn and milk, and suggests that possibly he was some local form of Cromm Crúac, to whom sacrifices were made in return for corn and milk.

**Dagon** The so-called "fish god" of the Philistines and Phœnicians. Dagon of Babylonia and Assyria, although no definite connection with Dagon has been shown, is believed to be the same god of agriculture, brought to both areas by the Amorites. Popularly Dagon is thought to have been human in form from the waist up, and fish from the waist down; the tradition stems from the derivation of the name from the word for *fish* by St. Jerome and medieval Jewish scholars. Little or no evidence supports this conception; no early representation of a fish god carries Dagon's name, and those merman-like figures which have been preserved are probably depictions of Ea, the water god. More probable is the derivation of Dagon from the word for *corn*, making of him an earth god more or less identifiable with Bel; his name occurs in context where Bel's often appears, e.g. in connection with Anu.

**Dagowe** The variant of Dangbe heard in coastal Dahomey, West Africa and, in the New World, in Dutch Guiana and certain localities of Haiti. [MJH]

**Dähnhardt, Oskar** (1870-1915) German teacher and mythologist. His *Natursagen* (four volumes, 1907-1912) is a very complete collection of animal tales with commentary and discussion. It contains a good treatment of legends based on the Old Testament, some of which may still be heard in contemporary oral tales. Dähnhardt was rector of the Nikolaischule in Leipzig from 1910. Among his books are *Heimatklänge aus deutschen Gauen* (1910), *Deutsches Märchenbuch* (1914), *Naturgeschichtliche Volksmärchen* (1912), and *Schwänke aus aller Welt* (1908).



**dahut** A traditional hunting quarry in France—sometimes a bird, sometimes an animal—in either case the medium for a practical joke played on an unsuspecting person. The practice is also observed in North Africa. Dahut hunting is comparable to our American snipe hunt, in which the tenderfoot is primed with wonderful tales of the hunt, given a sack to gather in the game while his companions beat the bush, and then left literally holding the bag until he finally sees he has been tricked after hours of waiting. In the standard version of the hunt, the butt of the joke is told that the snipe is attracted by light, and is stationed with bag and lantern in a lonely place at night. His companions then go off to beat the bush, they say, and frighten the snipe towards the light. Instead they go home quietly to bed, while the “sucker” waits in momentary expectation of bagging a snipe.

**daina** (plural: Latvian *dainas*; Lithuanian *dainos*) The word for “song” to the Latvians and Lithuanians. The word is probably cognate with Vedic Sanskrit *dhēnā* or Celtic *daena*; “to sing” is in Sanskrit *diyati*, and in Lithuanian *dainuoti*. (Compare S.G. Oliphant in *J.A.O.S.* 32 (1912): 393–413.) Another name for every serious song was *dziemas* (Latvian) or *giesmė* (Lithuanian), plural *dziemas* and *giesmės* respectively. By *giesmė* the Lithuanians meant the rare old contrapuntal secular dancing and work songs. Among the Džūkai of southern Lithuania all serious singing is still called *giesmė*. In modern Lithuanian literature the secular song is always called *daina*, and the term *giesmė* is used for religious hymns. The new, long Latvian folk songs of balladic or epic nature are called *singes* (compare German *singen*, to sing).

The *daina*, Lithuanian and Latvian folk song, is the most important creation of their folklore. The songs of each country are, however, distinct in their form and content and also melody; therefore they must be treated separately. Only the mythological songs and ballads show any considerable similarity; the great mass of other songs are quite different. [JØ]

**Daire mac Fiachna** In Old Irish legend, a chief of Ulster; owner of the Brown Bull of Cuailgne. Daire really caused the War for the Brown Bull. After promising to lend the bull to Queen Medb of Connacht for a year, he refused him to the messengers who came to lead him to Medb. The reason was that one of them, drunk at the feast, had been overheard to say that Daire was a fool to lend Medb the bull since Medb would take it by force if he refused her. So Daire refused, and Medb and her hosts advanced into Ulster to take it. See CUCHULAIN.

**daisy** Either of two plants, the ox-eye daisy (*Chrysanthemum leucanthemum*) which grows wild in America and parts of Europe, and the smaller English daisy (*Bellis perennis*) which grows wild in Europe: from Old English *dages ege*, day's eye, because it closes at night.

The ox-eye daisy is sacred to St. John and is used in decoration for Midsummer's Night ceremonies. It is also sacred to Mary Magdalen and is said to have sprung from her tears. It was used as a cure for ulcers, lunacy, and wounds of the chest. The Slovaks used them as a cure for toothache. The North American

Mohegan Indians made a wine of the flowers for a spring tonic.

The English daisy is sacred to St. Margaret of Antioch, probably by association with the name of the flower in French, *marguerite*. It was used as a cure for severe pains such as gout and rheumatism. The juice of the leaves and roots was taken through the nose to cure migraine and to clear the head.

An emblem of fidelity, the daisy is often used in love divination. Children pluck the petals from the daisy, repeating, “She loves me, she loves me not,” or “This year, next year, sometime, never,” which tells when marriage will come. In England a girl plucks a handful of grass with her eyes closed. The number of daisies in the bunch tells when she will be married. It is considered lucky to step on the first one of the season, but it is unlucky to uproot them, or the children in the house will not prosper. It was believed that if daisies were fed to a puppy in milk, it would not grow large, and a nursing child should not touch one lest it stunt his growth.

**Daitya** In Hindu mythology, an asura descended from Diti and Kaśyapa, the grandson of Brahmā. The name is used interchangeably with asura. Compare DĀNAVA.

**Dajoji** In Iroquois Indian mythology, Panther, the west wind. He was called by Ga-oh into the sky to fight the storms. Dajoji the Panther is strong enough to fell forests, support the whirlwind, whip up the waves of the sea, and control tempests. Even the sun hides his face when he hears the snarl of Dajoji in the night.

**Daksha** In Vedic mythology, an Āditya: as both the son and father of Aditi, the male principle or creative force. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, Daksha is identified with the creator Prajāpati: according to the *Mahābhārata*, he sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā. His daughters numbered 24, 50, or 60. Ten of these he gave to Dharma, 13 to Kaśyapa, 27 to Soma, and one married Śiva. The wives of Kaśyapa and Dharma became the mothers of gods, men, demons, and all living things; the wives or Soma became the Nakṣatras.

The story of Daksha's sacrifice appears frequently in Hindu literature. In the *Mahābhārata*, the gods decided to perform a sacrifice and Daksha undertook the duty. The gods apportioned the sacrifice but, not knowing Śiva, omitted a share for him. Śiva, enraged, shot through the sacrifice which then took refuge in heaven. Then he broke the teeth of Pūshan and the arms of Savitrī, and tore out Bhaga's eyes. The rishis and gods propitiated him and gave him a share of the sacrifice, whereupon he restored the three whom he had injured in his wrath. According to the *Purāṇas*, the sacrifice was instituted by the gods to Vishṇu, but Śiva was not invited. Śiva's wife, Umā, urged her husband to show his power. A catastrophe followed in which the gods and demigods were struck with arrows or run through with swords. Only when Daksha propitiated the deity was peace restored.

**Dalai Lāma** (Tibetan *rGya-mtsho*) The highest ranking monk of Tibet, believed to be an incarnation of Bodhisattva Padmapāni (Avalokita) whose spirit passes into a child at the death of each Dalai Lāma. The identity of the child, who must be born at least 49 days after the demise of the former chief monk, is deter-

mined by divination. The child thus chosen is made a novice at the age of four, and when he is seven or eight he becomes a monk and the titular head of Lāmaism.

The first Dalai Lāma was Nag-dban-blo-bzav rGya-mts'o who was given his title by the emperor of China. He made his counselor, the abbot of Tāshi-lhunpo monastery, second in power as the Tāshi Lāma who is the incarnation of Amitābha.

**dalang** The Balinese story-teller; narrator of the story, impersonator of the characters, and manipulator of the puppets in the famous shadow plays. He also chants the stories enacted in the legong.

**Damballa or Damballa Wedo** The powerful serpent deity of the Rada pantheon of Haitian vodun gods. This being is much beloved by the Haitians, but is held greatly in awe. He is identified, by the process of syncretism, with St. Patrick, and is especially worshipped on Thursdays. He forms the rainbow which is regarded as an *arc d'alliance* between him and Aida Wedo, his wife. [MJU]

**Dame Lombarde** A French-Canadian *complainte* with a historical basis: almost unique for antiquity in folk song. It is the story of Rosmonde, wife of a Lombard king, and later of one of his officers. She attempted to poison her second husband at Ravenna in 573, but was forced to share with him the wine she had poisoned with snake venom. The song followed an unusual route in its travels, going from Italy up through France, and finally reaching French Canada in two separate versions brought by the early settlers.

**Damon and Pythias** In classical folktale, two friends of Syracuse. When the tyrant Dionysius I condemned Pythias (or Phintias) to death, Damon offered himself as hostage while his friend went to his home to settle his affairs before death. Just as the time expired, Pythias returned and released his friend from the pledge. Dionysius, struck by this loyalty, pardoned Pythias and asked to be made one of their friendship. There are retellings of the story in which the roles of the friends are reversed.

**Danae** In Greek mythology, the mother of Perseus; a daughter of Acrisius of Argos, to whom an oracle foretold that his daughter would give birth to a son who would kill Acrisius. The king shut her up in a brazen tower where Zeus, who took a fancy to the maiden, visited her as or in a shower of gold. When Acrisius discovered Danae and the newborn Perseus, he had them placed in a chest and cast out to sea. The chest floated to Seriphus where its occupants were rescued by Dictys, the brother of Polydectes, king of the island. Later, Polydectes became so pressing in his suit to Danae that she fled to a sacred altar, where he besieged her until Perseus turned him to stone with Medusa's head. In Latin legend, Danae came to Latium and was one of the ancestors of Turnus. See PERSEUS.

**Danaus** In Greek mythology, the father of the fifty Danaides. Danaus was a son of Belus, king of Egypt, and Anchioe, and twin of Ægyptus. He fled to Argos, the home of his ancestress Io, with his daughters and became king there. But the fifty sons of Ægyptus followed and Danaus was forced to permit his daughters

to marry them. However, he gave each of his daughters a knife and told them to kill their husbands on the wedding night. All obeyed except one, Hypermnestra, who spared her lover Lynceus. (Amyone and Berbyce are, in other tradition, said to have refrained also.) Lynceus then slew Danaus and his daughters and became king of Argos: this is the more common story; but Pindar says that Danaus offered the girls as wives to those winning in the races. Amyone was the mother of Nauplius by Poseidon, so that others besides Hypermnestra must have been spared by Lynceus. The daughters were condemned in Hades to fill a sieve or bottomless jar with water from broken pitchers, probably in an effort to obtain sufficient water for a purifying bath.

**Dānava** In Hindu mythology, an asura descended from Dānu and Kaśyapa, the grandson of Brahmā. The name is used interchangeably with asura.

**dança do Gencbrés** A Portuguese ceremonial dance for men, performed at the *romaria* or pilgrimage of Na. Sra. dos Altos Ceus at Lousa (Beira Baixa). It resembles the *dança do Rei David* in the self-accompaniment on stringed instruments, but retains more characteristics of the Mouriscada, in the tall mauresque shakos, and the unsheathing of a sword by the leader. Two men dressed as girls dance between the two lines of dancers (evidence of ancient fertility symbolism). [GR]

**dance: folk and primitive** Folk dance is communal reaction in movement patterns to life's crucial cycles. Its true magico-religious function concerns preservation of the individual and the race. Natural cultures dance from the cradle to the grave; mechanized society, for sociability and diversion.

Ritual tends towards crystallization and secularization. Yet even European peasant dances retain vestiges of their symbolism. In Iberia and Latin America dance remains a vital festal expression; the American Indian clings to many of his traditional rituals. In Africa and Haiti life and dance are integrated. Native tribes throughout the world celebrate in dance the cycles of man's life and of the seasons.

The same dance may serve all occasions, as the *Rutuburi* of the Tarahumara Indians in Chihuahua, Mexico. Or a special dance may have a circumscribed function, as the *Deer Dance* of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Rarely are purposes in special compartments. Fecundity of human, animal, and plant, impersonations, demon exorcism, cure, and death, all blend into one concept. The conflict of the seasons becomes a battle mime, identified with the resurrection of all things living and divine. Enigmatic symbol of this fusion is the sacred clown, priestlike among aborigines, but banished to the circus in the modern world.

These universal functions of folk dance vary according to climate, geographical conditions, and temperament. Despite identity of certain steps and formations, every continent, nation, tribe has its distinctive style. Trade and conquest transfer small elements or entire rites which often blend with native practices, thus uniting distant cultures.

The following bald statements list examples of 1)

Universality of Purpose, 2) Racial Personality, 3) Acculturation, 4) Comparative Choreography. Detailed descriptions are distributed through the dictionary.

### I. Purposes of Dance Rites Puberty Initiation

South Seas—Samoa, Formosa, Andaman Islands, New Guinea; Fiji Islanders *Ruku-Ruku*.

Africa—Dapangos, Bagos: circumcision, men's and boys' secret societies.

South America—Incas: *Waracikoy* rites.

Bolivia: Aymara maturity rites.

Argentina: Puelche and Tehuelche girls' puberty.

East Brazil: Fulnio girls' puberty.

Archipelago: Yaghan boys and girls.

Chaco: Mataco, Toba, Lengua, Choroti *Kausima* rite—women and boys dramatize attack and defeat of evil spirits.

Chamacaco *Anapösö*—resembles *Kina* and *Klöketen* rites.

Venezuela: Maipure *Mduari*—similar to Mataco, etc.

Arizona—Papago *Wakita*.

Apache *Crown Dance*—*gahe*.

California—all tribes.

### Courtship

The innumerable dances of sexual selection and attraction will be listed according to countries. Though commonly regarded as the folk dance, actually they form only one category.

The drama of love varies from pursuit and capture to rejection; from Hungary's emphatic arrogance to Scandinavia's demureness; from the frank obscenities of primitive tribes to the cool proximity of square dances. Sometimes men or women display prowess and allurements separately. Usually both sexes mingle in simple rounds, complex figure dances, or embrace.

Children's games retain courtship play—*Here Come Three Dukes a-Riding, Here We Come Up the Green Grass*. Fan and kerchief feature skilfully, the former in Japan, Burma, Spain, the latter in Algiers, the Philippines, Malay Peninsula, Russia, Spain, Bohemia, England, Peru, Chile, Mexico.

### Friendship

Australia—aborigines—*Molonga* corroboree.

Polynesia—Maori *Haka*, welcoming dance to visitors.

Denmark—*Dance of Fellowship*.

Sweden—*Nigarepolskan*.

Bohemia—*Minet*.

Mexico—Canaguas—welcome to guest.

American Indian—Sauk and Fox *Friendship Dance*, Chippewa and Menominee *Drum Presentation Ceremony*. *Give Away Dances*.

### Weddings

General social dancing at weddings is a common practice.

Special dances are: Jewish *Broyges Tanz*, Yugoslav *Scatovač*, Polish *Wesele U Witosa*, Swiss *Lauterbach*, Valencian *Ball de Casament*, Basque *Purrusalda*, Norwegian *Kyndeldans* (Torch Dance), Mexican *Xochipitzahua* (a Huastec Huapango).

Hungary's many wedding dances include: *Bride's Dance* (Mennyasszony Tánc), *Cook's Dance* (Szakacass-

zonyok Tánc), *Turks' Dance* (Törökös Tánc), *Dawnfire Dance* (Hajnaltűz Tánc).

German bride and groom mime farm labors.

The Oraons of India precede a wedding by a *Wedding of the Dead*, a *Wedding of Earth Mother and Sun God*, and a *War Dance*.

### Occupations

Work dances are functional, magico-mimetic, or recreative. The African Dahomean *Dokpwe* achieves efficient rhythmic unison in cooperative work, as also its descendants, the Haitian *Combite* and *Société Congo*, and similar work to drum and song in the Virgin Islands, Jamaica, and some of the Sea Islands off the Georgia coast. Among the Colombian *Paéz-Moqueux* work is ceremonially performed.

Many mimetic work dances portray cultivation of the fields, sowing, harvesting. Medieval guilds mimed each of their professions in festive processions, some still preserved in European folk dances.

Japan, Philippines, Madagascar—rice-planting (Philippine *Balitao*).

South America—Colonial Quechua of Arequipa—woolcutters with shears.

Europe—Spain: *La Filada* (women spinning).

Portugal: *Dança dos alfaiates* (tailors), *dos ferreiros* (smiths). *Llaço dos ofícios* from *Dança dos Paulitos*.

Germany: *Webertanz* (weavers), Nürnberg *Metzgertanz* (butchers), Munich *Schäfflertanz* (coopers). *Schneidertanz* (tailors).

France: old *Branle des Hermites*, *Branle des Lavedières* (laundresses).

Hungary: *Szénagyűjtés* (hay-making).

Denmark: *Shoemaker's Dance*, *Linen*, *Tinker's Dance*, *Washing the Clothes*.

Sweden: singing games—*Vafna Vadna* (weaving), *Skorda Linet* (Reap Flax).

England: *Cobbler's Jig*, *Sailor's Hornpipe*.

Mexico—Tlaxcala: *Jarabe Tlaxcalteco* (making of atole).

Jalisco: *Las Espuelas* (horseback-riding).

### Vegetation

The growth of crops, mainstay of life, is furthered by invoking benevolent powers and warding off spirits of destruction. The orgiastic festivals often attending these rites also serve the propagation of the race.

*Planting and Growth*

Africa—Nilotic Lango: *Bell Dance* for rain.

Ecuador—Inca: *Wayara* to influence Frost, Air, Water, Sun.

Mexico: Festivals for Xilonen, Cinteotl, etc., of ancient Aztecs.

*Volador*, *Quetzales* of Puebla, Veracruz, Hidalgo, Guatemala.

*Tlacololeros* of Guerrero.

*Las Sembradoras* (with baskets) of Michoacán.

*Rain Dances* of Huichol and Tarahumara Indians.

U. S. Indians—Papago *Wiikita*.

All Pueblos: *Kachina* for health of crops and tribe.

Hopi: *Powamu* (Bean Planting). Alternate *Flute* and *Snake-Antelope Ceremonies*.

Zufii: Ceremonial *Kokochi*.

San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Acoma, Taos, etc.: *Green Corn* or *Saint's Day*, alias *Tablita Dance*.

Cochiti: *Basket Dance*.

- Santa Clara: *Rainbow Dance, Race of the Rain Clouds*.  
 Santo Domingo: *K'aiyak'ayet*.  
 Shawnee: *Bread Dance*.  
 Iroquois: *Planting Festival, Thunder rite*.  
 Europe—Poland: *Zasial Gorale* (sowing of rye and oats).  
 Germany: *Springtanz*. Games—*Alle Vögel Sind schon da; Dornröschen; Im Sommer, im Sommer*.  
 France: medieval *Carole, Espringale*; modern *Les Saisons* of Dauphiné; *La Chouade* of Gascony (oats).  
 England: *Bean Setting of Morris*. Games—*Oranges and Lemons, Oats and Beans and Barley Grow*.  
 Harvest  
 India—Mundas: *Sohorai Festival*, after *Lashua* or *Karam* dances.  
 Palestine: wine-treading dances, *Lag B'Omer* for harvest, ancient *Feast of Tabernacles*.  
 Europe  
 Russia: *Polyanka, Moldavanetz, Bulba Dance* (potato).  
 Lithuania: *Ruguciai* (rye), *Kubilas* (The Tub), *Agunele* (poppy).  
 Finland: *Harvest Dance* with scythes and rakes.  
 Ireland: *Port an Fogmair* (harvest jig).  
 Greece, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, France: wine-treading dances.  
 South America—Peru: *Ayriwa* of Quechua.  
 Venezuela: *Tura* of Churuguara.  
 U. S. Indians  
 Iroquois: *Strawberry, Raspberry, Green Bean Festivals*.  
 Fox, Delaware: *Bean Dance*.  
 Creek: *Bush Festival*.  
 Shawnee, Delaware, Cherokee, Yuchi, Iroquois: *Green Corn Festival*.

#### Astronomical Dances

Sun, moon, stars are objects of worship both among agricultural and nomadic races, as in the *Moon Dance* at the North African Feast of Ramadan, the *Astronomical Dance* of the Egyptians, the *Sun Dance* of the Incas, still performed in Bolivia, the Arizona Papago *Ciwiltkona*, the Plains Indians *Sun Dance*, with its curative and heroic aspects, the *Sun Dance* of the Dené and Salish of Canada. In their *Eclipse Dance* the Dené tried to restore the light of the sun. The sun's course, by determining the seasons, influences human activity: hunting in the winter, agriculture in the summer. Many rites celebrate solstice and equinox. For instance:

Solstice	
Winter (return of sun)	Summer (sun turns north again)
Inca <i>Inti raymi</i> (June 21).	<i>Kapaj raymi</i> (December 21).
Keres <i>Hanyiko</i> (December 21).	<i>Hanyikikya</i> (June 21).
Scandinavian <i>Jul</i> .	<i>Midsomervaka</i>
	Pagan vestige— <i>Johannisfeuer, Foguerinha de São João, St. Ivan's Fire</i> (Hungary), <i>Bonfire Dance</i> (Ireland).
Christian <i>Christmas, Epiphany Pastorales</i>	Christian <i>Corpus Christi</i> .
<i>Mummers Plays</i>	

Other ecclesiastical festivals have been identified with pagan ones—Carnival coincides with the pagan expulsion of Winter; Easter and May Day, with further rituals of seasonal resurrection, corresponding to the Egyptian *Osiris rite* and Greek *Orgia* of Dionysus Dithyrambus. Holy Cross, May 3, corresponds with the Quechua *Ayriwa*, harvest fiesta.

*Voladores* fly most often at Corpus Christi and around the Autumn equinox.

*Moriscas* take place most frequently at Carnival and Corpus Christi.

#### Hunting

Hunting dances achieve hypnotic power and propitiate the spirit of the animal by 1) imitation; 2) hunting mime—usually both.

India—*Jadura* Festivals of Mundas; *Arrow Dance* of Veddas of Ceylon.

Africa—Yammasoukro *Antelope Dance*, with two sacred hunters.

South America—Aymara *Çogela* fertility rite with mime of vicuña hunt.

Mexico—Tantoyuca, Veracruz *Hunters' Dance*.

Huichol, Mayo-Yaqui *Deer Dance*, the latter (*Maso*) with *Coyote* and *Pascalas*.

Indians of United States—Yuma *Deer Dance*.

Pueblos of New Mexico, Plains *Buffalo, Deer Dance, Bow and Arrow Dance*.

Onondaga *Da Ga Yak*.

Miwok *Kalea* (Bow and Arrow Dance).

Yurok *White Deerskin*.

Eskimos—Baffin Land *Chukchee* women and shaman release seals.

Alaska Tigara *Nalukutuk* (whale hunt feast).

#### Animal Mime

In addition to their function in hunting, animal impersonations have a demonic role:

1) in fertility and vegetation rites:

Africa—Ongaladougou *Thunder Dance*.

South America—Puberty Rites.

California—*Kuksu-Hesi* rites: Maidu, Pomo, etc.

Europe—*Bugios*, associated with Portuguese *Mouriscada*.

*Schiachen Perchten* associated with Salzburg *Schönperchten* (ugly and beautiful Perchten, respectively).

Carnavalesque *Wild Men*.

Mexico—Guerrero *Tecuanes* (tigers) associated with Tlacololeros (planters).

*Visionados* of Huixquilucan, Mexico, Carnival: snake symbol carried by *Malinche*, man-woman.

U.S.—*Snake Dance* of Shoshonean Hopi, Comanche, and Ottawa with live snakes; of Fox, Sauk, Cherokee in figuration (now social).

*Eagle*: Zuñi, Tesuque (and other pueblos), Comanche, Fox, Cherokee; Iroquois *Gane'gwa'e*.

*Turtle*: Isleta, Maidu.

Goat, Cock, Bull are fertility symbols from the Greek ancient *Komos* to Yaqui *Pascal*, from Santal *Cock Dance* to Portuguese and Keresan *Rooster Pull*, from the horned *Dionysus Zagreus* to the Mexican *Mixtec Pachecos* (cowboys) with two men-women, Puebla *Toreadores*, and Tewa *Matachines*.

The horse as hobby horse has appeared since the

Middle Ages in May Day and Carnival festivities, and still in connection with *Moriscas*.

- 2) In totemic worship—Australian aboriginal emu, kangaroo, frog, opossum; Kwakiutl wolf, etc.
- 3) For cure—Fox, Iroquois *Bear, Buffalo*; Plains *Buffalo*; Huichol *Deer*. The *Bear* has power from the Sun and transfers it to the Plains shaman.
- 4) As emblem of Indian war society (not always mimetic)—notably Kit Fox, Badger, Little Dogs, Big Dogs; less often Bear, Buffalo.
- 5) As symbol of divine spirit—Dahomean fetishers: *Damballah Wedo* (snake), *Chebo* (tiger), *Agasu* (panther); Haitian *loa* of vodun cults; Mashacali *parrot dance* and Apinayé, Sherente, Northern Cayapó *great anteater masquerades* (eastern Brazil).

Their nature depends on habitat: Nigerian ogorodo bird; Tibetan tiger, lion, roc, monkey, stag; Siberian Chukchee raven, seal, wolf, fox; Mexican tiger (jaguar), quetzal bird; San Felipe Pueblo elk, antelope, mountain sheep; Plains buffalo, prairie chicken, bear, crow, coyote; Miwok, Mesquakie grizzly bear; Kiowa, Sauk, Menominee owl; Makah (Neah Bay, Wash.) elk, goose, raven, wolf, snipe, raccoon; Iroquois, Cherokee, Creek, Yuchi duck, pigeon, coon, bear, buffalo, otter; Onondaga partridge.

Many American Indian animal dances have become social dances. See these.

#### Battle Mime and Moriscas

The war dance in preparation for battle and in celebration of victory serves to

- 1) strengthen communal bonds;
- 2) aid sexual selection by display of prowess;
- 3) symbolically connect with agricultural rites. Primitive tribes still perform them with spear, shield, and sword, or bow and arrow; the American Indian until recently functionally, now mostly as social dance. European sword and stick dances mingle Christian and pagan symbolism with a heredity from the Greek Phryric and the Roman Salii. Sometimes swords are bent into hoops and form bowers, or are interplaited, or grasped hilt and point.

*Men or matured boys*—mimetic—

Massed effect of multiple lines—

Africa—*War Dances* of Johannesburg, KonKumba, Dapangos.

Bali—*Baris Dance* with spears.

Two opposing lines—

Eastern Archipelago—Headhunters.

Formosa—Nagas in Assam.

Africa—Shilluks of the White Nile, Nessoué near Abomey.

Venezuela—Pariagoto (comic).

Amazon River—Parintintins, Itogapuks.

Peru—Inca *Cachua*.

Two opponents

Borneo—Dyak *War Dance*.

Philippines—Bontoc and Igorot *War Dance*.

Solo

Borneo—Dusun youth in war mimicry.

African Baloki.

American Indian mimed feats in

War Dances—Navaho *N'Dah*, Iroquois *Wasáse*, Kiowa *Shield and War Dance*, Chippewa *Toma-*

*hawk Dance*, Sauk, Fox *War Dance*, Osage *Charcoal Dance* (obsolete).

*Men and Women*—not mimetic—

Polynesia—Maori *Peru Peru*.

Indian Scalp Dances—Paraguay Chaco: Toba

U.S. Papago, Zuñi, Mandan, Plains Cree, Teton-Sioux, Blackfoot, Chippewa, etc.

Victory Dance—Bungi, Fox (Mesquakie), Sauk.

*Women only*—

Hindu, Kush, Kafirs; Sioux, formerly, during men's absence.

Borneo Dusun priestess' *Victory Dance*.

Kwakiutl solo *War Dance*, British Columbia; Pawnee *Scalp Dance*.

African Bassari girls' *Stick Dance*.

Non-functional brandishing of weapons

India—Coorg *Sword and Stick Dances*.

Arabia, Turkey—*Danse du Sabre*.

Russia—*Lezginka*, Georgian *Dagger Dance*, Ukrainian *Zaporotchez* for four men.

Denmark—*Stick Dance*.

Isle of Man—*Dirk Dance*.

Stick duel dances

Spain—*Paloteo*, Torneo, Basque *Stick Dance*.

Italy—*Bal de Baston*.

Portugal—*Dança dos Paulitos*.

Lithuania—*Mikita*.

Hungary—*Kun Verbunkos* (no weapons).

Dance between two crossed swords or sticks on ground

Hungary—*Kandzs Tánc*.

Catalonia—*L'Hereu Riera*.

Finland—*Skin Kompass*.

England—*Bacca Pipes*; Argyllshire and Lochaber *Broadswords*.

Scotland—Gilly *Callum* (sword and scabbard).

Moriscas and sword dances

Dalmatia—*Moreska*.

Rumania— <i>Joc de Călușari</i> (literally horse play).	} pagan vestiges
Austria— <i>Perchtentanz</i> .	

Italy—*Matacinio* and *Moresche*.

France—Renaissance <i>Matachins</i> or <i>Bouffons. Bacchu Ber.</i>	} developed into entremets and court masques

England—*Morris, Sword Dance*;

Shetland Island *Sword Dance*.

Germany—Renaissance <i>Maruschkatantzt; Überlinger Schwertles-tanz.</i>	} with interplaiting

Basque Provinces—Zamalzain, *Bordon Dantza, Ezpata Dantza*.

Portugal—*Mouriscadas, Dança do Rei David*.

Spain—*Matachini, Los Moros y Cristianos, Los Seises* of Seville Cathedral (related).

Majorca—*Els Cosiers, Ball de Cavalets*.

Trinidad and Guatemala—*Baile de los Moros*.

Mexico—Plateau: *Santiagos, Moros y Cristianos*.

Puebla and Veracruz: *Moros, Santiaguitos, Negritos, Zapaçoaxtles*; related *Acatlaxqui* and *Toreadores*.

Oaxaca, Jalisco: *Las Plumas, La Conquista*.

Michoacán, Jalisco: *Moros, Negros, Morisma, Los Machetes, Conquista*.

Cora, Tarahumara, Mayo-Yaqui: *Matachini*.

New Mexico Pueblos—

Santo Domingo, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Alcalde, Bernalillo *Matachines*.

Santo Domingo *Santiago* and *Bocayanyi* and *Sandaro*. Santa Ana *Konyisats*.

Texas and California—*Matachines*.

These enigmatic *Sword Dances* are often performed by men's sworn societies. Their actions and accessories point to an ancient fertility rite attended by sacrifice. The *Perchtentanz* is an obvious vestige of a pagan Germanic cult of Perchta and her wild horde (*Wildes Heer*), related to the Herlequin or Arlequino of the theater. In *Los Moros* the Christians, headed by Santiago on a hobby horse, vanquish the Moors—symbol of victory of Summer over Winter, Good over Evil. In England Santiago was St. George, the Dragon Killer, later on Robin Hood. True *Morisca*s are accompanied by a fool, a man dressed as woman, an animal (dragon or bull) which is killed and resurrected. In the *Txon-kórinka* of the Basque *Sword Dance* the Captain is hoisted up inert in a sublimation of Death. Mexican *Moros* enact a battle, but the *Matachini* have no battle mime, except in the oppositional choreography and the plumed trident (former sword). They have a *Malinche*. Pueblo *Matachines* retain the bullfight. Dialog in native dialect often accompanies the drama. Survivals in children's games

Roman Soldiers, The Rovers, King of the Barbarees, Le Roi de France, Marlborough.

*Morisca* survivals

In Spain, Portugal, and the Balkans the *Morisca* has retained its ceremonial function, though its precise meaning is forgotten. In Germany, Austria, Rumania, even its pagan originals are preserved. In the New World this importation by Spanish friars fused for a second time with native ritual into solemn, ambiguous observances.

On the other hand, the Renaissance *Matachin* of France was a buffoon; the *Morris* of England, the *Matacinio* of Italy developed into secular entertainment and court masque. The *Morris* has become an exhibition for solo or group. Since its discovery in remote villages it has been featured in gymnasium classes and Elizabethan pageants without an inkling of its import.

### Cure

- 1) By exorcism or frightening away of demons and evil spirits—

Sacred Clown-Demons (see chart).

South America—Incas *Sitowa*; Mataco, Toba (Chaco) *Jumping Dance*.

U.S. Indians—Navaho *Ye-be-chai* night ceremony; Shoshoni *Naroya*; Yurok *Jumping Dance*.

Shamanistic trance dances of Siberia, especially Yakuts, and of American Indians.

- 2) Psychotherapy by artificial hysteria or gymnastics—Africa—Yoruba *Bori*, possession cult of 'iskoki spirit-worship; Bathinga, Kolamthullal, Nayara of Malabar self-curing dances.

China—*Cong Fu Cult*.

Europe—*Dance Mania* of Middle Ages; *St. Vitus' Dance*; *Dance against Plague*; Italian *Tarantella* against the bite of the tarantula.

American Indian visionary cults—Huichol, Plains Indians *Peyote*; Potawatomi, Menominee, Winnebago, etc., *Midewiwin Medicine Society*.

- 3) Cure derived from animals—

American Indian—*Deer*: Huichol, Zuni, Yuma, Maidu. *Buffalo*: Pawnee, Iowa, Fox, Iroquois.

*Bear*: Pawnee (power derived from sun), Iroquois.

- 4) With the purifying aid of fire or charcoal—

American Indian—*Osage Charcoal Dance*; Pawnee *Iruska*; Fox *Buffalo Head Dance*, *Thunder Dance*; Iroquois *False Face Dance*.

### Death

	FUNERALS	MEMORIALS	CULT OF DEAD —ANCESTOR WORSHIP
Samoa	<i>Otahite Wake</i>		
New Ireland		Five-day Memorial	
Borneo	<i>Kayan Departure of Spirit</i>		
Japan			<i>Bon Odori</i>
China	<i>Yao Ceremonials</i>		
Egypt,			
Greece	<i>Funeral Dances</i>		
Africa	<i>Boloki Wake</i>		<i>Whidah Ghost Dance</i>
Haiti	<i>Wakes</i>		
E. Brazil			<i>Mashacali Impersonation of Dead</i>
Tarahumara	<i>Rutuburi, Pascol</i>		
Yaqui	<i>Maso, Pascolas, Matachini</i>		
Maidu	<i>Cremation Ceremony</i>	<i>Karok</i>	
Yuma			
Mohave			
Plains Indians			<i>Ghost Dance</i> —reunion with dead
Chippewa		<i>Restoration of Mourners</i>	
Kansa		<i>Brave Man's Dance</i>	
Kwakiutl, Salish			<i>Totemic Dances</i>
		Middle Ages	
Spain, Mexico	<i>Jota</i> (at wakes)		<i>Dance of Death, La Muerte, Ball de la Mort</i>
Italy	<i>Baraban, Lucia</i>		
Hungary	<i>Gyás Tánc</i>		
Scotland	<i>Reel</i> (at wakes)		
Ireland	<i>Jig</i> (at wakes)		
Games	<i>Lott ist Tod, Old Roger is Dead, Jenny Jones</i>		

Everywhere merrymaking to please or appease spirit, or dispel fear.

Memorials to dispatch ghost thoroughly into other world.

## Ecstatic Dance

- 1) Mystic trance, curative or sadistic, induced by drumming or whirling; magic powers, immunity to pain of self-mutilation by fire or swords—

Siberia—Shaman's *Epileptic Dance*, especially Chukchee, Yakuts, Ostiak, Koryak; *Hysterical Dance* by Kam of Altai-Iran; *Angekoh* of Eskimo.

Gilbert Islands—*Epileptic Dances*.

Bali—*Sanghang* and *Kris Dances*.

Moslem World, China through Turkey and Syrian Tripoli—Whirling Dervishes of 30 Islamic sects; Bektashi (Beggars); Rufai (Howling); Sadi (Fire Eaters); Melevi (Mystics).

Africa—North: Arab *Aïssoua*.

Ivory and Gold Coast: *M'Deuf*, sorcerer-spotting dance.

Always superhuman acrobatic feats, whirling, leaping, distortion, climbing, crawling, writhing, falling; at times rigidity at climax.

- 2) Mystic communion with divine forces, induced by narcotic or intoxicant; spirit leaves body, which is entered by demon, spirit of ancestor, or animal; often sublime visions and escape to better existence—

Ancient Greece—*Orgia* by Menads in worship of Dionysus.

Aztec and South Mexican—*Teonanacatl* Cult.

Huichol, Tarahumara: *Hikuli Dance* (Peyote).

U.S. Indian—*Peyote Dance* (not acrobatic, but rigidity), especially Quapaw, Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Ute, Pawnee, Kickapoo, Sioux, Caddo, Iowa, Winnebago, Menominee: brought from Mexico.

Without narcotic—

Nigeria—Bori Cult.

Haiti, Brazil—Vodun Cult, mounting by loa (Legba, Gédé, Damballa, etc.).

U.S. Indian—*Sun Dance*: Great Plains, e.g. Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Crow, Ute, Bûngi, etc.

*Ghost Dance*: Arapaho, Cheyenne, Shoshone, Pawnee, Dakota, Iowa.

*Dream Dance*: Potawatomi, Menominee, Chippewa, etc. (variant of *Grass Dance*).

*Crazy Dance*: Omaha, Arapaho.

American religious sects—Jumpers of New England (origin in Wales); Shakers of New Lebanon, N. Y. (origin in Manchester, England)—shake evil out of

hands; Church of Holy Spirit and Holy Rollers of Southern states.

## Clowns

Enact supernaturals or spirits of dead. Antinatural and obscene action, speech in reverse, often falsetto. Usually wear demon or animal masks of wood or leather, with long noses, beards, horns or hair pokes; or smear faces with soot, mud, or black and white stripes. Often wear shaggy coat or tatters, or carry desiccated animal or tail; or dress like women. Bells, rattles, whips, bull bladders, often wooden lances and swords, or sticks.

Sometimes enact battles or mock travesties. May police or scout. Associated with fire, black magic, weather control. Powers to promote rain, cure, fertility.

Medieval Carnival Clowns suggest origin in pagan evil spirits, shaggy Dionysiac *Daimones*, unruly phallic *Kômos*, the *Wildes Heer*; and development such as:

*Wild Men* became  
*Altwater*

Überlingen *Hänsel*, *Zottler*  
Tyrol *Huttläuser*  
Pinzgau *Trersterer*

became Mexican *Mal Piejo*  
*Abuelo*

*Schemen* became *Casquetes* of Ocotoxco, Mexico

*Schiachen Perchten* related to French *Harlequin*  
*Bugios* *maisnée Herlekin* Italian *Arlequino*

*Devil* of Middle Ages obviously became Mexican  
*Diablo*

Basque *Noirs* are related to *Arap* and other Fools  
with black faces, Mexican *Negros*

Certain Indian Clowns are probably indigenous and interrelated: Yaqui *Pascalas* and *Chapayekas*; Papago *Novico*; Pueblo *Koshare*, *Black Eye K'apio*; Hopi *Natacka*, Iroquois *gagosa*, etc.

Non-sacred Clowns: Wolof *Griots*, Burma *Loobyets*, Persia *Mutrub* and *Batcha*, Quechua *Sijilla*, medieval Court *Buffoon*, Tlaxcala (Mexico) *Catrines*.

Semi-profane Clowns of ritual origin: Mayo-Yaqui *Pascalas*, Crow *Akbi'aruscarica* of Grass Dance. Animal mime: Japanese *Heron Dance*, Borneo *Macaque monkey* and *hornbill*, Africa *monkey mime* near Odienné, South America *Macusi tiger*.

## Ceremonial Clowns

Country	Dance	Demon	Animal	Phallic	Cure	Death Ancestor	Bells	Rattles	Mask	Other Properties
New Guinea	<i>Imigi</i> of Papuans	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-
Ceylon	<i>Devil Dance</i>	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	horns
Tibet	<i>Devil Dance</i>	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	horns
	<i>Acharyas</i>	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	-
India	<i>Bhringi</i>	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-
Europe										
Thrace	<i>Kalogheros</i> of Carnival	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	shaggy, soot
Portugal	<i>Bugios</i>	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	tatters, battle, agricultural implements

## Ceremonial Clowns (cont.)

Country	Dance	Demon	Animal	Phallic	Cure	Death Ancestor	Bells	Rattles	Mask	Other Properties
Pinzgau	<i>Tresterer</i>	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-
Salzburg	<i>Schiachen</i>									
	<i>Perchten</i>	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	battle, tatters
Nürnberg	<i>Schembartläufer</i>	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	foliage, run, fire, ashes, soot
Tyrol	<i>Huttlerläufer</i>	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	tatters, run
	<i>Zottler</i>	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	tatters, run
England	<i>Morris Fool</i>	-	skin	-	-	-	x	-	-	soot on face
	<i>Tommy of Sword Dance</i>	-	skin	-	-	-	x	-	-	
General	<i>Wild Men</i>	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	whip, stick, shaggy
	(medieval)									
	<i>Carnival</i>	Devil	x	Fool	-	Death	x	-	x	Fool-pointed cap
South and Central America										
Chile	<i>Carnaval</i>	Diablo	x	Buffon	-	Muerte	x	-	x	
	<i>Yahgan Kina rite</i>	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	stripes	poked head-dress
Bolivia										hunt, sticks
Aymará	<i>Añacila (Čoquela)</i>	-	associated with vicuña	x	-	x	x	-	x	
Mexico	<i>Tecuanes</i>	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	hunted
Tarascan	<i>Viejitos</i>	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	cane
Tarahumara	<i>Chapeones</i>	-	skin	-	-	x	-	-	x	whip, bladder
Yaqui	<i>Chapayekas</i>	x	skin	x	-	-	-	x	x	strike sticks, long nose
								Deer-hoofs		
	<i>Pascolas</i>	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	hunt, poke on head
								Deer-hoofs		
U.S. Indians										
Apache	<i>libahi</i>	x	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	-
Papago	<i>Novico</i>	-	-	-	x	x	-	x	x	feathers
	<i>Djidjur</i>	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	horns
Navaho	<i>Tonenile</i>	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	water sprinkler
Hopi	<i>Natacka, Tūmas</i>	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	whip
Zuñi	<i>Mudheads</i>	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	associated with rain
	<i>Ne'wekwe</i>	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	associated with rain
	<i>Koyemshi</i>	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	x	rain
Pueblo	<i>K'apio chifunin in Koshare</i>	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	stripes	rain, war, poked headdress
	<i>Te'en (Abuelo)</i>	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	whip, battle
Pawnee	<i>Iruska</i>	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	fire power, whip
Oglala	<i>Heyoka</i>	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	associated with war
Bungi	<i>Windigokan</i>	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	tatters, war
Iroquois	<i>Gagōsā</i>	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	x	fire, ashes, nose
	<i>Gadjisa</i>	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	corn



## Fusion of Concepts

## Aboriginal

Country	Dance	Animal	Demon	Hunt	Phallic	Vegetation	Cure	Battle	Death	Resurrection
India	Oraon Wedding	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	x	-
Africa										
Yammasoukro	Antelope Dance	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-
Ongaladougou	Thunder Dance	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-
Dahomey	Adahun	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
South America										
Venezuela	Puberty Rites									
Mucuchi	Chirasté									
Maipure	Máuari	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	-
Arecuna	Cachimé									
Bolivia										
Aymara	Čoquela	x	-	x	Ačačila	x	-	x	x	-
Chaco										
Terenos	Rhea Feathers	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
Mexico										
Guerrero	Tlacololeros	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	-
U.S. Indians										
Papago	Vikita	-	x	-	-	x	x	x	-	-
Pueblo	Kachina	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	-
and	Eagle Dance	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
	Snake Dance	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Plains	Buffalo Dance	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-
and	Sun Dance	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
Yaqui	Deer Dance	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	-

## Moriscas

Europe										
Dalmatia	Moreška	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
Rumania	Joc de Calușari	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
Spain	Moriscas	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
Basque	Ezpatá Dantzá	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x
Portugal	Mouriscadas	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
France	Bacchu-Ber	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x
Germany	Schwertlestanz	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x
Shetland Is.	Sword Dance	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x
England	Morris Dance	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x	x
Mexico										
Morelos										
Mexico	Moros y Cristianos	x	Viejo	-	-	-	-	x	x	x
Puebla										
Vera Cruz	Santiagos	x	x	-	Malinche	x	-	x	x	x
Yaqui										
Tarahumara	Matachini	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	x
New Mexico	Matachines	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	x	x

## II. Areas of Racial Dance

## Africa

African Negro dance, particularly of the Gold Coast and Ivory Coast, is the dancer's dance, incredibly acrobatic and rhythmically infallible. It has no temporal structure, but often fine group counterpoint and solo virtuosity. It serves a religious purpose for many occasions—circumcision, hunt, burial, war.

The Dahomean *Fetishers* are the antecedents of the

Haitian *vodun* cult. The most beautiful dances are:

*Heviosso*, Thunder Fetish, consisting of: 1) *Dance of Legba*, 2) the *Gobahun*, 3) the *Adahun*, Thunder Dance.

*Nessoué*, the River, highly descriptive and complex. *Sagbata*, epileptic dance.

*Dā*, the Snake.

*Lisa*, chief deity.

The *Vegetation Dance* of Ongaladougou combines communal circular dance; grotesque Old Men's Dance; a sowing mime by four young girls; realistic mime of

animals' copulation. Animal masks and *Animal Mime*, especially that of the Javara, simulate every detailed trait of Monkey, Antelope being hunted, and every conceivable native beast.

Acrobatic Dances include: 1) groups of men flinging about young girls or boys; 2) sacred jumping dances, e.g. of Yammasoukro; 3) women professionals, e.g. of the Dioula; 4) men's savage, yet controlled solos—leaps, spins, somersaults, back bends—in perfect time with the music.

Despite the obscenity of certain symbolic dances, there are no erotic couple dances, and few social dances, like those of the Wolofs, similar to our ballroom dances, notably the *Goumbé*.

#### *African Dance Colonies*

African slave trade has colored the dance the full length of the East Coast Americas, in the *vodun* cults of Haiti, Cuba, Brazil, and in the ballroom.

Haiti is dominated by deities descended from the theology and ceremonialism of West Africa, especially the Nagas of Dahomey and Yorubas of Nigeria. In the *vodun* rites, spirits or *loas* mount "servants" and goad them to frantic dances of possession, which take on characteristic patterns. Meanwhile onlookers circle a central pole or *po'teau* in the *Bamboche*.

Social dances of African descent include *Pinyique*, *Pastorelle*, *Ciyé*, *Chica*, *Ti Crip*, *Mangouline*, *Zesse*, *Raboto*, *Martinique*, *Mascaron*, *Malfini*, *Huba*; the stiff *Méringue* is of European descent.

Haitian movements are forthright, strong, sweeping, and acrobatic.

Ballroom dances from Cuba: *Rhumba*, *Conga*, *Danzón*.

Brazil: *Maxixe*, *Zamba*, *Batuque*, etc.

U. S.: *Jitterbug* and *Boogie Woogie*, *Juba*, *Cakewalk*.

Despite their syncopated rhythms, certain aspects of these dances are not African—the idea of the couple dance, the often infinitesimal movements. *Juba* and acrobatic *Boogie* are more truly African.

*Other aspects:* Work songs and dances of Haiti and the southern United States; religious revivals and ecstatic dances of Church of the Holy Spirit and Holy Rollers.

#### Asia

The dance culture of Asia, while distinctive as compared with other continents, exhibits great contrasts—

1) between the upper sophisticated castes of India and China and the primitive tribes of the mountains and islands.

2) between the vast, sparsely populated areas of Siberia with their paucity of dances and the wealth and variety of the Archipelago and tiny Pacific Islands.

It is nonetheless possible to distinguish large areas, all of them except Siberia under the influence of India.

#### Siberia

The shamanistic trance dances of the Chukchee, Yakuts, Ostyaks, and Koryaks, near the Bering Straits, aim at communion with demonic spirits, animals, and ancestors, for cure, rain, and in celebration of a successful hunt, seal or whale catch. To insure good hunting women may circle around the frenzied shaman, and the whole community join in orgiastic celebration. The shaman corresponds to the Eskimo *Angekoh*, the *Kam* of Altai-Iran, the *Derwish* of Islam, and the American Indian *Medicine Man*, with similar powers.

Central Asia (Iran—Turkestan) combines the Siberian shaman complex with the fierce courtship and sword dances of the Caucasus and the technique of arm gesture and neck motion (*sundari*) of India.

#### The Indian Empire

At its apex the Hindu *Temple Dance* was one of the noblest and most gracious of rituals, by priestesses or Devadassins. In the *Alarippu* and the still extant *Tillana*, for instance, intricate footbeats, *Laghu*, accompany bends, *Bhargas*, and symbolic sinuous hand movements, *Mudras*. Dances represent the five incarnations of Siva, the love of Krishna and Radha. Today the religious dance is decadent, the Devadassins are lasciviously graceful courtesans.

The secular entertainers on streets and in palaces—the *Nautch* dancers—are obese and vulgar, though boy performers exhibit more vitality than women.

The little explored rites of aboriginal tribes continue to exist alongside the folk and religious dances of the Aryan upper castes: hunting dances of the Veddas of Ceylon, totemic mimes of the southern Dravidians, wedding celebrations of the southern Todas, and agricultural festivals of the eastern Mongoloid Mundas, Santals, Oraons, and northern agricultural Aryan peasantry. These last, as well as the *Kummi* and *Kolattam* folk dances of the south, have the elegance of gesture and foot-beat so characteristic of the famous temple and theater dances.

The Badagas still dance on live coals as a ritualistic trick. The Coorgs skip in circular *Sword Dances* and tremble in possession by Kālī. Brahmin priests dance the *Kathak*.

Southern India has witnessed a recent renaissance in the Katha-Kālī School of Dance. Within ancient traditions new dances are created, such as the *Lasyanatana*. Competent exponents tour the Occident in exotic and eloquent programs.

#### Tibet and Ceylon: Devil Dances

These powerful and original demon impersonations retain much of their aboriginal function of exorcism. In Tibet they are enacted by the Lāmas of Buddhist monasteries. Frightful animal masks represent evil spirits. All are grotesquely virtuosos, the legendary *Black Hat Dance* of Tibet consisting of highly controlled turning leaps in ingenious choreography. The *Acharyas* are dwarfs in a travesty of a weird old man and woman. Function is ritualistic.

#### China

Chinese dance is dying of old age, even in the theater, though this was revitalized by Mei Lan-Fang. The Cong Fu Cult, founded perhaps in the 3rd millennium B.C., is still being taught by priest physicians; it is a mystic healing cult of gymnastics. Twice a year priests dance in Confucian temples.

The Yao peoples of Yao province celebrate weddings, funerals, and other events with dance and ceremony. The Nau people of Kwangsi province have some folk dances, such as *The Mute* and *The Cripple*. The Lolos of southwest Yunnan skip in circles in their native villages. There is no true social dancing.

Yet the role of China is important as source of the *Bugaku*, the Japanese religious dance, introduced some 2000 years ago.

## Japan

Japan represents one of the high points of Oriental dance in:

1) The religious *Kôgura* of Shinto priestesses, derived from the divine dance of Ume-no-utsame to recall the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. The popularization of the *Kôgura* founded the Kabuki, popular theater.

2) The classic *Nô* drama blended 800 years ago the existing popular songs with original dances, and is now mimed in the old tradition. It is derived from the trivial *Saru-gaku* or monkey mime and the *Den-gaku* or acrobatic dance developed by Buddhist priests. As in ancient Greece and in Burma, only men perform this aristocratic form of theater. A comic interlude between the melancholy *Nô* episodes is the *Kiogen*.

3) The popular *Odori* is as old as the race. Outstanding are the *Uta-gaki*, *Genroku Hanani* (Cherry Blossom), *Honen-odori*, *Saibara*; the *Bon-odori*, a welcome to the dead by peasants; the *Tanabata-odori* by children; the *Gebon-odori* by merchants of Wakayama. The professional *Odori* dancer is the Geisha.

The *Ondo*, derived from the *Odori*, is danced as a social dance in the Japanese street festivals of San Francisco and Salt Lake City. The highly mimetic Japanese dance has a wide range of expression in stylized gestures, with a back-tilted posture and turned-up toes. As in all Oriental dance its precision results from long, arduous training.

## Burma

The *Pwe* is a gay, rhythmically exciting festival. Professional girls and Loobyets or clowns dance the ordinary *Pwe* with acrobatic crouches and extreme arm curvatures. Village boys and girls dance the spectacular *Yein Pwe* at country and religious festivals.

## Cambodia

Women mime fragile and aristocratic dance dramas, with a filigree of intricate steps and stylized gestures.

## Malay Peninsula

Indonesia, from Malaya to Java, superimposes a cosmopolitan culture on an aboriginal substratum. Primitive puberty rites, the "gamber," tiger worship, and other animal dances of the Jakun and Sakai of Semang, recall similar rites of Madagascar and the South American Chaco. Shamanistic magic and cure dances relate to Siberia, the *main dabus* or fanatical sword dance to Islamic and North African exhibitions. There are Chinese and native operas and womens' dances of Japanese quality, and finally special Malayan-Balinese trance and *djoged* dances.

## Bali

The *Djojeo* and *Legong*—curiously jerky and precise social dances—are for children. The *Kebyar* is a series of angular arm gestures for men in a seated position. The *Redjang* is a slow religious procession; the *Kris*, Dagger Dance, and *Sanghyang*, Trance Dance, are inspired by mystic possession.

## Java

In the Javanese *Slendang* the sinuous arm movements are derived from India. The *Wayang Wong* is derived from the Javanese shadow-puppet play; human actors portray legends from the Hindu *Mahâbhârata*. Men portray women. True folk types include *Nautch* by boys at fairs; *folk dances* of western Dutch Java; the

*Bodjeje* of religious origin, slow and controlled, or acrobatic, by boys and girls.

## South Pacific

The expressive, symbolic arm and hand movements of the Gilbert Islands, Tahiti, Samoa, Hawaii are largely offspring of the *Mudras* of India. The Samoan *Marara*, Tahitian *Orare*, Hawaiian *Noho* or seated *Hula* by the Ho'o-pa group, and standing *Hulas*, *Alekoki* and *Ho'ohenokeia*, by the Olapa group are sublimations of courtship and mystic sensuousness.

Elaborate gestures prevail throughout the South Pacific. In Hawaii they serve as a symbolic code; in the rest of Polynesia and Melanesia they usually imitate daily actions realistically, with elegance on Easter Island, with violence in the Tuamotos, the Marquesas, and in the Maori and Samoan war dances. Both the seated and standing dances are usually stationary, with emphasis on hip, arm, and hand jerking or undulating; but war dancers of Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna leap about in drill-like maneuvers, and boys and girls of Raratonga pair up in a round dance.

## Australia

The declining aboriginal dances of Australia show several cultural levels of the most primitive nomadic hunters' dances: phallic, puberty, totemic, and hunting animal dances. There are the phallic *Caaro* dance of Wachandi men in the west, the totemic circle dances of the central Aranda, the realistic animal dances of the north and the southeastern Kurnai, the Kurnai boys' initiations, and the individual pan-Australian *Corroboree* for hunt, war, or greeting.

## Philippine Islands

Despite the proximity of Japan, Indonesia, and the South Pacific islands, the Philippines resemble none. The war, wedding, courtship, head-hunting ensembles of the Igorots, Bontocs, Ifugaos, Kalinga, and Apayaos have a virile elegance. The Mohammedans, or Moros, have developed an excellent manly standard of mimetic performance, as the bee-hunting dance. The mestizo couple *bailes* of the Christian Filipinos derive mostly from Spain; only a few, as the *Balitao*, are reminiscent of native harvest festivals.

## North Africa and Arabia

Outposts of Indian style to the west are the degenerate Arabian dances of the café, the *Chethat-al-Maharma*, and the related woman's *Danse du Ventre* of Tunis, Algiers, Egypt. Most Arabian dances extol feminine charm. Their posture stories are not set by tradition as in India, but are subject to individual creation.

## Spain

Indirectly, by way of the Moors, Spain owes much of its eloquent though not symbolic gestures to India, as well as to the equally Asiatic Gipsies. In Latin-American dances of Spanish heritage this sinuousness is lost and only footwork retained. Otherwise India might be said to extend its influence around the world.

## Asia Minor and the Balkans

These form an intermediate culture area between East and West.

Turkey ties up with the Orient in the vibrating head, arm, and torso movements of the women's *Çifte Tel*,

with the wild Caucasian men's dance in the *Zeybek*, and with Palestine, the Balkans, and the coast of the Mediterranean in the open round for men and women, the *Yalli* (for girls alone, the *Trata*).

In the popular *Horra* of Palestine men and women similarly hold hands in a circle. Individualistic ancient dances have been recently revived: the *Sher*, *Sivchu*, *Pam Achat*.

The peasants of Armenia, Greece, the Balkans progress in closed circles, more often in semicircles or serpentine, with elegant steps and small, rhythmic jerps of head and shoulders. Men and women, placed *ad lib.*, hold hands, sometimes with kerchiefs, or link elbows or place arms on shoulders. The leader crouches, leaps, pirouettes, very like the famous Cossack dancer. The Rumanian *Hora* is more languorous than the emphatic Hebrew *Horra* or precise Serbian *Kolo* (circle).

These open rounds, or *Link Dances*, perhaps originated in Greece, from the *Choros*. The varied steps include hops, heelbrushes, grapevine on a foundation of a "double" right, a "simple" left. A special version is the *Chiotikos* for two women with intertwined arms, and the *Zabakelos* for one man with castanets. The traditional *Romaiika* (*Zyganos* and *Choros*) commemorates the suicidal Suliot women.

In the geographically arranged chart below, it will be seen that these dances extend horizontally across southern Europe to Catalonia. On the other hand, in a northerly direction, Asia Minor blends with the Caucasus.

### European National Dances

#### Russia

This vast assembly of contrasting tribes, with its expanding boundaries, possesses the wild couple dances and fierce sword dances of Caucasian tribes; the acrobatically vigorous Cossack dances of Don and Ukraine; on its outskirts, the Carpathian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Polish dances.

Ukrainian and Carpathian couples lift their knees high in cross polka and *pas de basque*, crouch, leap, stamp, fling their arms wide. Lithuanian, Latvian, Polish couples combine Slavic stamp and arm swing with ballroom steps and with the circular progression of the ancient round.

A new creation, *Yablochko*, the Russian Sailor's dance, follows the peasant tradition of solo interpolated into group activity; the *Orlita* and other city products follow the ballroom trend.

#### Central Europe

Such fairly recent semi-peasant couples' rounds extend into central Europe, side by side with the vestiges of old religious rites. Each country displays a special kind of vigor. In Hungary the women are aloof and the men impetuous as in the Caucasus. Magyar and Czech dancers click their heels, twist their feet, the Bohemians with more leaning of the body and head.

Peasants of Germany and Austria shake the ground in boisterous gaiety, clap and leap in the famous *Schuhplattler*. Several Austrian country dances resemble west Slavic rounds: *Schwefelhölzl*, *Buamaschlag*, *Der Paschade Flugsummi*. But there is no grouping in the lusty *Drehtanz*, ancestor of the sentimental *Waltz*.

There is much variety in the relationship of partners.

In Czechoslovakia, for instance, partners can progress in anti-clockwise circle:

1) Face to face in double circle: *Maleni*, *Paterka*, *Javornik*, *Tancuj*.

2) Parallel, hands joined: *Černa Venka*, *Káčá*.

3) Girls backwards in single circle: *Trojky*, *Šáteček*, *Kdyš Jsem*, with kerchief.

4) One circles round the other: *Vrtěná*.

Holds are particularly varied in Bohemia, Scandinavia, above all Finland.

The Bohemian *Tancuj* is a closed face-to-face position, left shoulders touching, elbows horizontal.

Finland has hand grasps, single and double; arm grasps, hand above elbow; arm hooks; cross grasps, in back or front; holds at waist level or above the head; the *Wormsö* grasp with right hand round partner's waist, left hand on right shoulder.

The waist-shoulder grasp (man holds girl's waist, she his shoulders) is Hungarian. Partners are swapped in the *Strašak*, *Greifpolka*, *Wechselbayrische*, and Finnish *Old One from Laucka*.

#### Scandinavia

Scandinavia has preserved a few ceremonials, but observes festivals mostly with native versions of central European folk dances. The *Rounds* of the Norwegian Faroe Islands still enact interminable 11th century ballads, with a step resembling the *Branle*. Norway has revived them. Finland has adopted the *Sigurdswaket* and others.

The special legacy of Sweden are its singing games. In general, Scandinavians favor gay and harmless pantomime, of flirtation (*Firtur*), rivalry (*Vingakersdans*), or mock fight (*Oxdansen*, *Degnedansen*). There has been much give-and-take in quadrille formations between Denmark, the British Isles, and France.

#### British Isles

English *Country Dances*, Irish and Scotch *Reels* (2/4) and *Jigs* (6/8) are the most ingenious group dances of Europe, numerically and geometrically, particularly in the Irish "cross overs" and "loops" and the English "heys." The floor patterns are executed with simple, though not monotonous, steps, an easy, erect carriage, light hand hold, arm movements motivated by the joining of hands. The solo *Jigs* and *Hornpipes*, on the other hand, exhibit dazzling footwork on one spot, toe-touchings, beats, turns, arms raised, or one hand on hip. The Scottish *Highland Fling* excels in concise energy and crispness.

There is little pantomime. The picturesque English titles are only song titles: "The Catching of Flees," "The Friar and the Nun." The Scottish *Cailleach an Dundain* does enact resurrection of a woman by a man. The *Sailor's Hornpipe* is a chantey in movement. The Irish *Waves of Tory* suggests the motion of waves. *Sword and Morris Dances* suggest their original combat mime.

The *Country Dance* has found its way to Holland in *Anna van Duinen* and *Drickusman*, to Sweden in the *Klappdans*, Bohemia in the *Judentans*, Portugal in *O Pretinho* (*Strip the Willow*). Its fate in America will receive special discussion.

#### Southwest Europe: France, Iberia, Italy

France is the home country of the *Contre Danse* and *Cotillon*, which merged into the *Quadrille*. France and

England both claim the origin of this art form. Spain and Italy have taken them over. In fact, the *Seguidillas* are quadrilles.

Court dances of the Middle Ages and Renaissance originated in all of these countries, and were interchanged and propagated. Taken from the peasantry or from foreign lands, they have returned to their point of origin. Most of the regional dances of France descended from the old *Ronde*, *Branle*, *Bourrée*, *Gavotte*.

Italy dances these as well as borrowings from Spain. It is devoted to sentimental fragments of pantomime, with sighs and coquetry (*Bal d'Alhi*) and much exaggeration. These regional dances, as well as those of Spain, require special listing.

Besides its national dances, Spain shows great variety of style—from the simple folk type with sharp footwork of Aragon to the arrogant voluptuousness, hand and arm allurements of Andalusia, but with rhythmic complexity throughout. Portugal has the same equality of sexes in its gay folk dances. But Basque men overshadow the modest women with their tremendous leaps.

#### Court Dances

France	France	Italy	Germany
Estampie	(cont.)	Paduana	Medieval Fitlefanz,
Carole	Gavotte	Saltarello	Hoppelvogel,
Balerics	Passepiéd	Triori	Krummereihen
Reverdie	Musette	Barriera	Quaternaria
Branle	Boccane	Piva	Allemanda
Basse Danse	Tambourin	Trescona	Volta
Gaillarde	Ecosaise	Rebeca	(from France)
Tordion		Colascione	became
Courante	Spain	Passamezzo	Drehtanz
(from Italy)	Pavana	Corrente	became
Rondeau	Sarabanda		Waltz
Volte	Chacona		
Bourrée	Passacalle		
Minuet	Villanesca		

#### Exotic Dances

Spain: Zambra, Zarabanda, Leyla from Arabia; Furlana from Friuli; Canario, Tajaraste, Serinoque from Canary Islands; Rigodon from Martinique; Zambapalo from West Indies; Habañera from Africa by way of Cuba; Guaracha from Cuba; Tango from Argentina.

Portugal: Guineo from Guinea; Batuque, Machicha. Lundum, Frevo from Africa through Brazil.

#### Italian Regional Dances

Various provinces have a typical dance: Lombardina of Lombardy, Bergamesca of Bergamo, Romana of Rome, Siciliana of Sicily, etc. Of special interest are: Bologna: Ruggir, Baraban, Bal d'Alhi, Vetta d'Or, Girometta, Ballo della Catena.

Campagna: La Ciociara, Tarantella, Saltarello Neapolitano.

Sardinia: Douro Douro.

#### Spanish Regional Dances

Basque Provinces: Guipuzcoanas (S.), Aurreku, Atzesku, Zortziko, Muchikuok, Pasamanos, Arin Arin, Biribilketa, Carrica Dantza.

Asturias: Pasiegas (S.), Giralrilla, Pollos, Perlindango, Pandero, Careado, Saltón, Pericote, Corri Corri, Danza Prima.

Castille: Seguidillas, Bolero, Fandango, Zangano.

Galicia: Gallegada (S.), Muiniera, Serranilla.

Aragon-Navarra: Jota.

Catalonia: Sardana, Farandola, Filada, Contrapás, Ball Pla, Bolangera, Nyacras, Corrandia, Eixada, Pila, Morrata, Ball de la Teya.

Valencia: Valenciana (S.), Xaquera Vella, Paradeses, Tarara, Jota.

Mallorca: Seguidillas, Copeo, Baile de la Xisterna.

Murcia: Murciana (F.), Parranda, Zangano.

Andalusia: Seguiriyas (S.), Sevillanas (S.), Malagueña (F.), Rondeña (F.), Granadina (F.), Jaleo, Panderos, Polo, Zapateado, Zorongo, Cachucha, Jarabe Gitano, Vito, Paso Doble.

Cuadro Flamenco: Por Soleares (women), Farruca (men), Bulerias, Alegrías.

Many provinces have a classic *Seguidillas* (S.), but only southern Spain has the Flamenco tradition, *Fandango* (F.), and *Gitano* from the gypsies.

#### III. Dance Acculturation in the New World

For religious dance acculturation in the New World, see RITUAL DANCES.

#### Regional Dances (Bailes Regionales)

##### South America

Venezuela—*Joropo*.

Brazil—Gaucho *Chacarera*; ballroom *Batuque*; *Machicha*, *Frevo*, *Samba*; Negro influence: vodun *Macumba*. Uruguay—Gaucho *Pericón*.

Paraguay—*Guatú*.

Argentina—*Gato*, *Palito*, *Huella*, *Firmeza*, *Zamba*; *Media Cana*; ballroom *Tango*; English Country Dance.

Chile—*Cueca* or *Zamacueca*.

Peru—*Cashua*, *Huaynu* of Inca origin.

Ecuador—*Huaino*, *Sanjuanito* of Inca origin; *Fandango*, *Pasacalle* of Spanish origin; *Marinera*, similar to *Cueca*.

Colombia—Coast: *Porro*, *Cumbia*, *Gaita*, *Bullerengue*, *Paseo Vallenato*. Interior: *Bambuco*, *Pasillo*, *Guabina*, *Torbellino*, *Fandango*, *Pasacalle*.

Panama—*Tamborito*.

All these are uniformly a love play of meeting and pursuit, coquetry, and conquest, varying from the sombre *Sanjuanito*, headstrong *Cueca*, to lusty *Pericón*. Much use of the kerchief, like a lasso in *Pericón*, in joint grasp in *Guabina*. Occasionally in ballroom position, as in the stamping waltzlike *Joropo*.

##### Mexico

Yucatán—*Tunkul*, *Jarana Yucateca*, *Bomba Yucateca*. Chiapas—*Las Chiapanecas*, *Jarabe Chiapas*, *Cachito*.

Oaxaca—*Chande*, *Panderia*, *Chilena* (*Cueca*), *Son* (Cuba), "*Djezz hawt*," *Polka*; *Zandunga*, *Tortuga*, *Llorona* of Tehuantepec, *Juchitán*, *Salina Cruz*; *Jarabe Mixteco*, *Jarabe Yalalteco*.

Veracruz—*Huapangos*, especially *La Bamba*; *Danzón* (Cuba); "*Djezz hawt*."

Puebla—*Huapangos*.

Tlaxcala—*Jarabe Tlaxcalteco*.

Michoacán—*Jarabe Michoacano*, *Jarabe de la Botella*, *Las Sembradoras*, *Canacuas*, *Iguiris*.

## European Social Folk Dances: Geographical Distribution

THIS TABLE IS TO BE READ LIKE A MAP, NORTHWEST IN THE UPPER LEFT, ETC. IT DOES NOT INCLUDE DANCES ELSEWHERE DISCUSSED AND TABULATED, BUT REPEATS CERTAIN WIDELY DISTRIBUTED FORMS, TO EMPHASIZE THEIR SPREAD. AN \* PRECEDING THE NAME OF A DANCE DENOTES THAT THE DANCE IS NATIVE TO THE PLACE THERE INDICATED.

SCOTLAND	NORWAY	SWEDEN	FINLAND	RUSSIA
<i>Couple</i>	<i>Rounds</i>	<i>Singing Games</i>	<i>Rounds—</i>	<i>Couples</i>
Cailleach an Dudain	*Faroe Ballads	Rounds	from Faroes	Komarinskaia
Scotch Polka	Gangar	Quadrilles	Longways	Orlitz
<i>Solos</i>	Springar	(Klappdans)	Quadrilles	Alexandrovskia
Sword Dance	Halling	<i>Couples</i>	Polka	Korobotchka
Highland Fling	<i>Reels</i>	*Varsovienné	Galop	Oyda
Hornpipe	Seksril	Swedish Schottische	POLAND	LATVIA
Shean Treuse	Sekstur	Polka	<i>Couples</i>	Country Dances
<i>Group</i>	Kadriljs	DENMARK	Komarinskaia	Ackups
Strathspey	<i>Couples</i>	Rounds	Orlitz	Sudmalinas
Reel o' Tulloch	Polka	Kontras	Kujawiak	Jandalins
Petronella	Schottische	Quadrilles	Krakowiak	LITHUANIA
*Highland	ENGLAND	French Reel	*Mazurka	<i>Couples</i>
Schottische	<i>Solo</i>	<i>Couples</i>	*Polka	Suktinis
IRELAND	*Hornpipe	Polka	*Polonaise	Klumpakojis
<i>Solo</i>	*Country Dances	Rainlander	*Rejdovak	Kriputis
Hornpipe	<i>Rounds</i>	Hopsa	Obertas	Dzuku
*Jig	Newcastle	Polonaise	<i>Imported</i>	Kepurine
<i>Group</i>	<i>Longways</i>	Waltz	Walc Kaszubski	Kubilas
Round (Donegal)	Sir Roger	(Hukgestok)	Wengierka	Kalvelis
Longways	<i>Quadrilles</i>	GERMANY	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Noriu Miego
*(Antrim Reel)	Strip the Willow	Bayrische Polka	<i>Couples—Rounds</i>	Vengerka
Quadrille	FRANCE	<i>Quadrilles</i>	*Polka	<i>Two lines</i>
(Fairy Reel)	BRETAGNE	Föhrringer Kontra	MORAVIA	Našlys
PORTUGAL	Branle	Windmüller	Malení	<i>Quadrille</i>
Jogos de Roda	Gavotte	Kegelquadrille	Káčá	Jonkelis
<i>Country Dances</i>	Triori	<i>Rounds</i>	Kam Ty Jedeš	UKRAINE
O Pretinho	Dérobée	Peasant Reigen	Sateček	<i>Couples</i>
Tirana	Jabadao	<i>Couples</i>	Trojky	Zbojecki
Pae de Ladrao	LIMOUSIN	Langaus	<i>Longways</i>	Kolomaika
from ALGARVE	Promenade	Schwabentanz	Ja Ked Sajanöška	Hrechaniki
Coridinho	Lou Panliran	<i>Polkas—slow</i>	<i>Quadrille</i>	Kinn Kuzi
ESTREMADURA	BRESSE	Rheinländer	Kanafaska	<i>Four men</i>
Bailarico	Branle Carré	<i>Polkas—fast</i>	SLOVAK	Zaborotchez
DOURO	Rigodon	Greifpolka	Tancuj	COSSACKS
Rusga	DAUPHINÉ	Wechselbayrische	Černa Venka	Hopak
Rabelo	Rondes Fermées,	Galop	Janko	Trepak
ALL PROVINCES	Rondes Ouvertes	Rutscher	Vrtěná	Krissachok
Furlana	MANOSQUE	Dreher	CZECH	CARPATHIANS
Verdegaio	Bravade	Schuhplattler	Kuzelka	Tatra
Vira	AUVERGNE	AUSTRIA	Kdyš Jsem	Czarkes
Chamarita	Bourrée	Ländler	Strašak	CAUCASUS
*Folia	ROUSSILLON	Steirer	<i>Reel</i>	DAGHESTAN
Gota	Bails	Gedrehte Allemande	Motovidlo	Lezginka
Fandango	Montagnardes	*Walzer	(Chytavá)	Cherkesska
SPAIN	L'Entaillisade	ITALY	HUNGARY	Tatarotchka
Furlana	Valse	Polesana	Kürtös	GEORGIA
*Gitana	Jota	Giga	Magyar Kettős	Kundur Strogoi
Schotish, Vals	Fandango	Galletta	Magyar Keringő	Turkish Dances
*Jota	Lanciers	Spagnoletto	Körmagyar	Turkish Dances
*Fandango	*Cotillon	Friulana	*Galop	ERIVAN
Galope	*Quadrilles	Cotillon	<i>Men</i>	Armenian Dances
Folia	*Contre Danse	Quadriglia	Sapka Tánc (Cap)	ANATOLIA
Cutillio		Cuntradanza	Campos Tánc	TURKEY
Cuadrillas			(Shepherd)	<i>Solo</i>
Contradanza Largz			Csapacsolás	Çifte Tel
			(clapping)	Zeybek



## European Social Folk Dances: Geographical Distribution (cont.)

(Link Dances)	(Link Dances)	(Link Dances)	(Link Dances)	(Link Dances)
SPAIN	FRANCE	ITALY	HUNGARY	TURKEY
BASQUE PROVINCES	ROUSSILLON	Douro Douro	Gyertyás Tánc	Yalli
Auresku	Barbantane	YUGOSLAVIA	Sor Tánc	Trata
Soka Dantz	BAYONNE	Sockako Kolo	GREECE	ARMENIA
Zortziko	Pamperuque	DALMATIA	Chasapikos	Hoynar
CATALONIA	BÉARN	Kolo	Tsamikos	Hellene
Sardana	Branlou Bach	Deljaniček	Syrtos	Lepolele
Farandola	GASCOGNE	RUMANIA	Kritikos	PALESTINE
N	Rondes Ouvertes	Hora	Kalamatianos	Horra
↑	PROVENCE and	Maricara	(Non-Link)	(Non-Link)
↑	LANGUEDOC	Sarba Jancului	Two girls	Contras
↑	•Farandole	Braul	Chiotikos	Sher
↑		Ca la Breaza	One man	Sivchu
		Ratchenitza	Zabekelos	Pam Achat

Jalisco—*Jarabe Tapatlo, Jarabe de la Botella, Las Espuelas.*

Nayarit—*Mitote* of Cora, Tepehuanes, Aztecs.

Chihuahua—*Jarabe Chihuahuano.*

Metropolitan—*Paso Doble* and other Spanish forms; *La Cucaracha, Jesucita, La Raspa.*

Southwestern United States

Mexican origin—*Jarabe Tapatlo, Michoacano, Zandunga, Las Espuelas, El Vaquero, Chiapanecas, La Cucaracha, Jesucita, La Raspa.*

Colonial Spanish—*La Mestiza, El Palomo y la Paloma, El Jilote, La Camila, El Taledn.*

South American origin—*La Chilena* (Chilean, from Cueca), *La Cuna* (Argentine).

European origin—*Las Cuadrillas, Polka Cruzada, Galope, Varsoviana, Vals de la Escoba* (Broom), *Vals de los Paños* (Kerchiefs), *El Chote* (Schottische).

Philippines

Native with Spanish veneer—*Balitao, Tinikling, Candle Dance; Kakawati, Bulaklahan* (Flower Dances), *Boa* (Coconut).

Spanish Mestizo—*Surtida, Cariñosa* (Waltzes); *Rigaudon; Salacot* (Hat Dance).

Ballroom Dances from Latin America

*Tango Argentine* (by way of Paris), *Machicha* (Tango Brasilienne, also much expurgated) *Conga, Danzón, Son, Rhumba, Zamba, Frevo.*

In the *Bailes Regionales* (regional couple dances) identification of native and foreign traits is fairly simple:

Native: Posture: straight back or stooped, man's hand cupped behind his back in Mexico; bent knees; impassive face; lowered eyes; shuffle, back pull; reticence. No castanets.

Spanish: *Zapateado* steps and variants, much of the music and costume, olé shouts.

Austrian: *Waltz* step and tunes (Chiapanecas, Candle Dance).

Polish: *Mazurka* step and music (Jarabe Tapatio).

Bohemian: *Polka* step (Jarabe Michoacano).

Russian: *Komarinskaja* step and music (Jarabe Tapatio), possibly crouches (Concheros).

Proportions vary from the thoroughly European *Jarabe Tapatio* of the charro and ranchero, and the haughty mestizo *Zandunga*, to the native *Canacuas*.

Negro influence is slight except on the Atlantic sea border; in the *Huapangos* of Veracruz and Tamaulipas, Mexico. In the West Indies and Brazil it outweighs the native Indian constituents.

In the cities the same partner dances are popular as in Europe and the United States (*Polka, Waltz*, etc.), and even in the villages a stiff version of jazz and the *Beer Barrel Polka* are making inroads: commonly called "piezas." These embrace dances contrast with the aloof contactless partner dances. Occasionally a perfect hybrid results. Few *bailes* are clearly indigenous: *Mitote, Huaino.*

## American Indian Social Dances

The United States Indian has with one exception adopted only dances from other tribes. These he clearly recognizes as imported. *Squaw Dances* were always social. *Animal, War, Victory Dances*, and the *Grass Dance* have recently become secularized.

## Native

Blackfoot Horseback, Kissing, Begging.

Shoshone *Peqowa Noqan, Banda Noqai, Biepingo Noqai* (Lame), *Waípe Noqa* (women).

Ute *Bear, Turkey, Lame, Dragging Feet, Round.*

Comanche *Horse, Dog, Love.*

Sioux *Hoop, Kahomini, Hatqka, Hahepi Wačipi, Begging.*

Kansa *Heluk Watci, Dali Watci* (women).

Kiowa *Snake, Rabbit, Owl, Brush.*

Shawnee *Deer, Quail, Fish, Leaf, Alligator, Drunken, Stomp.*

Sauk *Owl, Rabbit, Snake, Grapevine, Gourd, War, Victory, Two-step, Stomp.*

Fox *Swan, Snake, Mesquakie, War, Victory, Friendship, Stomp.*

Menominee *Rabbit, Partridge, Frog, Owl, Crawfish, Sunfish, Begging, Friendship, Forty-nine.*

Winnebago *Swan, Fish, Snake.*

Iroquois *Fish, Coon, Robin, Pigeon, Duck, Garters, Fishing, Marriage, Stomp.*

Cherokee *Ant, Raccoon, Partridge, Pheasant, Pigeon, Snake, Friendship, Stomp, Wood Gathering.*

Yuchi *Horse, Buffalo, Rabbit, Chicken, Duck, Buzzard, Leaf, Fish, Drunken.*

Creek Buffalo, Horse, Rabbit, Duck, Chicken, Buzzard, Screech Owl, Alligator.

### Adopted

Fox Snake (from Shawnee).  
Iroquois Snake (from Cherokee).  
Yuchi Leaf (from Shawnee).

Widespread: Sioux *Grass Dance*: Blackfoot, Piegan, Gros Ventre, Crow, Omaha, Yankton to Chippewa, Winnebago.

Naslo'han *Wacipi*: Shuffling Feet: Teton Sioux Assiniboin, Oglala, Cheyenne, etc.

*Squaw Dance*: Plains and Eastern Woodlands, including Wampanoag.

*Feather Dance*: Plains and Eastern Woodlands (still ritualistic among Navahos and Iroquois).

### Social Dances of the United States

Ballroom dances are based largely on the One Step and Two Step.

From Europe—Cancan, Chahut, Galop, Mazurek, Polka, Schottische, Varsouvienne, Waltz, Yale.

Original—Cakewalk, Fox Trot, Turkey Trot, Bunny Hug, Grizzly Bear, Shimmy, Boston (from Waltz), Charleston, Black Bottom, Castle Walk, Eight Step, Hoosier Hop, Lindy Hop, Big Apple, Trucking, Susie Q., Jitterbug, Jersey Bounce: man swings and pivots woman.

Boogie Woogie: Mooch, Sand, Duck Walk, Camel Walk, Rochester, Fish Tail: partners dance separately.

Jitterbug and Boogie have from the Negro their flatfooted, grotesque abandon, hip and shoulder movement, and frequent acrobatics.

### Rounds and Longways

In the West, rounds and longways are virtually nonexistent, except for old-fashioned ballroom dances loosely termed "rounds." In New England, however, the hybrid *Sicilian Circle* type is popular, and so are "Contrys" in two lines. Some of these are direct borrowings: *Petronella* from Scotland; *Pop Goes the Weasel* from England. Some are descendants: the *Virginia Reel* from Sir Roger de Coverley and *Kinkkaliepakko*. *Lancers* and *Virginia Reel* are now confined to formal social affairs. "Contrys" and squares feature in the increasingly popular barn dances of summer resorter and New England rustic; circular *Kentucky Running Sets* pervade the South.

### Square Dances

The development of the Square Dance is probably as follows:

Contre Dance } Cotillon }	Quadrille } Country } Dance }	Kentucky } Running } Set }	New England
			Quadrille
			Cowboy
			Square Dance

The Middle West partakes of qualities of both East and West.

Following are some distinctions between countries: England: Formations set to music; couples numbered clockwise.

Walking, running, skipping, sliding, "simple," "double," "turn single."

Five parts, no visiting all round, at most adjacent couple.

Usually start with "double" forward to center and back; many forms of "hey," often as finish. Longways preferred.

Great decorum.

Ireland: More steps, including jig and reel.

All formations found in America, including mill (wheel), crossovers.

Usually four parts, starting and ending with promenade.

Wealth of "heys"—half, whole, single, double, or couples, for three, in line, in circle, square chain

Denmark: Honors, circle, swing, mill.

Gaiety.

Various grasps; boys lift girls.

Kentucky: Gliding, shuffling run or clog, hand-clapping.

Start circle, swing. Birdie in the cage, Ladies in the center, Lady round the lady, figure eight. End promenade, Grand right and left.

New England: Set formations, couples numbered crosswise.

Shuffling run and chassé (sashay).

Start honors, circle, swing. Includes ladies' chain.

End promenade or grand right and left and swing

Lately the freer Cowboy dance has reinfluenced New

England, which now has calls and looser coordination of figures and music.

The "Singing Quadrille" may be the origin of the prompter's calls.

West: Steps correspond only to musical phrasing.

Waltz and polka sometimes replace shuffling run.

Couples and figures counted anticlockwise.

Three parts, everybody being visited all around.

Honors, balance and swing, circle. All formations, including mill.

Ladies' chain only for four. Many forms of grapevine twist.

Picturesque calls—"Dive for the oyster," etc.

Gaiety, Spanish swagger.

Boys lift girls off ground.

### IV. Comparative Choreography

#### Patterns

Circle and straight line constitute the fundamental elements of floor patterns. The figures all doubtless have their origin in vegetation symbolism, now forgotten in the elaborate quadrille.

*Circle*—round a sacred pole or object, following or opposing the sun's course. Interpretation of direction needs further evidence. Rites of death and penitence reverse into "widdershins" circuit, but so do social rounds at times.

*Open Round* (*Serpentine*, *Zigzag*, *Spiral*)—One released pair of hands converts the *Closed Round* (*Ronde Fermée*) into an *Open Round* (*Ronde Ouverte*) or *Link Dance*. Yet the former grows into the *Quadrille* by way of the *Branle Carré* and *Tambourin*; the latter opens into an arc or serpentine, or rolls into a spiral. Serpentine and zigzag mime the serpent, emblem of fertility.

Serpentine: Aztec *Dance for Chicomecoatl* (Seven Serpent); Arikara *Women's Dance*; Pyrrhic *Dance of*



Country	Dance	Patterns						Hey	
		Single Sunwise	Counter	Double	Multiple	To Center			
India	Dance of Todas	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Goorg Sword Dance	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
New Caledonia	Pilu Pilu	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	
Ecuador	Cachua	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Inca	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Venezuela									
Maipure	Maricyé	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Baile de Cintas	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Maypole
Otomaco	Gamo	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	
Mexico									
Aztec (old)	Quetzalcoatl Dance	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	
	(modern)	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	
Tarahumara	Rutuburi	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Huastecos	Matlanchines	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	Arch
Cora	Mitote	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Tarascan	Sembradoras	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	Maypole
Otomí	Volador	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	Maypole
Totonac	Volador	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	Maypole
U.S. Indians									
Yuma	Akil	-	-	Opposite	x	-	-	-	
Pueblo	Tablita	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	
Zuni	Scalp Dance	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Pole center
Shoshoni	Naroya	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Gros Ventre	Minataree	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	Fire center
S. Ute	Round Dance	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Sauk	Owl	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	
Fox	Shawnee Dance	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	
	Victory Dance	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Plains	Scalp Dance	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	Pole
	War Dances	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Iroquois	False Face	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Europe									
Basque	Cinta Dantza	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	Maypole
Catalonia	Bal del Ciri	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	
	Sardana	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	
Asturias	Perlindango	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Danza Prima	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	Maypole
	Baile del Cordón	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	Maypole
Portugal	Chamarita	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Italy	Douro Douro	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Galletta	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	
	Ballo della Catena	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	
France	Branle	x	-	-	-	de Malte	-	-	
	Filles du Village	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Rondes Fermées	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Treilles	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	
Switzerland	Weggis Dance	-	x	Parallel	-	x	-	-	
Germany	Reigen	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	
	Bändertanz	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	Maypole
Hungary	Mécs, Mécs	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Szabad Péntek	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	Center figure
Czech	Kdyš Jsem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Moravia	Czibulenska	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	
	Káča	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	
	Tancuj	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	

## Patterns (continued)

## Circle (continued)

Country	Dance	Single Sunwise	Counter	Double	Multiple	To Center	Hey	
Slovak	Vrtěná	-	-	x	-	-	-	
Lithuania	Kalvelis	x	x	x	-	x	-	
Finland	Stigare	x	-	-	-	-	-	
	Tantoli	-	-	-	x	-	-	
Sweden	Bleking	-	x	x	-	-	-	
Norway	Faroe Rounds	x	-	-	-	-	-	
Denmark	Firtur	-	x	-	Mill	-	-	
England	Newcastle	x	x	-	x	x	-	
	Peascods	x	x	-	-	x	-	
	Sellenger's Round	x	x	-	x	-	x	Maypole
Ireland	Donegal Round	x	x	-	-	-	x	
	Piper's Dance	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	Bonfire Dance	x	x	-	-	x	-	
	Seisir-Dheag (Quadrille structure)	x	x	-	Multiple	x	x	

## Longways

Country	Dance	Meer	Parallel	Down center	Gross	Cast off	Serpent	Dos-à-dos	Mill	Circle	Corners	Arch	Hey
Australia	Molonga	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Venezuela	Yapuraro	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Mexico													
Puebla	Quetzales	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
	Toreadores	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	x	-	-
	Negros	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x
	Santiaguitos	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	for 2
Michoacán	Negritos	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-
México	Arrieros	-	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-
	Moros	x	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Sonora	Matachini	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-
Europe													
Spain	Los Seises	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x
	Contradanza	x	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Basque	Ezpata Dantza	x	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x
Portugal	Mouriscada	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-
France	Bourrée	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
	Contre	x	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Ireland	Cor Aentrium	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
	Bridge of Athlone	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-
	Rinnce Fada	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
	Harvest Jig	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
	Gates of Derry	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-
England	Morris	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x
	Black Nag	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	x
	Trenchmore	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	-
	Pick up Sticks	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
	Nonesuch	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
	Sir Roger de Coverley	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	x	-	x

*Longways (continued)*

Country	Dance	Meet	Parallel	Down center	Cross	Cast off	Serpent	Dos-a-dos	Mill	Circle	Corners	Arch	Hey
Finland	Harvest Dance	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
	Kinkkaliepakko	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	—
U. S.	Virginia Reel	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	x	x	—
New England	Lady of the Lake	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Green Mountain Jig	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Irish Hornpipe	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x
Southwest and Mexico (mestizo)	Vals de los Paños	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	La Bamba	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—

*Quadrilles and Squares*

Country	Dance	Forward-Back	Circle	Mill	Cross	Divide <sup>a</sup>	Arch	Hook <sup>b</sup>	Promenade	Swing	Hey
France	Tambourin	—	x	—	x	—	—	x	x	x	x
	Lanciers	x	x	x	—	—	x	x	x	x	x
Germany	Föhringer Kontra	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	Schneidertanz	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	x	x
Denmark	Contra and Quadrille of Slagelse	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	Linen Dance	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	—
	Oxcow	—	x	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x
Finland	Pellinge Quadrille	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
	Räisälä Sappo	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
England	Chelsea Reach	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	Oranges and Lemons	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
	Hunsdon House	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	Dull Sir John	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	x
Ireland	Fionnuala	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
	Cor Achtair	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
U. S.	Plain Quadrille	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	x
New England	Portland Fancy (also Longway)	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
West	Divide Ring and For'd Up Six	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	x
	Old Arkansaw	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	Inside Arch and Outside Under	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	x	x	x
	Butterfly Whirl	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	Star by the Right	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
New Mexico	Las Cuadrillas	—	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	x	—
	Polka Cruzada	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
	El Taleón	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x

<sup>a</sup> Divide: a couple walks across and separates, passing between either the opposite or side couples.

<sup>b</sup> Hook: a pivot with linked elbows.

American Soldiers Joy and Sicilian Circle combine a four-hand reel with a round.

America, Denmark, and Ireland also have, respectively, the grapevine twist, knot, and loop.

- Greek Klephts; Catalan *Ball de la Teya* (flame). Link dances of Mediterranean (see EUROPEAN NATIONAL DANCES above). Sauk and Fox *Snake Dance*; Sauk *Grapevine*; Cherokee *Snake*, *Pigeon*, *Ant*; Kwakiutl *Children's Dance*. Mexican children's *A la Vibora*.
- Zigzag: Imerina of Madagascar *Puberty Dance*; Gran Chaco *Ghost Dance*; Chippewa *Bean Dance*; Santa Ana Pueblo *Histiyan Aiyadots*; Italy *Lo Zigo Zago*; France *Villanelle*, *Beaujoyeux*; Majorca *Ball de la Xisterna* (girls).
- Stationary Line or Lines*—Yurok *Jumping Dance*, Maidu *Turtle*, Pueblo *Kachina*, Fox *Thunder*, Bohemia *Kačer*.
- Multiple Lines*—African *War Dances*, Maori *Peru Peru*; massed effects: Plains *Buffalo*; Irish *Harvest Time Jig* (three lines), *Siege of Ennis* (many lines of four, very spectacular).
- Two Opposing Lines*—Joining or conflict of two forces, male and female, summer and winter, light and dark, etc. Characteristic of battle dances, especially when associated with vegetation. Play of sexes in longways.
- Hey*—Combination of two lines and serpentine, fructifying interplaiting of natural forces, also in plaited swords. English *Maypole Dances* are vestiges of double circuits around a sacred tree, as also the Spanish *Baile de Cintas* or *del Cordón*, spread to Venezuela and to Mexico, where, however, it may also be indigenous. The Basque *Ezpata Dantza* and Yaqui *Matachini* often wind a maypole, as part of the Pyrrhic *Morisca* rite.
- Arch*—The green bough or leafy bower. Spain, Portugal, Mexico *Arcos*. Basque *Arkuxtikiak*. German *Schäfflertanz* (whole hoops).
- Games*: Hungary *Green Branch*, *Green Leaf*; Germany *Die Goldene Brücke*; England *Oranges and Lemons*, *London Bridge*, *Needle's Eye*; Mexico *Santo Domingo*, *Amadrus Señores*, *Melón y Sandía*.

### Numerical Variety

- The couple and the eight person quadrille or longways are the most common forms. But numbers are varied, up to the "as many as will" formation.
- Three: Moravia *Trojky*; France *Écossaise Triolet*; Italy *Galletta*; Denmark *Crested Hen*, *Peat Dance*, *Three Men's Reel*; Sweden *Vingakersdans*; Norway *Krossardans*, *Mountain March*; Scotland *Reel of Three*; Ireland *Galway Reel*, *Cor na Gaillimhe*; Argentina *Palito*.
- Four: (Two Couples): Denmark *Kydholm Dance*, *Little Man in a Fix*; Scotland *Reel O'Tulloch*, *Foursome Reel*; Ireland *Fourhand Reel*, *Fionala*, *Humors of Brandon*; England *Parson's Farewell*, *Saint Martin's*, *Althea*, *Heartsease*.
- Five: Denmark *Five Dance*.
- Six: Denmark *Six Dance*, *Figure Eight*, *Pear Waltz*, *Triangle*, *Seksril*; England (best) *Black Nag*, *Grimstock*, *Adson's Saraband*, *Morris*; Ireland *Spinning Wheel*, *Cor Seisir* (Fairy Reel).
- Nine (Three one sex, six other): Denmark *Tinker's Dance*; Finland *Holola Polka*, *Nine Persons' Post*.
- Ten: Finland *Ten Persons' Polka*.
- Twelve (eight boys, four girls): Finland *Post Dance* (six couples), *Harvest Dance*; Ireland *Piper's Dance* (ingenious), *Twelve Hand Reel*.

Sixteen (double quadrille): Finland *Pellinge Quadrille*, *Kontra*, *Osterbinsk Four Corners*; Ireland *Cor Seisir Dheag* (break up into four small circles).

### Variation in Style

Despite the universality of certain choreographic elements, each people has its own technique, expressive of its character and way of life. Japan and Java use arms and hands with a turned-out stance; North Africa, vibration of the breast and flanks; Negro Africa, sweeping acrobatics, with swayed back; Europe and the American Indian, a straight back, much use of feet and legs with knees forward; India and its sphere of influence, the entire body, knees out in Asia, in Spain, forward, with a swayed back.

Beyond such generalization, the bounding aboriginal Santal of India contrasts with the hip-swaying Nautch girl; the erect and straight-kneed Morris dancer with the stealthily advancing, relaxed yet pulsating Plains Indian. The gentle horizontal glide of the Otomi Indian is very different from the powerful impact and rebound of the dynamic Yaqui.

Equally varying is the role of the woman, on an equal footing with the man in northern Europe, even edipping him in Andalusia; but in the Caucasus, Bavaria, Catalonia, the island of Ibiza, among American Indians, slowly revolving, retreating, shuffling, during the vehement gyrations of the man.

These contrasts differentiate dances which on analysis may have the same patterns, steps, and structural devices.

### Steps

Human imagination has devised in the folk dance every step within physical possibility. Virtually no step is universal property—even the common stamp step does not occur among the Kwakiutl. The two step spreads through Europe and the Americas, but Mexicans accent it with a heelbrush. Again, few steps are unique—the Spanish "vuelta quebrada" (renversé), the Magyar heel-click practically (except for the Mexican toreadors). Many steps are typical of certain nationalities, but do not occur in others.

"Double to side": *Brangle*, Faroe Islands *Rounds*, Otomi *Santiaguitos*.

Pas de Basque: Basque, Russia, Hungary, Scotland *Sword*, Mexico *Concheros*.

Heeltoe Rock: Hungary *Bokázó*, Scotland *Highland Fling*, Mexico *Concheros*, Jarabe *Tapatio*.

Pat-step: American Indian, *Boogie* (the latter with hip action).

Step-heel-toe-heel: India, Yaqui *Deer*, *Boogie*.

Toe-touching: *Hornpipe*, *Jig*, *Concheros*, Jarabe *Tapatio*.

Turning Leap: Santals, Tibetan *Devil Dance*, Slavic *Dances*.

Skip: Impulse down and up among Coorgs of India, up and forward in England, with forward pull in Russia, with back pull among American Indians.

### Acrobatics

Some feats of strength serve to exhibit prowess; others, as the leap, to further the growth of crops. Or they result from trance-induced loss of inhibitions.

Crouch: Borneo *Kayans*; Persians, Burma *Pwe*; Tibet *Skeleton Dance*; Russian *Cossack*; Serbian *Kolo*

(leader); Greece leader; Spain *Charrada*; Scotland *Hornpipe*; Switzerland *Hocketanz*; Gran Chaco girls of Pilaga; Mexican Aztecs, modern *Concheros*; Apache *gahe*; Kiowa *Squat Dance*.

Leap: Maori *Peru Peru*; Africa *War Dances*; Eastern Archipelago *War Dance*; Russia "Prisjadka"; Hungary *Szolo*; leader of *Link Dances*; *Seven Jumps* (Germany, Holland, Denmark); Basque *Zaspi Jausiak* (seven jumps), *Aurreku*; Bavaria *Schuhplattler*; Norway *Halling*, Midsummer Fire Leaps.

Kick: *Aurreku*; *Sardana*; *Halling*; Brittany *Triori* (women); Catalonia *Camada Redona* (man's leg over girl's head), also Sweden *Daldans*; Mexico *Jarabe Tapatio*.

Lift Girl: Moravia *Rozek*, *Kanafaska*; Naples *Saltarella*; Spain *Jota al Aire*, *Sardana* (Corranda Alta); France *Branle de l'Officiel*; Denmark *Firtur*; American *Cowboy Dances*. African dancers also throw girls about.

Special Feats: Stilt-dancing of Cameroon; Oaxaca (*Zanco*), formerly Aztecs.

*Hammock Dance*, Sierra Leone, Africa.

*Blanket Tossing Dance*, Eskimos of Baffin Bay.

Human Pyramids of Spanish *Mojiganga* and ancient Aztecs.

Spiral descent from pole of Mexican *Volador*.

### Structure

#### Rhythmic Patterns

Rarely do steps follow musical rhythms to the letter, the self-accompanied *Concheros* being an exception. A regular beat is the rule. The Negro dance and Boogie may syncopate. Spanish heels, castanets, finger-snapping, handclapping form complex counter-rhythms. The accent may recur every second, third, or fourth beat, rarely at irregular intervals; on the second beat of the measure (*Sarabanda*, *Mazurka*); the last beat of a phrase (Russia); or be absent (*Square Dance*). Counter-accent occurs in 2/4 against 3/4 of *Guabina* and *Llorona*, and in the Yaqui *Matachini*, with a 15-measure phrase against 16 of the music. Spaniard and American Indian often suddenly change tempo and meter.

Common rhythmic units are two short and a long (*Two Step*, *Zamba*, *Rhumba*), three steps and a skip (*Polka*) or tap ("double") or brush (*Quetzales*) or kick (*Conga*); iambic long and short (*jig*, *slide*, *galop*).

#### Form

1) Crescendo: Increase of intensity to the saturation point is typical of "primitive" dancing; Africa, often the American Indian. This is the most rudimentary form.

2) The development of dominant themes into a structure is a sophisticated device, as in the Tibetan *Black Hat Dance*.

3) Stretto (the contraction of rhythmic units): *Sieben-schritt* of central Europe: 7 steps forward and back, 3 each side, turn.

4) Two-part phrase: Finland *Ålands Flicka*; Sweden *Bleking*, *Tantoli*; Germany *Herr Schmidt*; Austria *Strohschneider*; Bohemia *Komarno*; Lithuania *Noriu Miego*; Mexico *La Raspa*: forward alternation of heels, then hook and swing.

5) Binary form of slow and fast: *Zyganos* and *Chords*, *Mazurek* and *Obertas*, *Lassu* and *Gyors* (Hungary), *Schwabentanz* and *Dreher*, *Pavana* and *Gaillarda*, *Gan-gar* and *Springar*.

6) Thematic alternation: *Minuet*, *Rondeau*, Fox Indian *Bean Dance*.

7) Medley of figures: *Jarabe Tapatio*, *Jarabe Michoacano*.

8) Logical succession of figures: Three part *Square Dance*, Four part *Irish Reel* (Opening, Body, Figures, Finish), Five part *Country Dance*, *Lanciers* (La Dorset, Victoria, Les Moulinets, Les Visites, Les Lanciers).

9) Grouping of dances into a kind of suite, involving dramatic climax:

*Surtida* (Birgoire, Camantugol, Tambururay, Haplin, Liguí, Voluntario, Incoy, Estrella, Salpumpati): courtship drama.

*Morris* (Laudnum Bunches, Bean Setting, Rigs o'Marrow, Shepherd's Hey, Constant Billy): vegetation conflict.

*Ezpata Dantza* (Yoakundia, Zortzikoa, Ezpata Zokua, Makil Aundiak, Banakoa, Binakoa, Txonkórinka): apotheosis of combat.

Such elaboration leads on the one hand to the orchestral suite, on the other into the mimed drama.

### Survival and Revival

In many parts of the world traditional rustic dances are being accepted wholeheartedly in urban areas. Folk dance societies have sprung up like mushrooms, starting with the English Esperance Girls' Working Club. Valuable collecting and teaching has been accomplished by the Danish Society for the Promotion of Folk Dancing, the National School of Irish Dancing, the Jugendbewegung, the shortlived Mexican School of Indigenous Dance; in the United States by the Country Dance Society, City Folk Dance Society, Community Folk Dance Center of New York, Youth Hostels, Civic Centers, recreation programs in parks; internationally by the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A.; during World War II the U.S.O.

In America groups from many countries practice at international centers or special headquarters. Native traditions have been upheld in various colonies: Slavs, Germans, and Irish in Pennsylvania; French in Canada and Louisiana; Scandinavians in Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and Seattle, Wash.; Spaniards and Mexicans in California, New Mexico, and Texas.

A larger public is reached by folk festivals, such as the National Folk Festival, formerly held in Washington, D.C., now in St. Louis, Mo., the Mountain Folk Festival of Asheville, N.C.; the programs of the Berea Mountain School, Ky.; the Summer Dance Camp in Buzzards Bay, Mass.; the Monadnock Folkways Summer School, N.H.; also the more professional series at museums, especially the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and at the Ethnologic Dance Center. Also, white friends of the Indians are arranging increasingly numerous powwows at convenient centers. Except in the New Mexico pueblos, the Indians themselves are becoming less averse to white visitors to their local powwows.

In Latin America gala gatherings convenience the tourist: near Lima, Peru, the *Fiesta of Amancaes*; in Bolivia the *Fiesta of Copabacabana*; in Masaya, Nicaragua, the *Fiesta of San Geronimo*; in Guatemala the *Fiesta of Chichicastenango*; near Oaxaca, Mexico, the *Guelaguetza (Fiesta del Cerro)*. But besides these, the ancient religious celebrations continue, without re-

gard for spectator value, as sacred pilgrimages, even at great accessible fairs: Guadalupe, Remedios, Amecameca, Tepalzingo, Papantla, San Juan de los Lagos, San Miguel de Allende in Mexico.

### Creative Aspects of Folk Dance

Communal dance is growing into new forms, largely due to the ingenuity of creative leaders.

1) New combinations on old models, especially *Cow-boy Squares* and *Lumberjack Stags*.

2) *American Play Party Games*: formed on frontier of Tennessee, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Texas. Country people play games with words, tunes, dance figures, dramatic action, jingles, ballads, popular songs, calls—all with a medley of realism and nonsensical antics.

3) *Children's Singing Games*: new versions of these remnants of ancient ritual.

4) Improvisatory *Flamenco* performances.

5) Improvisatory *Jitterbug* and *Boogie Woogie*: hypnotic American folk dance.

6) Improvisation and original step combinations: *Sioux Kahomini*, *Fox Snake* and *Eagle Dance*, other American Indian dances.

Ritual may remain immutable for centuries. But changing circumstances, mixture of races and religions bring innovations. The Pawnee *Iruska* (Fire Dance) grew out of the Dakota-Ojibway *Heyoka* and Omaha-Osage *Crow-belt*, and developed into the Arikara *Hot Dance* and Plains *Grass Dance*, now secularized, thence into the Central Algonquian *Dream Dance*, mingled with Christian ideology. Recently recovered Palestine has renovated its ancient heritage. Peru has instituted a flashy modern vintage *Fiesta de la Vendimia* in March, near San José de Surco. Contemporary events intrude into the masquerade of the one-time sacred *Carnival* and *Mardi Gras*.

Eventually *Komos*, *Kägura*, *Morisca*, *Cuadro Flamenco*, *Barn Dance*, *War Dance* and *Fiesta* accumulate spectators, interpolate the spoken word, and end up as theatrical spectacle, elaborate and meaningless in proportion to the disappearance of practical value.

GERTRUDE PROKOSCH KURATH

**Dancers** An American Indian name for the constellation commonly known as the Pleiades: so named for the constant twinkling of its stars. Explanatory myths about the Dancers occur especially among the North American Cherokees, Caddos, Micmacs, and Iroquois. These people also perform dances in imitation and memory of their lost dancers. An Onondaga story tells of a group of children dancing in the woods, warned by the chief to stop, and refused food by their parents because they would not stay home to eat. One day as they danced they began to rise and whirl through the air. The parents ran out of the houses with food, calling to them to come back. But the children danced higher and higher, and now dance forever in the sky. In a Seneca variant the eleven sons of a hunter were beguiled at night into joining the dance of the sky spirits. Once dancing, they could not cease dancing and were carried into the sky. Finally the Moon, pitying their fatigue, changed them into a group of fixed stars and put them in charge of the New Year festival, to dance over the council house for three days at that time. In a Blackfoot (Algonquian) story the dancers were seven young men

who danced around a field of sacred grain all night to guard it. For other Pleiades origin stories, see *PLEIADES*.

**dance with reeds** A motif found in the Coyote cycle of all Apache Indian folktale. The Chiricahua Apache version is typical: After Coyote was blinded, he was going along, and walked into a bunch of reeds in a swampy place. The reeds were blowing and swaying in the wind; so Coyote yelled and danced with the reeds all night. In the morning he climbed out of the reeds and came to a camp. The Lipan Apache story is the same, except that Coyote is not blind, and he personifies the reeds as reed-girls. Compare *DANCING BULRUSHES*.

**dancing bulrushes** The motif of a number of North American Indian trickster stories of the Plains and Lake regions in which the trickster sees the bulrushes waving and dancing in the wind and dances with them until he is exhausted. Compare *DANCE WITH REEDS*.

**dandelion** (from French *dent de lion*, lion's tooth). In Maryland, when the dandelions do not open in the morning, it will rain. When there is no wind, yet the down flies off the stalk, it will also rain. In England an infusion of the roots is used as a blood purifier and spring tonic; it is also good for the liver and rheumatism. Wine made from the flowers is generally believed to be a tonic. In Ireland dandelion is regarded as a tonic and remedy for heart disease. The juice of the stalks rubbed on warts drives them away. In Silesia dandelions gathered on St. John's (Midsummer) Eve possess enhanced medicinal properties and the power of keeping off witches.

There is much children's lore connected with the dandelion. Blowing the seed-heads will tell the time: as many puffs as it takes to blow them all away is what o'clock it is. If a child can blow all the seeds away in three puffs, his mother does not want him; if some remain, he had better run home. How much your sweetheart is thinking of you can be told by the amount of down remaining after one puff. Picking a dandelion, or wearing one, makes a child wet its bed (the dandelion is sometimes called piss-a-bed).

**Dandoo** The title often used in America for *The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin* (Child #277): so named from the nonsense syllables of the refrain.

**Dangbe** The snake *tawhwiyo* (ancestor) or sib founder and deity of a famous old Dahomean family: still worshipped in Dahomey, especially at Whydah. Dangbe is Dā, but distinguished from Dā in that Dangbe is serpent life *per se*, while Dā is the living quality or essence in all things living and sinuous. There are cult houses and shrines for Dangbe in Dahomey. One of the most conspicuous elements of the West African Dangbe cult is the practice of distintering the skulls of the dead to serve as altar receptacles for offerings to the deified ancestors (*torodiyi*). Sib members are ritually called Dangbevi, i.e. children of the snake Dangbe. Dangbesi, literally Dangbe-wife, is the term applied to initiated cult devotees. See *DAGOWE*.

**Danu or Dana** (genitive *Danann*) In Old Irish mythology, the mother of the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann or people of the goddess Danu. She has been the subject of much speculation, interpreted variously: 1) as Anu, the goddess of plenty mentioned in Cormac's *Glossary*

and for whom are named the Paps of Anu, two mountains in Kerry; 2) as Brigit, daughter of Dagda, and thus mother of Brían, Iuchar, and Iucharbar, called the three sons of Danu (this MacCulloch thinks is through confusion with the word *dán*, meaning art, knowledge, poetry, of which Brigit was patron); 3) as some possible, still earlier earth mother or underworld fertility deity who mothered the gods; and 4) tentatively, as ancestor of the Black Annis of Leicestershire who required human victims. Danu is identified with the Dón of Brythonic mythology.

**danza** A Spanish term for dance. It refers to special couple dances in several Latin American countries, danced in modern ballroom position. The music is in duple time, in Puerto Rico with a syncopated accompaniment, in Mexico with a tango rhythm. In the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries the term *danza* was used for Spanish court dances in distinction from *bailes* or popular dances. It is also applied to religious dances. [CPK]

**danzón** An amplification of the Spanish word for dance: a couple dance of African origin, popular in Cuba and Veracruz, Mexico. Modern instruments—brass and woodwind and a *guiro* or notched gourd—burst into exuberant, primitive rhythms. With an expression of almost religious solemnity, the dancers betray a subtle undercurrent of eroticism in their small one and two steps. [CPK]

**daoine maite** Literally, the good people: the fairies of contemporary Irish folklore.

**daoine síde** Literally, the people of the mounds: the tall divine folk of Old Irish mythology, the Tuatha Dé Danann. See AES SIDE.

**Daramulum** In Australian mythology, the son or deputy of Baiame to whom he is sometimes troublesome. Also, he is the chief totemic ancestor of the Yuin tribe. The name occurs among tribes of New South Wales. [KL]

**Dardanus** The mythical ancestor of the Trojans; son of Zeus and Electra. He was an Arcadian who married Chryse and received as dowry the Palladium given to Chryse by Athena. Having killed his brother, Dardanus fled to Samothrace, and from there during the flood crossed to the Troad on a raft or a blown-up hide. There he married Batea, daughter of Teucer, and succeeded him on the throne. He was thus the ancestor of Æneas, and as son of one of Hera's rivals caused her to side against the Trojans, his descendants, in the war at Troy.

**Daśaratha** In Hindu mythology, the childless king of Ayodhyā who performed the horse sacrifice (*Asvamedha*) after which four sons were born to his three wives. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Viṣṇu gave Daśaratha a bowl of nectar which he divided among his wives. He gave Kauśalyā half and the other two each a quarter. Thus Rāma, son of Kauśalyā, shared half the nature of Viṣṇu, while the others shared in proportion to the amounts of the nectar their mothers had drunk.

**Dasent, Sir George Webbe** (1817–1896) Englishman and Scandinavian scholar, assistant editor of the *Times* (1845–1870). He published translations of Norse tales, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (1858) and *Tales from*

*the Fjeld* (1896). Among his excellent translations are Asbjørnsen's *Hen who went to Dovrefjeld to save the World* and *Cock who fell into the Brewing-Pot*, examples of the cumulative tale.

**date** Among the ancient Egyptians, the Sumerians, and the Taoists of China the date palm was considered the tree of life, and among the Taoists, also the symbol of offspring. The Hindus thought the tree possessed intelligence and was only one step removed from the animal kingdom. The genus name of this tree is *Phoenix*, from an ancient belief that if the tree falls from age or is burnt, it will grow again greener than ever. In some places Mary is reputed to have given birth to Jesus under a date palm, and a new mother must eat three dates. The root boiled and mixed with flour makes a poultice for swellings and is used to regulate the bowels. The wood is used for building, the leaves are woven into numerous articles, the juice of the tree is used in making palm wine. The fruit is the staple food of many peoples, the seeds are ground into an oil, and one species produces a sugar. See TREE OF LIFE.

**datu** The Moro (Philippine Islands) name for a chief. The word *datu* is used generally in the Philippine Islands for a chief and in Sumatra for a shaman, who frequently is also a chief. Among the Bagobo the *datu* holds his position because of his personal wisdom and bravery and, of primary importance, with the consent of the spirits. (Among the Bataks of Sumatra originally there were no priests, but after the introduction of Hinduism a kind of priesthood was instituted. These *datu* are priests according to Loeb in so far as they hand down the main part of the Hindu ritual and learning.) As *datu*s their duties actually resemble those of the shaman. The *datu* is a physician who practices curing magic. He is also a clairvoyant and a weather-maker. He conducts public ceremonies, summons the spirits in a secret language, and determines the propitious time for war-making.

**datugað** Literally, in Irish, a color or dye; coloring. The word is often applied to the magical power some people seem to have in always being dealt the best cards in a card game, i.e. the "coloring" of the cards.

**David** King of Israel about 1000 B.C.; father of Solomon: perhaps the greatest hero of Hebrew tradition in all respects. David possesses many of the attributes of the folk hero: his parentage was high but obscured; he was a despised youngest son; he served as a shepherd; he was the slayer of giants and beasts; his weapons were magical; he was a great musician; his principal failing was caused by his love of women; his son rebelled against him, etc. His story is told in I and II *Samuel*, I *Kings*, and I *Chronicles*; he is also said to be the author of many of the *Psalms*. Under David, the Kingdom of Israel achieved eminence among its neighbors (in a weak period of Egyptian dominance of the region), an eminence exceeded only by the glory of the kingdom under Solomon.

Jesse, David's father, took a liking to one of his slave girls. But Nazbat, the lawful wife of Jesse, disguised herself as the slave girl, and thus David was conceived. When David was born, however, his mother let it be thought that he was the son of the slave. A legend states that the child was destined to live only 3 hours, but

when at the Creation God permitted Adam to see the future inhabitants of the world, Adam had presented seventy of his allotted thousand years to David. In fact, some say, the world and all upon it were created only that David might one day live. For David is to be reborn as Messiah, though some tradition holds that one of David's descendants will be the Redeemer. The claim that Jesus was the Messiah rested very strongly in his descent from David; the genealogy is emphasized by the Gospels.

As a young man, David was Jesse's shepherd, living the solitary life of the flock-tender. Several of his adventures in the desert are traditional. He slew with his hands four lions and three bears. Once, thinking it was a hill, he climbed up the side of the monstrous animal, the reem. When it stood up, David was lifted far above the earth. In his prayer for help, he vowed to build a temple as high as the reem's horns if he were permitted to descend. (The building of the temple was accomplished by David's son, Solomon.) Therefore God sent a lion, before which king of the beasts the reem bowed down. Then, as in all good hunters' tales, as David got off the horns of the reem, a deer appeared, the lion chased it, and David escaped unharmed.

At the age of 28, David was anointed somewhat secretly by Samuel as the successor of Saul. It was then that his mother revealed that he was not a slave's son. He came to the court, and there, arousing the jealousy of other courtiers, he became the butt of much of Saul's morose ill-humor. After David had killed Goliath with the sling and pebble (three or five speaking pebbles had offered themselves to David and became one when he fought), Saul became more convinced than ever that David was fated to succeed him. David had to flee into the desert, where he and his band, a sort of Robin Hood's crew, became marauders on the outskirts of Saul's kingdom. Once as David hid in a cave Saul almost discovered him, but a spider spun its web across the cave's entrance and Saul went on convinced that the cave was undisturbed.

Eventually David became king. His son Absalom, one of the joys of David's life, rebelled against him and was killed when the uprising was put down. The lament of David is one of the most poignant speeches ever written. David sent Uriah the Hittite to his death in order that the will of God that David and Bathsheba marry be fulfilled. A famine, one of the ten greatest ever to occur, desolated the land. It was finally discovered that the cause of the famine was the burial of Saul and Jonathan outside the land. When the bodies were reinterred in the lands of the tribe of Benjamin, the famine ceased.

David knew that he would die on the Sabbath, and, despite his pleas that it be some other day, it was so. Knowing that the Angel of Death could not take him while he studied the Law, David spent the Sabbaths deeply immersed in study. But the Angel of Death one Sabbath caused a noise in the garden, and David arose from the Book to find out what had happened. While thus distracted from his studies, he was vulnerable, and as he walked down the steps into the garden, they collapsed. David's body fell into the garden in the full sun. As it was the Sabbath, the body might not be moved. Therefore Solomon called great eagles which with their wings shaded the body and kept it cool.

David's tomb in Jerusalem, his capital city, was the scene of several miracles. A Moslem notable once accidentally dropped his sword into the tomb. Fear of his followers went down to retrieve it, and all three were brought up dead. It was then announced that the Jews of the city would be made to restore the sword under threat of dire punishment. After a three-day fast, the beadle of the synagogue was chosen by lot to descend. He was hauled up, much shaken, but with the sword. He said later that within the tomb an old man had appeared and handed him the weapon.

On the day of judgment, David will recite the benediction over the wine at the great feast for the elect. God will pass the cup to Abraham, who will pass it on, for he is the progenitor of the Ishmaelites. Isaac too will pass the cup, for Esau's children destroyed the Temple. Jacob will pass the cup, for he violated the law by being married to two sisters at the same time. Moses, who was not permitted to enter the Holy Land, and Joshua, who was not fit to be the father of a son, will similarly refuse the honor. But David, the sweet singer, will say the blessing.

**Davy Jones** In sailors' lingo, the spirit or personification of the sea; Davy Jones's locker is the bottom of the sea. To go to Davy Jones's locker is a common phrase meaning to be drowned at sea, or to die and be buried at sea.

**Dayan** In Indian belief, a witch who frequents burning grounds and cemeteries, drinks blood, casts the evil eye on children, and knows the *dayan ka mantar* or charm for destroying life: a name derived from *Dikini*, the female demon. Among the Oraons a woman who desires the power of a Dayan goes to a cave wearing only a girdle of broken twigs taken from a broom. There for a year she learns spells and, during each seance, drops a stone in a hole. If at the end of the time the hole is full, she has the ability to take away or restore life; if it is only partly full, she has the ability only to take away life.

**day-names** Gold Coast (West Africa) designations for human beings (and sometimes supernatural beings) given in accordance with the day of the week on which a person of one sex or the other is born. They are found in those parts of the New World where the Negroes are predominantly of Fanti-Ashanti derivation—Dutch Guiana, Jamaica, and the southeastern coast of the United States. Versions from Jamaica and Dutch Guiana (Surinam) can be given here:

	Jamaica		Surinam	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sunday	Quashe	Quasheba	Kwasi	(A)Kwasiba
Monday	Cudjo	Juba	Kodjo	Ajuba
Tuesday	Cubena	Beneba	Kwabena	Abena
Wednesday	Quaco	Cooba	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Quao	Abba	Yao	Yaba (Yawa)
Friday	Cuffee	Feeba	Kofi	Afi
Saturday	Quamina	Mimba	Kwamina	Amba

The derivation of such American Negro names as Quashee, Cuffee, and Codjo is apparent from this list. The tradition of giving day-names apparently persisted in the United States after the African names themselves had disappeared, as witness the names



"Thursday" or "Saturday" borne by men living in the Sea Islands off South Carolina and Georgia. [MJH]

**day of the dead** In some communities a special calendrical day on which it is proper to do honor to the dead, though the ceremonies of the day of the dead are conditioned by the views the community holds about death and about the ceremonies needed for purification and protection. Frequently these ceremonies are determined as much by the hope that the ghosts will be kept from troubling the living as by affection for the departed. The custom is further complicated by the readiness with which communities accept alien customs for protection. In China, for example, important ceremonies are performed in Spring, Summer and Autumn (the second, seventh, and tenth moons). These ceremonies are to give ease and comfort to man's two principal souls: the spiritual soul which in heaven will, it is hoped, exercise political pressure in favor of its descendants on earth; and the animal soul, which if it has great vitality, might still animate the corpse or skeleton or parts of it and cause terrible trouble among the living.

The elaborate Hindu śrāddhas (rituals for the ancestors) contain elements found in several parts of the world. They last for ten days when the ghost receives food to help it obtain liberation from the ten different hells it must visit. On the first of the new autumn moon the head of each Hindu family performs ceremonies for the dead of the last three generations. Additional ceremonies are performed on the anniversary of the day of death. Reports from all continents indicate that ceremonies occur which might be called (a) general, for the souls of all the dead such as All Souls Eve in Christian countries, or the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts in China; or (b) particular, for immediate ancestors, heroes, and the like. Other ceremonies for classes of dead fall between these general and particular ceremonies and belong to the special days on the calendars. Among these are memorial days for those who died in battle, those who died at sea, those who died in great disasters. In this connection it is proper to note that the souls of persons who died by violence are more restless and dangerous to the living than the souls of those who died "naturally." [RDJ]

**dayong** A Kayan (North Borneo) medium whose duties include that of doctor (but not midwife), soul-catcher, magician, and conductor of important ceremonies. The dayong is frequently a woman. In soul-catching she sends her own soul in search of the lost one which is causing its owner misfortune by its absence. When she finds it, she entices it back to the body of its owner and then places palm-leaf wristlets sprinkled with blood on the patient's wrists to make certain that the soul will stay where it belongs. The dayong directs funeral ceremonies, keeps a fire burning to guard against the evil spirits which crowd around after a death, and chants instructions to the spirit of the dead person. She also entices unfriendly spirits onto a small raft loaded with food and gifts and sends the craft away with the spirits aboard, thus ridding the village of these beings though only temporarily.

**Dead Horse Chantey** A chantey sung on American ships at the halcyards or capstan, and on British ships to accompany the celebration of "burying the dead

horse." The dead horse represented the first month's work on the ship, for which wages had been paid in advance and spent ashore. When the debt was worked out, a dummy horse of rags and straw was dragged around the deck and thrown overboard, to the tune of the chantey. The chantey is also called *Poor Old Man*.

**dead man's hand** In the American West, the poker hand of aces and eights has been known thus for three-quarters of a century. The famous scout of the plains, Wild Bill Hickok (J. B. Hickok of Cheyenne, Wyoming) was shot at Deadwood in the Black Hills on August 2, 1876, while playing a game of poker. The assassin was Jack McCall and the weapon a .45-caliber Colt. When the body was removed from the saloon where the murder took place, it was noticed that the dead man's fingers were tightly clenched upon the cards he had held and that the hand contained two pair, aces and eights. [GRS]

**dead rider** The motif (E215) of a cycle of traditional European ballads in which a dead man returns and takes with him on his horse some dearly loved person—wife, child, or sweetheart. In some versions the living rider does not know the other is dead; often the living narrowly escapes being taken into the grave with him. In the Greek ballad *Constantine and Arete* or *The Dead Brother's Return*, Constantine returns from the dead to bring his sister, Arete, to their dying mother's bedside. During the ride Arete learns that her brother is dead when she hears the birds in the trees commenting on the wonder that a dead man rides with a living girl behind him. Frequently a dead lover abducts his betrothed and carries her with him to the grave. Sometimes she is saved from going into the grave by a cock's crowing; but she almost always dies the next day. The dead rider motif is found in Icelandic, Danish, German, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Czech, and English balladry, and turns up also in an Araucanian legend. Hungarian Gipsy ballads also use the theme. The English ballad, *The Suffolk Miracle* (Child #272) on which Burger's *Lenore* is based, is an undramatic version of this grim story. *Sweet William's Ghost* (Child #77) belongs to the general group.

**dead shoes** Shoes provided for the dead because of the long journey they must make to the afterworld: a very ancient custom, surviving quite generally in Europe to relatively modern times. The ancient Teutonic and Scandinavian *Helskø* (or *Todenschuh*) were bound to the feet of the dead to ease the rough going of their journey along the Hell way. The traditional Scottish ballad, *The Lyke-Wake Dirge*, presents an old belief prevalent on the border that to give new shoes to a poor man in life guarantees that at death an old man will meet you with the shoes in his hand, so that you need not walk unshod over the stones and thorns in the path.

Southern United States Negroes do not put shoes on their dead for burial, but mourners must not wear new shoes to a funeral lest the dead be envious and try to get them: a strange combination of contradiction and verification of the belief that the dead need shoes.

**dead smell bad** The reason why the California Huchnom Indian creator, Taikomol, gave up the idea

of resurrection of the dead. After Taikomol had created the earth for the third time, built a dance house, and made human beings, he gave to them the *hulk'ilal wok*, or dance of the dead. During the dance, one of the people did something wrong, and sickened and died. Taikomol buried him, but assured the man that he might come back in the morning. So in the morning the dead man walked back into the dance house. All the people said to each other that that one who came back smelled very bad. They could not stand it and were sick. So Taikomol gave up the idea of allowing the dead to return.

**death** Nearly all North American Indian tribes offer some explanation of the origin of death. The most widespread tale is that of an early controversy between two characters, either animal or human. One character wants people to die and be revived, the other wants death to be permanent. The second character wins the controversy; often, a little later a close relative of his, such as a son, dies and the parent wishes the decision reversed. His opponent reminds him, however, that he himself has already decided the matter. [EWV]

Surprising unity of death belief is found over the entire Middle American area. The underlying theme is that the soul on its way to the afterworld is confronted by dangers and difficulties which must be overcome. The soul of the ancient Aztec had to pass between clashing rocks; among the modern Mosquito of Nicaragua trees clash together to catch the unwary traveler. Among the Popoluca of Veracruz in Mexico a whip woven of seven strings, the tribal sacred number, is placed in the hands of the corpse to permit it to drive dangerous animals from the path to the hereafter. In Tehuantepec the corpse is provided with thick sandals, since the path to the hereafter is filled with thorns and brambles. It is commonly believed that dogs, often red, must help the souls of their masters across a body of water which lies between them and paradise. For this reason, Indians almost never kill dogs, even though they may permit them to starve. In other cases, as among the Cuna of Panama, the soul of the dead traverses the water in a canoe. Christian influence is reflected in the frequent modern explanation that the water is the River Jordan. Rare is the Tarahumara custom of destroying or abandoning the house of an adult after his death. See AFTERWORLD; DEAD SHOES. [GNF]

**death baby** A New England popular name for a species of fungus (genus *Ithyphallus*). Its appearance in the yard of a house is said to portend a death in the family, and it is destroyed as soon as sighted.

**death coach** In Irish folklore, the spectral vehicle whose stopping at the door of a house means that someone in that house will die the next day. It is driven by a headless driver and drawn by black (sometimes headless) horses, and therefore often called the "headless coach." If it is seen passing through a village street, it must not be stopped; it must not be stopped before a house door either, for only in that place where it stops does it mean someone will die tomorrow. There are occasional stories that the banshee rides the death coach, or that sometimes it travels through the air. It is certain that a fallen bridge is no trouble to it; it crosses easily. Compare ANKOU.

**death dance** A dance or dance drama enacted by a group for the spirits of the departed or personifications of Death. Of the many underlying concepts, the following are the most prominent:

1) Release or exorcism of the spirit, motivated by fear of its malignant potentialities. American Indians often perform a series of funerary and anniversary rites. The California Luiseño banished the spirit from his familiar haunts with the *tuvish* and *chuchemish* (which resemble wakes), and in memorials for all the dead of the year or several years with the *yunish matachich* (which imitates the dead), with the *tauchanish* (which involves burning of images made of rush), with the *notush*, and with the *ashwut maknash*, or eagle-killing for chiefs. Similar to the *tauchanish* is the *keruk* of the Diegueño and *ka'aruka* of the Yuma; the images are danced to a shelter (*keruk*) and burned with stacks of gifts for the other world. The Tarahumara Indians of Chihuahua dance the *rutuburi* and *matachini* and a death dance around the belongings, during a three-week fiesta; after a year they dance the *yurani* and *pascal*. The Yaqui of Sonora hold a fiesta and dance the *pascal* at the wake of a child; the *matachini* dance in honor of a member of their society; the *chafeyeku* for anyone dying during Lent. A second wake or *velación* finally releases the *liepsi* or spirit; this novena occurs after three days among the Yaqui, after the proper eight days among the Mayo. Among the Cábila (Mayo-Yaqui) Indians ghosts are not feared as in California.

2) Catholicism has introduced the appellation of *angelitos* in the case of the death of children. This motif of cheer and consolation pervades the Spanish wakes for children. "Están con los angeles"—they are with the angels, they say. The *jota* and *canario* are danced on these occasions. Consolation is probably mingled with vague early concepts in the dancing of the *jig* at Irish and Scottish wakes, and of the *baraban*, *lucia*, and *mattacino* of dirges in Sicily and Tuscany.

3) Memorial rites may also have a curative function, as the Iroquois *'ohgiwe*, the women's chant for the dead.

4) Communion with the dead, paramount in ancestor-worshipping cultures. Usually identification is effected by means of masks, as in the ghost dance with mask and shroud enacted by the African Whidah and Yoruba tribes, and the Brazilian Machacali and Caingang (in ancient times the Roman *archimimus*). Sometimes this communion is mystical, without impersonation, as in the Plains *Ghost Dance*. This however is not mortuary, and so deserves separate treatment.

5) Propitiation of the spirit, especially of enemies slain in battle. In the Plains scalp dances, California Yuki head dance, sentiments of triumph mingle with those of fear.

6) Personification of the concept of Death, preeminently in the medieval European *Dance of Death*. This is best known through frescoes and woodcuts, but has foundation in prolonged dance mimes. The grotesque skeleton of Death capers in turn with sinners of all classes and ages, cardinal, child, and laborer: an expression of the medieval horror of death, its *memento mori*. In Catalonia skeleton impersonations still covert during religious holidays, notably Carnival and *Semana Santa* (Holy Week): called the *danza macabra* or *bell*

*de la mort*, in Ampurdán a quadrille of skeletons carrying a scythe, clock, and banner. In Mexican carnivals *la muerte* is a horrid clown.

7) Fusion of the concept of death and of resurrection, the eternal cycle of life, is prevalent in pagan religions. Thus *la muerte*, apparently Christian, expresses the Aztec attitude typified by Coatlicue, goddess of maize and death. During the Middle Ages funeral dances enacted death and resurrection by a kiss. In the Hungarian *Gyds Tánc* one of the dancers performs this gruesome mime at funerals. The Bororo funeral ceremony is also a boys' puberty rite. The erotic *canario* celebrates a Spanish wake. In Europe and the Americas orgiastic rejoicing commonly follows the mourning, to produce life out of death.

A peculiarity of death rites is the reversal of directions and symbols, probably to mislead evil spirits. [GRK]

**death feigned to meet paramour** In North American Indian mythology, the tale of a woman who feigns death and is "buried" in order to marry her paramour, is told among Plateau and North Pacific Coast tribes generally, but has also been recorded for at least one Eastern Woodlands group, the Shawnee. The guilty woman marries her lover and lives happily for a time, but eventually is recognized and killed. [EWV]

**death postponed by substitution** A motif of folktale and myth in which one person's death can be postponed if a willing substitute can be found (D1855.2; T211.1; T211.1.1). Probably the most famous use of this motif is in the Greek story of Admetus and Alcestis. Another folktale, fairly well known in Europe (Type 612; motif E165), is about a man who resuscitates his dead wife by prayer, agreeing to give up half (or twenty years) of his own remaining time in exchange.

**death prophesied** The motif of a large number of European and Asian folktales (M311ff.) in which someone's death is prophesied in detail: at what age, on what day or hour of the day, by what instrument (hanging, drowning, fire, poison, lightning, a certain sword, a spindle wound, bite of a stone lion, or at the hands of someone of a certain name), at what place, etc. Every extreme of precaution is always taken to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy (the sword is sunk in the sea, every spindle in the kingdom is destroyed, for instance, or the fatal child is exposed to perish, etc.) but the death prophesied inevitably comes to pass. Compare JASON; LITTLE BRIAR ROSE; TWO BROTHERS.

**death tick or death watch** The tapping or ticking noise made by a small wood-boring insect (family *Anobiidae*), called the death watch beetle. In general European and United States folk belief to hear it means there will be a death in the family. To hear it tick *only three times* is especially fatal in Lancashire belief. See BEETLE.

**débat** A song type in which a question-and-answer contest or an argument takes place: literally, French for debate. Examples in English are *Riddles Wisely Expounded*; *Inter Diabolus et Virgo* (Child #1a); and *The Farmer and the Shanty Boy*, an American song in which two girls argue out the merits of men of each calling as husbands. The type started with a homiletic purpose but developed secular forms.

**Deceived Blind Man** A Smith Sound Eskimo folktale containing both the blind dupe motif (K333.1) and the healing water motif (B512). A blind boy's (or youth's) mother helped him aim his arrow at a bear. The arrow hit its mark; the bear was killed. But the woman told the boy that he had missed, and cooked and ate the meat herself. The sister, however, secretly gave half of her share to her brother. Thus he knew how his mother had tricked him. One day a great loon came to him, dived with him into a pond again and again until his sight was not only restored but as keen as the loon's own. After that he was not duped again. This story and *Deceived Blind Men* have about the same distribution.

**Deceived Blind Men** A Menomini Indian Trickster story in which the Trickster (Raccoon in this instance) comes upon two blind men living together who possess plentiful food. They have a system of lines rigged up by which they are guided back and forth to the edge of the lake. Raccoon is hungry and decides to steal their food. He changes the lines about, so that the next time one of the blind men goes for water, he is led into a tangle of bushes. By the time the other one investigates, the Trickster has changed them back again. Thus the second one brings back the water, and the two sit down to eat, facing each other with a bowl of meat between them. They divide the food evenly; each has six pieces of meat. While each of them is munching his first piece, Raccoon reaches out and takes four pieces from the bowl. Soon one of the blind men discovers there are only two pieces left, and accuses his companion of gobbling more than his share. Thus falsely accused, the other naturally suspects the first, and an angry quarrel ensues. In the midst of the argument Raccoon taps each on the face. Whereupon, each thinking the other has hit him, the two old men fall into a blind scrambling fight and upset the food. Raccoon grabs the last two pieces of meat and runs off. But the two blind men hear him laugh as he runs, stop fighting, and trust each other once more.

This story, containing two of the blind dupe motifs (K1081.2; K1081.3), is known among the Indians of the North Pacific Coast and the Plateau and Central Woodland regions. It is found only occasionally on the Plains and among the Iroquois. There is a California Shoshonean (Paviotso) version in which Eagle as Trickster steals the food from between the pair while they are feeding each other. This story, however, as in many other variants, ends with the Trickster restoring the sight of the blind men (or women).

**deception by lousing** A folktale motif (K874) very widespread among North American Indians, in which by lousing or pretended lousing of the ogre or other villain of the story, the hero escapes his fate. In a Lummi Indian (Washington) tale, for instance, a woman pretends to louse her cruel husband, then holds him tight by the hair while her relatives kill him to avenge her wrongs. There are many stories in which the lousing is demanded by the ogre (father-in-law, etc.) with the intent that the very large, dangerous vermin in his hair will kill the hero (K611.1). The hero deceives the ogre, however, by cracking berries (usually cranberries) in his teeth, and thus escaping the fate intended for him. Or the lousing is merely required as

a test of courtesy or obedience (G466). Often the lousing is volunteered in order to put the ogre to sleep and effect an escape (D1962.2). This last is a general European, African, and Jamaican Negro, as well as American Indian incident. Many a folktale ogre has happily snoozed off while being deloused and waked to find his captives flown.

There is a seemingly pointless and malicious Indonesian story about an ape who pretends to louse a heron and pulls out all his feathers instead (K874.1) so that the heron cannot fly. Another heron avenges his friend by beguiling the ape to sea in a boat made of leaves, pecks a hole in it, and flies off, leaving the ape to drown.

**deceptive bargains** The motif of an extensive cycle of world folktales (K100-299) including many clever, dishonest, and tricky transactions: the sale of objects falsely claimed to be magic, for instance, such as the soup stone which needs only meat and vegetables added (K112.2), the gold-dropping horse (K111), the Jamaican soup-making pot (K112.2.1), etc.; the sale of worthless animals and objects—what the seller meant when he said the horse would not walk over trees is revealed to the buyer when the horse refuses to cross a bridge (K134.1); deceptive divisions—A gets the corn, B gets the chaff (K171.2), A shears the sheep, B shears the pigs (K171.5); the deceptive land measure (K185 ff.). Other deceptive bargains involve cheating the Devil out of the soul he has been promised (K210 ff.), withholding sacrifices or offerings promised to gods or saints after the need or danger is over (K231.3 ff.), failing to pay for things ordered, selling stolen property to the owner, exchanging new lamps for old (see ALADDIN), counting out pay into a container with a hole in it (K275), etc. See MASTER THIEF.

**deceptive land measure** A motif (K185) belonging to the deceptive bargain cycle (K100-299) of world folktale. The classic example is the story of Dido's arrival on the coast of North Africa (from Tyre) where she bought as much land as the hide of a bull would cover. The thin strips into which she cut and stretched the hide were enough to measure off the circumference of the space on which she built the citadel of Carthage. Deceptive land purchase stories appear everywhere from Turkey, across Europe, and North America, to Indonesia. The deceptive measure, however, varies: the purchaser bargains for as much land as a bull, ox, or horse-hide will measure (Turkish, Finno-Ugric, Greek, general European, Icelandic, North American Indian), as much land as Vishnu can lie on (Hindu), as a shawl will cover (the huge shawl being prepared beforehand in Java, Brigit's miraculous cloak spreading of itself in Ireland), as can be plowed in a certain time (Scandinavian), or as can be shadowed by a certain tree, the piece of land being bought just before sunset (Indonesian).

The North American Indian Wyandots have a story describing the coming of the white man to their neighbors the Delawares on the shores of the Atlantic. The white men needed land and proposed to buy as much as a cow's hide would measure. The Delawares agreed, believing that a people who could live crowded together in a little ship would need only a comparable strip of land. The newcomers, however, cut and stretched

the hide into threadlike strips which measured off a large area. Wyandot comment to the end of this story is: "This is the way the white man does." The Delawares and Shawnee also tell the same story.

**Dechtiere** In Old Irish legend, the sister of Conchobar, king of Ulster; mother of Cuchulain by Lug. In the form of a mayfly Lug fell into her cup of wine on the night of her wedding to Sualtim, an Ulster chieftain, thus causing the supernatural impregnation. Lug whisked her away that night to his own abode and she was not heard of again until she sent for Conchobar to announce the birth of her son.

**decoration** Usually, that part of an artist's work which embellishes or ornaments, presumably without being essential to the functioning shape of the whole; by connotation we are likely to assume that it is added purely for the sake of beauty or pleasure, that it is not utilitarian. It covers a good deal of the same territory as design, but the existence of a distinction is revealed by the fact that the phrase *decoration and design* is often used. In the case of a chair with a stenciled pattern, for example, the design of the chair includes both the shape of the chair and the added pattern. If the word decoration is used, however, it is clear that one is referring to the stenciled pattern, for decoration conveys the idea of an embellishment that is added to, is an extension of, the basic piece of work.

Thus, it seems useful, in folk art, to refer to decoration as such when one wishes to analyze it as a separate process in the construction of an object, e.g. for the painting as distinct from the folding of a box, the incising as distinct from the coiling of a dish, the carving as distinct from the hewing of a post. But it would not be accurate to assume that its purpose is primarily to embellish, that it is non-utilitarian, for embellishment is seldom the whole purpose in primitive art (or so we believe) and it is a secondary purpose in much of folk decoration. The sampler, while it was hung on the wall as a decoration, was executed to demonstrate or develop the skill of the needleworker. The figurehead gives the boat a presiding spirit. The quilt was a covering designed to utilize scraps. And it is only when these reasons are forgotten that the work can be said to be purely decorative in purpose. The embroidery on the priest's robe conveys the symbols of his office. The flourishes on a birth certificate mark its importance. The ceremonial vessel might be a cooking pot but for the pattern derived from the deity. In short, embellishment and utility develop hand in hand, and the function and quality of the so-called decoration merge with that of the object as a whole.

Any object (art or not) may be said to be "decorative" if it happens to fit in with the beholder's taste as to what is pleasing or ornamental. Any object may be put to a decorative use and decoration may be added to almost anything. This does not mean that it necessarily falls in the category of decoration in the art sense.

**Ornament** is another word used to mean a decorative pattern, but since it has specific uses of its own, it might as well be reserved for them. It is a term widely used in architecture. It is the word commonly used for objects of personal adornment and for a variety of small objects used to embellish a house, a Christmas tree, a harness or wagon, etc. Compare DESIGN. [MH]

**Dedari Tundjung Biru** Literally, possession by Blue Lotus: a temple dance of Bali. Blue Lotus is a heavenly goddess of Bali impersonated by the child temple-dancers. In a kind of charmed sleep the dancer becomes possessed by this spirit. She trembles all over; she sways from right to left, faster and faster; her head rolls loosely from side to side. At last when the full personality of Blue Lotus is in possession of her, she gathers strength and attacks the forces of evil and illness. At last she falls exhausted and unconscious. This dance borders on the convulsive type; self-will has departed from the body, and the dancer, in profound religious experience, is in the hands of the god.

**Deer** A popular character in the mythology of many western tribes of native North America, but also not unknown as a character in other parts of the continent. Deer in some tales is referred to as a male being, in others as a mother, sister, or wife of some other animal character. The tale of *Bear Woman and Deer Woman* is widespread in western North America. Another rather widespread tale is that of the marriage of a human being to a deer wife; the wife is finally offended (as animal wives often are in North American Indian tales) by remarks concerning her eating habits. She leaves her human husband after bearing him a son. There are numerous other American Indian tales in which Deer figures as a prominent, if not a leading character. Deer rarely, if ever, appears as a trickster, however. [rwv]

**Deer Boy** An abandoned baby story of the Tewa (and other Pueblo) Indians. This lacks the heartless parent motif of the typical abandoned children tales. A young girl out hunting rabbits with the boys and girls of her village fell behind and gave birth to a baby. She did not know what to do with it so she left it lying in the grass and went on after the hunters; but she was very unhappy. Nearby lived "a woman who was a deer" who found the infant, took him home, and raised him among her own fawns. The child grew strong and swift playing and racing with the fawns. One day a hunter observed his footprints among the deer tracks, and went home and told his people. The Deer woman prepared the child for being caught, and told him how to recognize his own father and mother and what to say to them. The hunters came; the child was taken with affection and joy. The conditions on which he could return to his human family were that he remain unseen in a room for four days. The conditions were carefully observed. But the mother could not wait; she peeked. The child took on deer-form and ran north to join his Deer mother, who led him with his deer brothers west to Comp'ing or Snow Mountain (now San Francisco Mountain).

**deer dance** A North American Indian mimetic dance for securing benefits from the spirit of the deer. Among the Papago the powers are thought of as baneful as well as beneficial; in the Southwest, however, they are generally considered benevolent. To obtain power over the animal in the hunt, and to appease its spirit, is the function of the realistic Yaqui Deer Dance, the *Maso*, performed together with the Pascola and Coyote dances at household and church fiestas, throughout Easter Sunday and night. The rebounding footwork, the posture, the nervous turn of the head are expressive of the deer at play and eluding pursuit. Between dances

the *Maso* engages in horseplay with the pascolas. In contrast with this solo dance, the Deer Dance of San Juan and San Felipe pueblos is enacted by 18 men impersonating deer decoyed in from the hills by a virgin. In the end they all run away again, except four, who are symbolically hunted and killed. The Tepehuane of Durango enacted a realistic pursuit of the deer with bows and arrows, for multiplication not only of deer but of crops, particularly corn. The Huichol Deer Dance is identified with the *hikuli* or peyote dance, and with rain and fertility. As part of the Papago harvest festival (*I'ikita*) the deer worked magic over the crops. The Hopi Deer Dance is a prayer for rain. The California Yurok White Deer Dance induces bountiful wild crops. The Zuni Deer Dance is performed for cure. The Piegan Blacktailed Deer cult enacted impersonation for curing sickness as well as to facilitate capture.

Head and hide, deer-hoof and claw belts or bells, and tails form common accessories. Costume and motions show every degree of realism: in Taos, among the Yaqui and Tepehuane the dancer wears an actual deer head; in San Ildefonso, only the antlers. Sticks in the hands simulate four-footedness. In San Juan he wears a yucca headgear. Among the Hopi there is complete stylization in mask and costume and loss of mimetic suggestion. In the Yuma Deer Dance men wear deer heads, but they simply stamp in a sidewise circle, around an inner circle of women.

As a rarity in Europe, the Abbots Bromley antler dance blends Morris character with six performers carrying deer heads. [crk]

**degánodq'óenq** The Iroquois Indian alligator dance, a social dance still popular among the Cayuga of the Six Nations, but condemned by the Seneca because of the contact between men and women. It is called their swing dance, for, alone among Iroquois dances, the woman dances to the right of the man, elbows linked. With a shuffle of the *ga'ddiot* type they progress in this double file around the room, then in the middle of the song they pivot to the right, with the woman as axis. With each new song the woman moves on to a new partner, in the manner of the fickle Iroquois woman in real life. [crk]

**degwiyáq'óenq** The Iroquois buffalo dance, a round dance performed only by members of a restricted medicine society. The fundamental step is a side stomp, with men in the lead and women in arrears. The individual performers whirl, butt each other, and imitate the buffalo's roar. It is one of the few Iroquois mimetic dances, purely ceremonial in function, and confined to the midwinter ceremonials. The music is as archaic as the choreography; the song, accompanied by the water drum, is confined to short phrases and limited themes. The dance is supposed to cure pains, caused by the buffalo, in the shoulder and neck which make the sufferer hunch up into the semblance of the buffalo. The society must meet at least once a year. [crk]

**Deianira** In Greek legend, the wife of Hercules and by him the mother of Ceneus and Althra, whose jealousy of Iole led to Hercules' death. Deianira had been loved by both Hercules and Achelous, and after a combat in which the river-god assumed many shapes by transformation and in which he was beaten by

safe in her arms. Dekanawida attained manhood in a few years and set out on his journey to the south. As life taken he left an otter skin hanging by the tail in his mother's lodge, which would vomit blood should he die by violence. Many constitutional principles and laws of the confederation are attributed to Dekanawida. His chieftainship was by merit, not heredity; and he could forbid the appointment of a successor on the grounds that his work was done; no one could follow after to organize the five Iniquous tribes into a confederacy. The name itself means "two river currents flowing together." (See *RFB* 20: 383.) See *HAWAYMA*.

**Delphic oracle.** The most famous oracle of the classical world; a shrine of Apollo in Phocis on the southern slope of Mount Parnassus. The Delphic oracle of Apollo was the ultimate authority of ancient Greece. Originally it was called Pytho, and Apollo was said to have slain the serpent or dragon guarding a shrine of the Earth Mother there, and to have taken the place for himself. As a dolphin he led a group of sailors to land near the spot and made them his priests. Within the temple precinct was the omphalos, or navel, the center of the earth, where two eagles let loose by Zeus at the end of the earth met.

The oracle itself was delivered by a priestess, the Pythia or Pythoness, originally a maiden, but in later years a woman of over fifty. After bathing in and drinking the waters of the Castalian spring, she was seated on a tripod over an opening in the ground and was said to become intoxicated by vapors emitted from the earth. There is no basis for believing that these vapors actually existed, nor in the story of the discovery of the spot by goats intoxicated by the vapors. The Pythia in her trance-like state uttered words which were noted and turned into hexameter verses by the priests.

The Delphic oracle is prominent in Greek folklore, mythology, and legend, appearing again and again in such tales as those of Orestes, of the Argonauts, of Hercules, of Cædus.

**Delphinus.** The Dolphin: a small constellation of the northern hemisphere, lying on the edge of the Milky Way just east of Aquila. The four bright stars form a miniature diamond, which is the body of the Dolphin, with a fifth representing the tail. It is often now called Job's Coffin.

The early Greeks regarded this constellation as their Sacred Fish. Ovid named it Amphitrite, on the grounds that the dolphin on which Neptune rode persuaded her to marry the sea god. Another story tells how Arion, the harpist, returning from Sicily to Corinth, was threatened by the crew of the ship, who desired the treasures on board. Arion promised to throw himself into the sea on condition that he be allowed to play once more. The crew agreed to this; and a school of dolphins beside the ship were so charmed with the power of the music that one of them took Arion upon his back as he fell into the sea, and sped with him to Corinth. For this the gods put the dolphin in the sky.

Early Hindu astronomers had a constellation *Sindhuhara*, later *Ziruhara*, Porpoise, of which there is some confusion between *Draco* and *Delphinus*. Arabic astronomy reports several names: *Al Ka'ud*, the Riding Camel; *Al Salib*, the Cross, believed to be the cross of Christ raised into heaven, with the tail star identified as the


pillar of the cross. Later Arabian astronomy took the Greek interpretation and called it *Dulfim*, Dolphin, an animal which they believed followed ships to rescue drowning sailors.

**deluge or flood.** A world cataclysm during which the earth was inundated or submerged by water; a concept found in almost every mythology in the world. The exceptions are Egypt and Japan; and deluge stories are only occasional in Africa. The fact itself finds no place in the geological history of the earth, neither in the light of the structure of the earth itself, or in that of zoological or botanical evidence.

Early folklorists liked to assume that the world distribution of the myth was evidence either of the flood itself, or of man's descent from a people who experienced it, or of some numerous local catastrophes which gave rise to the story. A local flood would be easily mythologized into a world deluge. The appearance, however, of divergent flood theories sometimes even within the same mythology has given such assumptions pause. Sometimes a flood destroys a world already made and the people in it; sometimes creation itself begins with the primeval water.

The bare bones of the most usual deluge story are as follows: The gods (or a god) decide to send a deluge on the world, usually as punishment for some act, broken tabu, the killing of an animal, etc. (in a Timbrian myth the deluge comes because the people have mistreated a trout), but sometimes for no reason. Certain human beings are warned, or it comes without warning. If warned, the people construct some kind of vessel (raft, ark, ship, big canoe, or the like), or find other means of escape (climbing a mountain or tree, growing tree, floating island, calabash or coconut shell, a turtle's back, crab's cave, etc.). Sometimes they also save certain things essential to a way of life, such as food, rarely domestic animals. The deluge comes (rain, huge wave, a container broken or opened, a monster's belly punctured, etc.). Bird or rodent scouts are often sent out, but this is not universal. When the deluge is over the survivors find themselves on a mountain or an island; sometimes they offer a sacrifice (not universal, and then repeople the earth, recreate animals, etc., by some miraculous means. See *ARK*; *DEUCALION*; *EARTH PIVER*; *FLOOD*; *MANE*; *NOAH*; *PRIMEVAL WATER*; *YIMA*).

Extremely widespread as an incident in North American mythology is the account of the deluge. Hundreds of North American accounts of the origin of the world either picture the world as once covered with primeval waters, or suddenly covered by a flood. Some tribes account for the flood as caused by the tears of a jealous vultor or deserted husband, or from water which escaped from the punctured belly of a large monster. Escape from the flood by certain characters is effected by climbing a tree which grows up and up into the sky, or by clinging to the sky, etc. It seems probable, from its wide distribution, that the deluge tale of the North American Indians is native to the New World and is not an adaptation of the Old World Biblical tale. The latter is also told by many American Indian groups (often the native tale and the Biblical one will be told by the same tribe) but certain incidents (such as Noah and the ark) are nearly always included in the Biblical version and make it easily recognizable. [J.W.V.]

 The myth of the deluge is almost universal in South America. As a rule it is described as a local disaster which overcame the ancestors of the tribe a short time after creation.

Various causes are given for it. In Inca mythology it was provoked by the supreme god, Viracocha, who was dissatisfied with the first men and decided to destroy them. Likewise the god Chibchachum inundated the plain of Bogota to punish the Chibcha Indians for some offense. The primitive Yaghan of Tierra del Fuego say that Moon sent the deluge in revenge for the beating she received when men discovered the secret of the initiation rites. The ancient inhabitants of the region of Quito in Ecuador, the Jivaro and Murato Indians, link the deluge with the killing of a supernatural boa. The Bororo believe that it was brought about by a water spirit who had been wounded.

Various Guiana tribes (Ackwoi, Wapishiana, Taulipang, Taruma, Carib, etc.) explain the deluge or flood as an aftermath of the felling of the Tree of Life. The Cashinawa held the Men-of-the-Sky responsible for the disaster which they unleashed when they cut some huge trees of the upper world. A Caraja tradition reports that the deluge came when a mysterious man from the underworld broke gourds full of water. According to the Ipurina, the deluge was brought about by the overflowing of a kettle located in the sun. The Araucanians say that the deluge resulted from the rivalry of two monstrous serpents, Kaikai and Trentren, who caused the waters to rise in order to show their power. The violation of a menstrual tabu is the reason given by the Tobo for the flood which once destroyed their tribe.

The deluge is produced either by excessive rains (Inca, Canari, Yaruro, Tupinamba, Tembe) or by a sudden overflowing of water (Canishana, Yagua, Witoto, Jivaro, Mura, Tupinamba, Bororo), or by the swelling of the sea (Canari, Araucanians).

According to most tribes, the highest summits of their respective countries were the sites to which the people fled when the waters were coming. In the Andean region (Choco, Canari, Jivaro, Guajiro, Araucanians) certain mountains grew higher and higher as the waters rose. In many tropical tribes the survivors climbed tall palm trees.

The ark motif is rare in South America, and where found seems to be of European origin. However, it may be indigenous among the Macushi, the Island Caribs, the Yagua, and the Apinayé. In a version common to the Chiriguano, Guarayu, and Chane, the only survivors of the flood were a little boy and girl who had been placed in a calabash. The Caingang version offers an interesting element because of its North American parallels. When the survivors of the deluge were about to die of starvation, a water bird flew to them with a basket of soil. The birds, with the help of ducks, recreated the earth.

According to the Macushi the only survivor of the flood reseeded the earth by throwing stones behind him. The same motif occurs among the Tamanak. In the Inca, Guanica, and Aymara versions, the survivors found shelter in sealed caves. Later they emerged to spread across the world.

The Taino myth of the origin of the sea may well be interpreted as a deluge story. Four mythical brothers caused a mass of water to fill the earth when they broke a magic calabash. [AM]

**Demeter** In ancient Greek mythology and religion, an earth goddess; specifically, the goddess of the fruitfulness of the earth, perhaps personified in the seedgrain (as opposed to the new grain which her daughter Persephone symbolized); hence, the goddess of nature, of marriage, of women, of harmony, of health; a chthonic deity in Sparta and Argolis, she may have had some original, but now obscured, connection with the Great Mother fertility goddess of the Near East, or may be a native goddess of Crete. Demeter is most important as one of the central characters in the Eleusinian mysteries and in the myth of Persephone forming their central episode. The worship of Demeter, while best known in the Eleusinian worship, is not by any means limited to that locale but spread all over the ancient world; the rape of Persephone, for example, was reputed to have taken place in the mythical Nysa in Asia and in the equally mythical island west of Spain in the Atlantic. Essentially Demeter and Persephone are two aspects of the corn goddess, and were called in Greece the "Great Goddesses" or simply the "Two Goddesses" as at Eleusis.

Demeter was the daughter of Cronus and Rhea, and thus the sister of Zeus and Poseidon. She was swallowed by her father and later disgorged. By Zeus she became the mother of Persephone (and of Dionysus in some stories); by Poseidon she was mother of the horse Arion and a goddess called at Phigalia Despoena (or the Mistress, seemingly a synonym for Persephone as queen of the underworld) and of hidden name elsewhere.

After the rape of Persephone, Demeter donned black mourning clothes and, taking two torches lit at Mt. Etna, searched nine days for her daughter. On the tenth day she met Hecate who had overheard the cries of the maiden, and together they went to Helios, who had witnessed the abduction and who told the story to the seekers. Angered at the deception of Zeus, who had promised Persephone to Hades without telling Demeter, the goddess avoided Olympus and its companionship, wandering on earth and accepting the position of nurse to the son of Celeus. Crops failed; nothing grew; and the gods were deprived of their sacrifices. Demeter stubbornly refused to listen to representations from the gods unless she were permitted to see Persephone. At last Hermes came to Hades, who agreed to release the maiden. However, before she left, Persephone ate part of a pomegranate in the underworld, and thus was forced to spend a third (or a half) of every year with Hades as his consort. The partaking of the food of the gods or fairies is a familiar one in mythology and folklore: compare the Babylonian myth of Adapa and the more recent tale of Rip Van Winkle.

Demeter then agreed to rejoin the company of the gods, but before leaving earth she instructed her companions among men, Triptolemus, Diocles, Eumolpus, and Celeus, in her mysteries and worship, and left with them the gift of agriculture. This is the underlying story of the Eleusinian mysteries, the climax arriving when the priest and priestess of Demeter descended to an obscure place where the priestess, as the goddess Brimo, brought forth an ear of corn which the priest displayed to the communicants.

Other myths concerning the goddess are those of her union with Iasion in a thrice-plowed field (the *hieros gamos*), and her connection with Poseidon. During her wandering, Poseidon saw her and made advances. She,

Demeter Erinyes, the raging Demeter, to avoid him, transformed herself into a mare, whereupon he became a stallion, and as a result of their intercourse the magical horse Arion was born. There was also a daughter, of unknown name. At Phigalia this daughter was called Despoena, and here Demeter was figured as a black, horse-headed goddess. In this, and in Demeter's identification with her symbolic animal, the pig, there is indicated the union of the fertility personifications, Dionysus the horse god and Demeter the corn goddess, in a ceremony which, like the Iasion story, is a dramatization of more ancient fertility ceremonies. Demeter also cursed Erysichthon who cut down trees from a grove sacred to her by making him always hungry. As a result, he was forced to sell his daughter Mestria, in order to obtain food, but she by her ability to shift shapes always returned to him.

Demeter was worshipped from Crete to Attica, from Asia to Italy. Principal among the festivals at which she was honored were the Thesmophoria and the Eleusinia. Pigs, cows, bulls, fruit, and honey cakes were offered to her; she was patroness of all fruits, excepting only beans, which were forbidden the Eleusinians. Demeter is always depicted as being fully dressed, sometimes riding in a chariot drawn by horses or, attesting to her chthonic nature, by dragons. She is not identifiable with Ge, who assisted Hades in the abduction of Persephone, despite the supposed derivation of her name as from *Ge Metre*, or Earth Mother. More likely the name is derived from *dei*, a form of the Greek word for barley.

The Romans identified Demeter with Ceres, who may have been an Etruscan goddess whose name only remains, or who may have been a form of Cora, the Maiden, Demeter's daughter.

**demon** An ambiguous term applied to almost any spirit, especially to an evil spirit. See SPIRITS.

**demon dances** Masked impersonations of supernatural powers, performed to secure their intervention in cures or for their exorcism. Ordinarily the demon is conceived as malignant; but he is not necessarily so, and was not originally so. The Greek *daimones* were intermediary deities responsible for ill or good fate, ill or good health of animal or vegetable life. The spirits of the dead came to join their company. Medieval superstitions came to conceive of the *daimones* as evil beings and to equate them with their ancient pagan deities, in contrast with the beneficent Christian God. They were vague and fearful, whereas the Devil assumed a concrete and largely humorous character.

Demon dances are particularly prominent in primitive puberty ceremonials, as the *Mduari* of the Venezuelan Maipure. In the Chaco, Matabo, and Toba, Choroti, Lengua, and Ashluslay puberty rites for girls, boys impersonate animal and bird demons and the women ward them off. The Iroquois *gagôsa*, the Apache *gahe*, and the California *Kuksu* rites impersonate demons, the first two for cure, the last for prosperity, especially of crops. The *Kuksu* animal spirits are not approached with fear, any more than the *daimones* of the Dionysian cult. The Dahomean masked vodun dancers and the self-curative maskless Haitian vodun dancers work themselves into a frenzy of often destructive behavior. Particularly among the Apache and California Indian tribes there is danger attached to the

impersonation, madness or illness resulting from a misstep. But power for himself and the tribe attends a successful impersonation. [CRK]

**dentlé** A notched stick scraped with a strip of bamboo to provide rhythmic accompaniment to secular dances of Haitian Negroes. It belongs to a class of musical instruments found among primitive peoples from paleolithic times, but has recently been largely replaced in Haiti by the kitchen grater, called *grage*. See SCRAPER.

**deo** Originally, any one of the 33 great divinities of Hinduism.

**Deohako** In Seneca Indian mythology, the collective name for the three daughters of the Earth Mother, spirits and guardians of the corn, beans, and squash. Each is conceived of as clad in the leaves of her own special protégée. At first they were all planted together in one hill. One time, however, Onatah (Corn) wandered from her place in search of dew. Hahgwehdaetgah (the evil one) caught her, took her underground, and sent such blighting winds across the fields that Bean and Squash fled also. Finally Sun reached forth to find and bring her back. But now Onatah stands alone in the field, enduring drought or rain, never wandering to seek relief. Now she never leaves the field until the maize is ripe. At planting time she calls her crows to come eat the grubs that would destroy her roots.

**Derby Ram** An English lying song or "tall tale" about a ram of colossal size, with a refrain devoted to assertions of the truth of the story. A sea-going version sung on American ships equipped the ram with spyglasses, sextant, and all the trappings of a navigator.

**descents to underworld** The motif of numerous stories occurring in the mythology and folklore of every people in the world, ancient and contemporary: symbolic of the human wish that death can be overcome and that the dead may return. Invariably the descent is made to rescue someone either abducted to the land of the dead, or rightfully dead; to find the answer to a question or discover a secret from the ruler of the afterworld; to ask a favor, or to seize some treasure. Occasionally curiosity only motivates the journey. The success of the quest to the land of the dead is always contingent on the observance of some tabu: not to eat or drink, not to look back, or touch, speak, etc. To partake of the food of the dead (or of fairyland in later folklore) prevents the visitor from ever returning to the land of the living.

Among the most famous descent stories are the Greek myths of Ceres and Persephone, Orpheus and Eurydice, Hercules' labor of bringing Cerberus up from Hades; the Babylonian story of Ishtar's descent to rescue Tammuz; the Norse myth of Hermod's journey to bring back Balder. In North American Indian mythology, there is one interesting and widely distributed parallel to the Orpheus story, occurring in about 40 versions, three of which end with success, and thought to be indigenous. There are similar tales in Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese writings, and in Ainu, Maori, Melanesian, etc. mythology. Descents to Hell are common also in early Christian literature. See ÆNEAS; AFTERWORLDS; ASCENTS TO UPPER WORLD; FOOD TABU IN LAND OF DEAD.

**design** The term *folk design* usually applies to the decorative patterns characteristic of folk arts and crafts, but this is a limited use of a term which, in its general



sense, is almost as broad as art itself. Design in the art field has to do, basically, with plan or arrangement or organization. It overlaps to some extent with *form*, but while form is thought of as the shape or quality of shape that results from the plan, design is the plan itself. It is, in the general sense, the planning aspect of any work of art, involving either the creation or combining of elements; often it signifies creation as opposed to execution, as in the design for a costume or a piece of furniture.

In the more limited sense, designs may retain this idea of plan; the patterns for making lace, the cartoons used as a guide in tapestry are designs. But by extension designs may be thought of as the executed patterns themselves rather than the quality or act of arranging them; the planning or creative aspect may be far in the past or not under consideration.

Such patterns or designs may be classified according to their range from the abstract to the literal. There are:

(1) Completely abstract designs which comprise an arrangement of lines, shapes, colors, not consciously based on an object or concrete idea. This type of design, in folk and primitive art, is prevailingly *geometric*—the so-called *free shape*, which is neither geometric nor representational, being less common.

(2) Partially abstract designs in which the subject, while present, is not literally depicted but rearranged, with the natural contours of objects reduced or adjusted to a pattern. Since such patterns tend to crystallize by repetition and are recognized by general agreement (by convention) as a substitute for the thing, the term *conventionalized design* is used. The degree of rearrangement varies from the slightly to the highly conventionalized. In the latter case (as in Arapaho bead embroidery, where a person is represented by a diamond shape, a butterfly by a double triangle) the design might be viewed as completely abstract unless its source or subject happened to be known. In the process of conventionalizing, geometric shapes are frequently but not necessarily used.

(3) Representational designs, in which the subject is depicted, i.e. more or less faithfully copied, rather than conventionalized. When the design is completely representational it becomes like a picture—the literal bunch of grapes on the bottom of a fruit dish, the ship tattooed on a sailor's chest. In such cases, the word *decoration* is to be preferred since the basic meaning of design (plan or arrangement) suggests some degree of abstraction or conventionalizing. However, design and decoration overlap to such extent that they are loosely interchangeable.

Any design (whether conventionalized or purely abstract) is called *geometric* nowadays if it is based on arrangements of straight and curved lines or geometric figures such as the square, circle, triangle, rectangle, etc., and such formal shapes as spiral, cross, radial, arabesque, interlaced lines. However, it is not to be thought of as derived from a knowledge of geometry or mathematics or the use of mechanical tools. The term *geometric* is applied to the ancient Pueblo symbol enclosing a crude rectangle within a crude triangle, as well as to the Chinese yang and yin, which is a mathematically exact division of the circle, and to the Pennsylvania German barn symbols, usually executed with a compass.

The occurrence of geometric design is virtually universal from prehistoric times to the present day. Fa-

miliar examples, the checkerboard, meander, zigzag, arrow, line and dot patterns, and many others, occur in similar form in many parts of the world. It is interesting to speculate why this should be so. Obviously certain techniques result in an emphasis on either straight or curved lines; weaving and folding produce the former, coiling the latter, for example. There is also without doubt a common association of contrasting ideas with these contrasting shapes. The female is associated with the curved or round, male with the square or straight, even in prehistoric cave art. The round of the sun and moon is opposed to the straight line of the horizon, the triangle of tree or mountain or tent. It is also possible that in folk art as well as in sophisticated art, the precision of geometric shapes suggests itself as a way of making order or "art" out of the profuse shapes of nature.

The process of conventionalizing subjects for purposes of design is often thought of as one of simplification and this is often true, for example in the suggestion of a wing by a few parallel lines, as in Nazca pottery, or the depiction of a man in simple cross-stitch or knitting patterns; but sometimes the designs, as in Mayan or Haida or Buddhist art, seem more complex than a literal depiction would be. Convention in design is a matter of rearrangement rather than mere simplification, and the reasons and methods for accomplishing it are innumerable. One can only suggest: the adaptation of the subject to the design area (as in the depiction of the tree of life to a round plate), or to the over-all shape as in scarification which follows body contours; the limitations of the medium (in weaving, all depictions, even that of the sun, must become angular); the exaggeration of certain elements like the beak of Raven, or the teeth of Beaver, and the omission or reduction of others; simplification, as seen in the triangular nose and zigzag teeth of the Halloween pumpkin, or elaboration for its own sake, as in the spirals of New Zealand carving or the finials of medieval illuminated letters; the influence of adjacent elements in the design, as in the zigzag of the border added to an animal motif; development of the counter (negative area of the design) at the expense of the depiction; the effect of prolonged copying, slurring, or speeding-up of execution, change or loss of the original idea; the repeating of elements within the design or the fusing of various elements; the injection of abstract ideas such as fertility in a visual symbol.

Designs may be analyzed, also, with regard to their construction. They may comprise a single figure, a band or bands, repeated figures or over-all patterns. Bands are a common form of decoration for even the simplest objects. They emphasize the rim of vessels (marginal designs), the edges or bulges of innumerable useful objects. Bands may be composed of straight lines, wavy lines (scallops) or repeated rows of dots, parallel lines, arrow points or chevrons, crosses, lozenges, S-shapes, etc. The repeated figures in the band are often linked so as to form such familiar continuous patterns as the zigzag, double zigzag, scroll, meander or key pattern, and staircase pattern. The figures are multiplied or alternated, like the egg and dart, triangle and dot.

A design element may be repeated, not only to form a band, but in a variety of ways. Often it is doubled, especially with the two sides in reverse, producing the bilateral symmetry common in many art cultures.

Thessaly; husband of Pyrrha. For their piety, Prometheus warned the couple of the flood caused by Zeus to destroy mankind, and on his advice they built a ship with which they rode out the nine days' flood. The ship came to rest on Parnassus (other places mentioned are Athos, Etna, Othrys) where they descended and asked at the sanctuary of Themis how to restore the human race. The answer was, perhaps carried to them by a messenger of Zeus, "Cover your heads and throw the bones of your mother behind you." Taking the latter to mean stones, the bones of the Mother Earth, they did so. From the stones thrown by Deucalion there sprang up men; from those by Pyrrha, women. They descended from the mountain top and Deucalion built a house at Opus where he became the first king of that city. By Pyrrha he was father of Hellen, Amphictyon, Idomeneus, and other children. Compare DELUGE.

**dev** In Armenian belief, a gigantic male or female spirit, harmful, but also often believed to be foolish and harmless. The dev sometimes has one eye, sometimes more and they are as large as earthen bowls. Devs often possess seven heads and are so strong that they can toss large rocks great distances. They live in caverns and thick forests. Devs can appear as human beings, as serpents, or (in dreams) as wild beasts. Insanity, fainting, itching, sneezing are signs of their presence. Cutting the air with a stick or sword will protect against them.

**deva** (1) In Hinduism and Buddhism, a god or divine being: literally, a shining one of the Vedas. There are 33 Hindu devas, eleven for each of the three worlds.

(2) In Zoroastrianism, a demon or *daēva*.

**devādāsi** Literally, slaves of the gods: a caste of dancers and courtesans connected with some Hindu temples, especially in the Deccan and Madras. Their duties include fanning the idol, singing and dancing before the god when he is carried in procession, sweeping and purifying the temple floor by washing it with cow-dung and water. They receive a small salary for the religious duties performed and supplement this by selling their favors. They are usually married to the god or to a sword with a special rite. Until recently they were better educated than married women.

**devak** In Bombay, the Deccan, and the Bombay Presidency, a guardian deity: an animal, tree, or trade implement considered the ancestor or head of the house. The devak is treated with respect and worshipped chiefly at the time of marriage or upon entering a new house. Frequently people with the same devak cannot marry, suggesting a totemistic origin.

**Devatā** In Hindu mythology, a god: a term generally applied to the inferior gods.

**Devī or Mahādevī** In Hindu mythology and religion, the great goddess, consort of Śiva, and daughter of Himavat: the mother goddess worshipped by the Śāktas and the female principle or energy of Śiva. In the latter form she has two aspects: one mild under which she is known as *Gaurī* (the yellow), *Pārvatī* (the mountaineer), *Umā* (light), *Jaganmātā* (mother of the world); the other, in which she is most frequently worshipped, the terrible. In her terrible aspects she is *Chandī* (fierce), *Bhairavī* (terrible), *Durgā* (inaccessible), and *Kālī* (the black). On the one hand she is represented as adorned

with jewels, with abundant food, and beautiful; on the other hand she is represented in hideous aspects usually with the symbols of death (the noose, iron hook, rosary, and the textbook of prayer).

The worship of *Devī* reached its height during the period of the Tantras. Apparently at the end of the Vedic period or later several goddesses were acknowledged as wives of Rudra-Śiva, while other goddesses were worshipped by different classes of people in different parts of India. Gradually these goddesses were coalesced into one great goddess who, however, has never completely superseded the local *grāma-devatā* or *matris*. These, in many cases, are considered a manifestation or incarnation of *Devī* and as such are promoted above the other members of their rank. As *Śakti* she is worshipped by the *Vāmāchārīs* or left-handed Śāktis with licentious rites as the active female principle. Modern orthodox Hinduism, however, denies any connection between the *grāma-devatā* or earth goddesses and the Hindu deities.

As *Durgā*, the inaccessible, she is a yellow woman riding on a tiger who guards her devotees from distress, is the refuge for the shipwrecked and those lost in the wilds or attacked by evil men. She is worshipped especially in Bengal. As *Kālī* she is black, dripping blood, adorned with skulls and human heads, and regarded as the protectress against the evil spirits which haunt desolate places, and against wild beasts. In some places she is the goddess of bird-catchers. As *Vindhyavāsīnī* *Devī* is worshipped in the *Vindhya*s with bloody sacrifices. Her other epithets include *Mahā-māyā* (illusion), *Dakshajā* (born of Daksha), *Ambikā* (mother), *Anantā* (everlasting), *Satī* (virtuous), *Dakṣiṇā* (right-handed), *Kotārī* (naked), *Bhūta-nāyakī* (spirit leader). Her emblems include the bow and arrow, bowl, goad, hook, ladle, noose, prayer-book, rosary, and the sword.

In Hindu mythology, she is the unconquerable, sublime warrior-maid, produced from the combined wraths of all the gods in council when *Mahīśāsura*, the colossal buffalo monster, threatened to undo the world. The indignant divinities poured out their energy as fires which rushed together and assumed the shape of the goddess. Provided with the weapons of the gods, riding on a lion, the goddess roped the monster with a noose. The beast escaped in a lion transformation. This the goddess beheaded but again the asura escaped in the form of a hero, and again as an elephant. The goddess finally killed him after he had returned to his buffalo form.

According to the *Upāṇishads*, she was the daughter of Himavat. She was sometimes connected with the *ṛishis* as the daughter of Daksha (according to the *Purāṇas*) and abandoned her bodily existence when her husband was slighted in Daksha's sacrifice. She was the mother of Skanda and Kumāra.

**Devīl** *The archfiend; the evil principle and the enemy of mankind of Judeo-Christian belief. See SATAN.*

**devil** Term frequently used for demon, imp, or other evil spirits. See DEMON; SPIRITS.

**devil dance** A form of exorcism, said to be allied to the shamanism of northern Asia, prevalent in southern India and appearing also in Ceylon, northern India, Tibet, etc. It is usually employed to entice the demon from the body of a sick person into the body of the

dancer, whose frenzied actions while possessed are said to attenuate and dissipate the power of the infecting demon. Devil dancing is found in the demonic Bon cult of Tibet. Compare POSSESSION.

Devil dances and devil beating ceremonials found in various places in China may be a lamaist importation. Data is incomplete. In lamaist temples priests disguised as gods and devils attack each other in mock combat. The date is variable. [GRJ]

A representation of a malignant supernatural power or devil, usually in a horror-inspiring mask, performed with grotesque and often obscene gestures. As all demon dances, these are intended to propitiate the evil spirits, and to effect cures or good crops. The devil dances of Tibet and Ceylon are curative. Actually, they are demon dances addressed to powers held in fearful veneration. The Apache devil dance, so-called, represents really the Gae mountain supernaturals and is essentially beneficial.

The classical Devil, that is, he of medieval tale, miracle play, and carnival, the Diablo, Lucifer, Satanas of Spain, by no means inspires unmitigated horror. On the contrary, his character is tinged with considerable humor, even good nature, and he may even be regarded with a certain affection, as shown by the German tales of "gute, dumme Teufel"—good, dumb Devil. His physical attributes are capricious, not only his bounds and capers, but his cloven hoof, tail, horns. He is red, or green, or more often sooty; he is accompanied by fireworks, or manipulates an agricultural tool, a pitchfork. In the Majorcan *Cociés* he plays the part of the fool. In Catalonia he appears in numerous guises in the *ball de diables*. The diablo of the Mexican carnival is certainly borrowed from Spain, an addition to clown figures that represent native deities.

The various attributes of the various devils of the devil dances and particularly the undercurrent of affection he inspires would lend support to the theory of his origin in some agricultural deity, half mischievous and half beneficent. But of course he is evil in the eyes of the clergy. [GRK]

devil's bedstead The four of clubs, an unlucky card. A bet made on a hand containing the "four-poster" will not win.

devil's promenade A Comanche Indian festival, July 3-6 inclusive, held jointly with the Kiowa and Creek tribes. It consists of games, game dances, and social dances for men and women. The latter are performed in a circle, first counterclockwise, then, for the walk-off, clockwise. The step is a side progression with a straight-bend motion of the knee. The bear hug is a step for couples performed with a crossing step similar to the *pas de bourrée*. [GRK]

Devil's riddle The theme of a type of folktale especially characteristic of Scandinavian and Baltic peoples, in which a man, promised to the Devil, saves himself by solving either three or seven riddles posed by the Devil. The riddles and answers follow three patterns: identification of the true nature of the Devil's many possessions (i.e. the Devil's horse is a he-goat, his spoon a whale's rib, his wineglass a horse's hoof, etc.), answering unanswerable questions (How far is it from heaven to earth? The Devil knows for he has fallen the distance, or One step, for my grandfather has one foot in

the grave and one in heaven. What is harder than stone? Death), or explaining the symbolic meanings of certain numbers. Many of the stories describe how the man learned the answers: overhearing by some ruse the Devil's conversation with a friend, or being aided by the Devil's grandmother; other tales leave the answers to the man's own unexpected but solid wit.

dewatšiháša'q An Iroquois Indian social dance; the garter dance. Its form is fairly elaborate, combining features of the *ga'ddšot* and *gedjōenq* types. The music shares the tonality and melodic antiphony of the former, in addition to self-accompaniment by two dance leaders with horn rattles. The structure is an extended ternary, with modulation in B, some songs repeating A four times and B three times. This corresponds to the choreographic development, the first part being identical with the *ga'ddšot*. But during the remaining repetitions the dancers, who are arranged in couples, cross over the recross as in the fish dance. This always happens during B to a vibration of the rattles. The step throughout is a stomp. [GRK]

deyodasódayq The Iroquois Indian dark dance, performed in complete darkness as a curative rite. For hours the dancers stamp in place, the women at times joining the men in the singing, to both drum and rattle. Its legend deals with the little people (*djogāq*) and a good hunter who chased a supernatural beast and slew him, and returned with his flesh as medicine. The ceremony is always private, performed in the home of the patient. [GRK]

deyodanášeta The Iroquois Indian hand-in-hand dance, performed in an antisunwise round by men and women in alternation, with hands linked among the Cayuga but not among the Seneca. It is a slow processional with the stomp step, accompanied by a horn rattle in the hand of the leader and by well-developed songs in major tonality. The second part develops at length the rhythmic motif of the first. Sometimes there are four repetitions of the entire song. A fast *ga'ddšot* is always appended to the dance proper. Its meaning is enigmatic. Some informants identify this dance with the bean dance, one of the spirits-of-the-food dances. It is part of the regular ceremonial sequence among the Tonawanda Seneca. Other informants trace it back to a dance of victory and unity after the repulsion of an invader. [GRK]

deyōgenyótges Literally, cousin dance: the Seneca choose-a-partner dance, a social entertainment. It is of the *gedjōenq* or fish dance type in every respect, but has the unique feature of the women leading off with a *ga'ddšot* round and each choosing her partner for the rest of the cycle. [GRK]

Dharma In Hindu mythology and religion, the sage who married 10 (or 13) daughters of Daksha; a personification of law and justice; judge of the dead. His children were personifications of religious rites and virtues. In the *Mahābhārata* he was the father of Yudhishthira, the chief of the Pāṇḍavas. In Bengal, Dharma is worshipped as a supreme god by some lower castes. Compare ADHARMA.

Dharmapālas Literally, Protectors of Religion: in Buddhism, especially that of Tibet, fierce, mispro-

portioned beings with broad heads, huge teeth, protruding tongues, and a third eye in the forehead. In Tibet they are the demon generals who execute the will of the Yi-dam or tutelaries. They are of the fiercest fiend type and the females are metamorphoses of Kālī. The chief Dharmapālas are Hayagrīva and Devī. Their Tibetan name is *Ch'os-skyon*.

**Dhartī Māi**, **Dhartī**, **Dhartī Mātā**, or **Bhūdevī** In Hinduism, the earth goddess who upholds human, animal, and vegetable life: the "Mother who supports." **Dhartī Māi** is present everywhere in the ground. She is worshipped by the Bhuiyās with the sacrifice of goats, pigs, and fowls. The Chamārs of Madras Presidency worship her by digging up five spadefuls of earth, taking them home, and placing them in the courtyard before a marriage ceremony takes place. As a village goddess she is often worshipped as a pile of stones or as a pot. Pious Hindus say a prayer to her upon awaking in the morning.

**Dhātri** In Vedic mythology, a deity, the maker or creator who promotes generation, presides over domestic life, and preserves health. He is an abstract deity usually considered either an agent or an attribute. In later mythology he appears as one of the Ādityas and is identified with Prajāpati or Brahmā as the creator.

**Dhol** or **Dhaul** In Indian folktales, the white cow which supports the earth on its horns.

**Dhruva** In Hindu mythology, the pole star. Dhruva, according to the Pūrāṇas, was the son of Uttānapāda by his second wife. His brother, Uttama, received all his father's attention, so Dhruva decided to attain virtue by venerating Viṣṇu. As a reward that god elevated him to the position of pole star.

**diamond** The adamant of the ancients: highly valued, although many were actually other clear, brilliant stones. It is only within the past century that the full fire and sparkle of the stone has been released by newer types of faceting. It is doubtful if the diamond of the High Priest's breastplate could have been genuine for at that time it was not possible to engrave this hard stone, and the cost of a diamond of that size would have been prohibitive. As is natural for a stone of such beauty and value, the diamond possessed most of the virtues ascribed to all other gems, but while up to the Renaissance most other stones were believed to be beneficial, this was not true of the diamond. In Persia it was considered a source of sin and sorrow and an invention of evil. In the 16th century Jerome Cardan explains that it makes its wearer unhappy because its brilliance irritates the soul as an excess of sun irritates the eye. It was believed that a good diamond could lose its virtue through the sin of the owner. There was also a widespread belief that the spirit of the diamond resented being sold, and it then lost its virtue. It must be given in love and friendship. Among the Hindus, poor diamonds were considered worse than none at all as they caused jaundice, pleurisy, leprosy, lameness, and all manner of misfortunes. It was generally believed that the diamond was poison if swallowed.

There would be many more fine diamonds in the world today, except for the belief that these stones could not be broken by a hammer and anvil, but only

with goats' blood. There were many other superstitions connected with this gem, such as the belief that it could only be found at night, and that it grew a cubit every two or three years when left under the soil. Many believed that diamonds were thunderbolts, and it was said that a magnet would not pick up iron in the presence of a diamond.

In India there were four castes of diamonds: the first gave good fortune, the second, success, the third prevented old age, and the highest gave power, wealth, friends, and luck. To give a diamond to a shrine was to be assured of eternal life. They also made a decoction of diamond which gave longevity, beauty, strength, happiness, and virility.

In the Middle Ages the adamant would make the wearer proof against poison, plague, and pestilence. It cured diseases of the bladder, leprosy, insanity, nightmares, and insomnia, but produced somnambulism. It gave strength, courage and victory and used in the magic arts, it made its possessor indomitable. Many held that it made the wearer invisible. It was emblem of the sun and of innocence, and was capable of producing a state of spiritual ecstasy. It protected ladies from incubi, which has been suggested by some cynics as the origin of the custom of removing rings before retiring.

De Boot, an authority of gems in the middle of the 17th century, was inclined to be skeptical as to some of the properties of the diamond (and other stones) and performed some tests himself. He was willing to believe that diamonds would repel poison, pestilence, witchcraft, madness, and terrors in the night. However, he doubted its efficacy as a test for adultery, for, having secreted a diamond under his wife's pillow, he spent the night waiting to see her thrown violently out of the bed.

**Diancécht** In Old Irish mythology, a clever physician of the Tuatha Dé Danann. He had a powerful healing spring in which he restored every man who was mortally wounded at the Battle of Mag Tured, unless his head was cut off. It was he who made the wonderful silver arm for Nuada, which was so like a living arm that every finger had the gift of motion. Diancécht was invoked in charms even into the 8th Christian century.

**didl** A gbo or magic charm of the Negroes of Dahomey, used by hunters to protect them against lions: named for the seed of the didl tree, because this seed never bursts. The didl contains a piece of lion's skin which serves the twofold purpose of repelling the lion and imparting lion's strength to the user. (Herskovits *Dahomey* II, 275)

**Dido** In classical legend, a Phœnician goddess, whose name was taken by Elissa, daughter of Belus of Tyre, and founder of Carthage: the story is told with some changes in Virgil's *Æneid*. She was married to her rich uncle Acerbas (or Sichæus) who was killed by her brother Pygmalion. With the treasures of her husband she fled to Africa where she purchased from Hiarbas, the king of Mauretania, as much land as could be enclosed with the hide of a bull. She cut the hide into the thinnest strips possible and on the land thus bought she built the fortress Byrsa, around which Carthage grew up. Hiarbas, growing fearful of her power, de-

manded that she marry him, threatening war if she did not. Since the Carthaginians wished her to marry, she, who had vowed eternal fidelity to her dead husband, pretended to accede to the demands. But first she built a huge funeral pile, with the excuse that she wanted to make an expiatory sacrifice to the spirit of Acerbas. Then, before the people, she stabbed herself, and was burned on the pyre. She was afterwards considered a divinity at Carthage. In the Vergilian story, she killed herself when Aeneas deserted her to go on to his promised home in Italy.

**diffusion theory** The theory that similarity of stories and story elements among different countries is due to their spread, i.e. their diffusion, from a common center. It was widely held, for example, that many of the stories, especially the fairy tales of Europe, originated in India and migrated westward from there. The diffusion theory is opposed to the theory of polygenesis which holds that very similar stories may originate independently in different parts of the world since man was often confronted by similar conditions of environment. At present folklorists see truth in both theories and insist that neither can be the sole explanation of story similarity, and that consequently each story must be studied independently.

Certain criteria are important in determining whether a given story is the product of diffusion or has arisen independently. General plot similarity is not an indication of diffusion; on the other hand, irrelevant details in common are. For example, stories of child sacrifice would arise independently, but the child sacrifice stories that tell of the children being restored and found the next day playing with an apple (France and England), an orange (Italy), a round sunbeam (Celtic), etc., must come from a common source, since they have gratuitous and irrelevant details in common. Common stylistic features like the figures of speech in the Deirdre story in which Deirdre describes the man she would have for husband as having hair black as the raven, cheeks as red as the blood the raven is drinking, and body as white as the snow into which the blood is flowing, would indicate diffusion of that incident if not the whole story. There are other stylistic criteria, many of them subjective, like the "Celtic magic" that stamps a Celtic story. The same whimsical or haphazard arrangement of motifs in similar stories from different countries would suggest diffusion. Often historical, topographical, or linguistic data are helpful. Finally, a study of all known variants of a story by the geographical-historical method can fix the place of origin and determine whether the story was a drifting one or one of independent origin.

Stories, like culture in general, are diffused by many different agencies: conquest resulting in prisoners, slaves, hostages; trade; exogamous marriages; migration of peoples; fugitives; shipwrecked sailors; proselyting religions like Mohammedanism and Christianity; itinerant entertainers; seepage across borders. The Gypsies and the Jews have been important in spreading stories from east to west. [MEL]

**digging sings** Songs sung by Negro field workers in Jamaica. The words are in English or the local dialect, "deep" English, and are somewhat religious in character. They are sung particularly for spring farm work.

**dill** An old world annual of the parsley family (*genus Anethum*) with pungent seeds: used as a condiment and medicinally. In some parts of the world, it was abhorrent to witches, but elsewhere it was freely used in their own witch-brews. It was in general use to relieve flatulence, colic, and obesity. In Prussia the steam from an infusion of dill was inhaled to stop a toothache. In England, boiled in wine, its fumes were inhaled to halt yexing (hiccup), and the ashes of the seeds were used in cases of scalding and on venereal infections.

**Dinewan** The personified emu, who plays a leading role as chief of birds in New South Wales mythology, particularly in that of the Eualayhi (Ualayih) tribe, where his loss of wings is attributed to the trick played on him by Goomblegubbon, the Bustard, who was jealous of his speed. In revenge the emu got the bustard to destroy all but two of his twelve youngsters so that they would grow as large as emus. Now emus are wingless and bustards lay only two eggs. [KL]

**Dingbelle** A female of the gremlin family, operating only on the ground. These creatures, first discovered by the Canadian Wids (Women's Division), fouled up typing, slipped on public-address systems in the middle of personal conversations, and during off-duty hours were apt to toss pictures of handsome Wing Commanders out of the Wid's kit bag while she was entertaining her LAC boy-friend or vice versa. Dingbelle is not to be confused with Fifinella.

**Dinnshenchas** The *History of Places* (Irish *dinnshéanachas*, topography, especially of famous places): a group of Old Irish local legends in prose and verse, explaining the names of famous rivers, fords, lakes, hills, other places, in Ireland. It exists in the 12th century Rawlinson manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

**Dione** In Greek mythology, a vague figure, undoubtedly an earth goddess, the most ancient consort of Zeus: she bears approximately the same relationship in characteristics and etymology to Zeus as Juno does to Jupiter. She is associated with Zeus at Dodona, being seated alongside him, but with the rise of the Delphic oracle and the decline of Dodona, she lost importance and was supplanted by Hera as Zeus' wife. In the *Iliad* she is the mother by Zeus of Aphrodite (who is called Dione herself); as time passed she became a lesser personage, in Hesiod an Oceanid, a nymph of Dodona in Pherecydes, an Atlantid or a Titanid in Hyginus. She was thus in later mythology variously the nurse or the mother of Dionysus or the mother of Pelops and Niobe.

**Dionysus** The Greek god of the vine; originally a god of vegetation, he kept his office over fruit trees and the grape: because of his prominence in Orphic religion, at one time he was the most popular of the gods. Dionysus is probably Phrygian in origin, the corresponding Phrygian god being Diounsus, although a Thracian origin is often supposed. However, his mother Semele seems obviously to be the Phrygian Zemelo, an earth goddess. His cult observance was one of death and dismemberment and resurrection, which caused identification of the god by the Greeks with the Egyptian Osiris. The Roman Liber or Bacchus was also identified with Dionysus.

In mythology, Dionysus was the son of Zeus and Semele. When Semele died because of her foolhardiness in the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy, Zeus saved the infant from her ashes and kept him in his thigh until the full nine-month term had expired. The epithet *Dithyrambos*, derived from the song of the Dionysian followers, was said to have evolved from this "double entrance" into life. When the child was reborn from the thigh, Zeus entrusted him to Hermes, who gave Dionysus to Ino and Athamas to rear. They brought him up as a girl, until the jealous Hera drove them mad, whereupon Zeus transformed Dionysus into a kid. In cult observance, it was often a goat which was rent alive by the followers of the god, either because of this myth or because the goat nibbled at the shoots of the vine. From the chorus of goats voicing the dithyramb in the festivals arose Greek tragedy, such at least being the current belief regarding the derivation of the word *tragedy* from *tragōidia*, goat song.

Ino and Athamas being insane, Hermes escorted Dionysus to the Nysan nymphs, the Hyades, who brought him up. A series of myths exist concerning Dionysus' travels through Asia Minor, Egypt, and India, in which regions he taught the use of the vine and into which his worship spread. These stories tell of the refusal of a ruler or other person to accept Dionysus' divinity, and of the punishment visited on the ruler or his people by the god, for example the tearing to pieces of Pentheus by women. The *Seventh Homeric Hymn* tells of the kidnapping of the god by pirates, and how he covered the decks and masts with ivy, driving the crew mad so that they leaped into the sea to become dolphins. In another myth, Dionysus sought to descend to Hades to bring Semele to the abode of the gods, but he did not know the way. Prosymnus or Polymnus or Hypolipnus offered to point out the route in exchange for a curious gift. When Dionysus returned, he discovered that his guide had died in the meanwhile, but he kept his promise by carving the promised thing from a fig tree and placing it on the grave. Hades would not release Semele unless he also had a gift in exchange from Dionysus, this time the thing he loved best. So Dionysus presented him with the myrtle, because ivy, the grape vine, and myrtle were associated with him. Among the attributes of Dionysus were the thyrsus, a wand tipped with a pine cone (apparently a phallic symbol), the grape vine, myrtle, and ivy, and the panther.

The original general office of Dionysus as a god of fertility, underlying a portion of the myths and remaining to some degree in the observances, did not carry over prominently in Greece, for there were other gods presiding over fertility. However, the rites connected with wine, the riotous singing procession of *sileni*, *satyrs*, *bassarides*, *bacchantes*, took root in Greece and became extremely popular. Dionysus was honored at four Attic festivals: the *Dionysia*, the *Lenæa*, the *Oschophoria*, the *Anthesteria*. He held a position at Delphi perhaps equal to that of Apollo. Thebes was said to be his place of birth. He was a bringer of civilization, a culture hero, in Crete.

**Dioscuri** Literally, sons of Zeus; Castor and Pollux (Greek *Polydeuces*), the Spartan twins of Greek mythology and legend; sons of Tyndareus and Leda in

Homer, although other tradition says that the two boys and Helen were born from one egg or that Pollux and Helen were children of Zeus and immortal while Castor was mortal. They figure in three principal adventures:

(1) The rescue of Helen from Athens after Theseus abducted her. While Theseus was away from Attica, the brothers invaded the land. There they were told by Academeus, a native of Attica, that Helen was being kept by Theseus' mother, Æthra, at Aphidnæ. They took the town, rescued their sister, and carried off Æthra. Academeus thereafter was honored by the Spartans, who refrained from invading his land, outside Athens, whenever they waged war in Attica.

(2) The Argonautic expedition. Pollux, who was a great boxer, killed Amycus of the Bebrycians, a son of Poseidon, with his fists in single combat. The twins are also said to have taken part in the Calydonian bear hunt some time before the voyage of the Argo.

(3) The fight with the Aphetidæ. The Dioscuri had run off with Hilaira and Phoebe, the betrothed of their cousins Idas and Lynceus. According to some, the fight arose directly from this; others say that it began over the division of a herd of cattle. During the fight, Idas killed Castor and Pollux slew Lynceus. Pollux, the immortal twin, begged Zeus, who had slain Idas with a bolt, to be allowed to share his brother's fate. As a result, the brothers, either together or alternately, lived one day in the earth and the next among the gods of Olympus. They are also said to have been placed among the stars, the constellation Gemini, the Twins, being their asterism.

Castor and Pollux were worshipped as divine not only in Sparta but in other parts of Greece, Sicily, and Italy. They were protecting deities of sailors, of travelers, of the laws of hospitality, of oaths. Either as a result of their connection with Zeus, the god of thunder, or through their association with Poseidon, the sea and horse god, they are horsemen, riding on white steeds, presiding over the public games. They were the inventors of the war dance, hence protectors of the dance and likewise of poets.

In Rome, they were worshipped in early times, Castor seemingly first, for the twins were known as the *Castores*. For their assistance to the Romans at the battle at Lake Regillus, a temple was erected to them in the Forum opposite the temple of Vesta. The *equites*, whose patrons they were, annually on July 15, the anniversary of the founding of this temple, rode in procession through the streets of the city past the temple. Weights and measures were tested here, in keeping with the role of the twins as guardians of honesty, which is also attested to by the popular oaths, used by women, *mecastor* and *edipol*. In 168 B.C. the *Castores* announced the capture of the Macedonian King Perseus to Publius Vatinius on the very day that the capture occurred. Vatinius was, however, thrown into jail for announcing this, but was released and given a grant of land when word arrived that the capture was a fact.

The relationship of the Dioscuri to other twins in Indo-European mythology and to heavenly twins the world over has been discussed by A. H. Krappe (*Mythologic universelle*, ch. IV). He traces the development of the investigation since its exposition by Harris early in the 20th century. The springboard for the study has

been the similarities found among the Ásvins of Vedic tradition, the twins of several northern European mythologies, and the Spartan Dioscuri. Some ten general similarities of the heavenly twins are blocked out, and the mass of accumulated information is brought to bear to support these "postulates." In brief, Krappe's premises are: (1) All dioscuric pairs are twins, expressly or otherwise. If specific mention of the facts is omitted in the texts we have, one of three reasons may be the cause: either there has been inadvertent omission, or the facts were too well known to require repetition, or some special reason required that the fact be hidden. (2) The basis of belief in twin gods lies in the ominousness generally given by primitive people to the birth of twins. Such births may be an evil omen, requiring the persecution of one or both of the twins and sometimes the mother as well; or the births may be an omen of fertility and riches. (3) The universality of these beliefs make it impossible to confine them to origin among any one people or in any single culture. (4) Less often but still rather generally, the twins are children of the sky or thunder god. (5) Similarly widespread is the elevation of the twins to the heavens and their identification with the stars, for example with the morning and evening star(s) or with a constellation like Gemini. (6) The persecution of the twins and their mother leads to their being avengers of mother, sister, betrothed, or wife. (7) Such twins are usually indistinguishable one from another because of their physical resemblance. But where it was important to make the distinction, there was a decided lack of resemblance. (8) The twins, following the general human custom in such cases, bear one generic name. (9) Since no other cause seems so obvious, the birth of twins had to be the result of the mother's adultery, a justification of the ill-treatment she underwent. (10) The twins also had animal aspects, generally of horses or birds, especially of sea birds. Hence, they were often believed to have been hatched from an egg.

The conclusions drawn from this series necessarily deny the theory of the Indo-European origin of all cases of heavenly twins: (1) None of the ten "postulates" is peculiar to any linguistic or ethnographic group. (2) The belief is so ancient that the Indo-Europeans knew it both before and after their separation. (3) The Indo-Europeans carried their beliefs concerning dioscuri into lands which also had their own beliefs on the matter, and it is now impossible to say whether or not we are dealing with an Indo-European belief or with an indigenous belief. (4) Every locality had its pair of heavenly twins, making it an absurdity to associate all such pairs with an Indo-European prototype.

The examples cited by Krappe are drawn for the most part from Harris and Frazer and cover all parts of the world from South Africa and Ecuador to Java and North America, and all periods ranging from the ancient Babylonian through the classical Greek and the medieval European (evidencing certain twin pairs of saints) to the modern.

**Dipper** The popular English name for the northern constellation commonly known as *URSA MAJOR* or the *GREAT BEAR*: so called from its shape.

**directional spirits** Many North American Indian tribes identify their deities and powerful spirits with the directions, but nowhere on the continent is this identification of spirits with directions emphasized quite so strongly as in the American Southwest. Among the Pueblos and other groups in this area, six directions are often recognized: the four cardinal ones and zenith and nadir. With each of these is associated a color, a chief of the direction, and many other spirits. [EWV]

**dirge songs** Songs sung over dead bears by Indians of the Gitskan and Niskae tribes of the Skeena and Nass rivers. The songs were taught to Peesunt by her husband, Bear, to be sung over his body after his death. Compare *MOURNING SONGS*.

**Dirty Boy** A myth-character of the Jicarilla Apache Indians of the American Southwest, whose exploits as a runner, warrior, and leader are told in a Jicarilla Apache myth notable for its great length: one version recorded in English by Morris Edward Opler runs to 40,000 words or 75 printed pages (Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: A Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War*. *MAAA* 52, 1938). The story of Dirty Boy is also known to other Apache groups beside the Jicarilla. Briefly, it is concerned with the tale of "a dirty and apparently lazy young man who lives with his grandmother, who trains himself and hunts secretly at night, and who finally becomes a noted runner, warrior, and leader" (Opler, p. 3). The version of the tale published by Opler is particularly rich in cultural details of Jicarilla Apache concepts of raid, war, relationships between human beings, and status. A wealth of factual material concerning Jicarilla dress, dwellings, economy, weapons, hunting, campcraft, and domestic life is introduced. See *DESPISED BOY*. [EWV]

**Dis** In Roman mythology, Pluto, the god of the underworld. Dis is probably the same as Dives, the Rich, a translation of the name Pluto. The cult of Dis and Proserpina was established in Rome in 249 B.C. The name was also applied to the underworld itself. See *HADES*; *ORCUS*; *PLUTO*.

**Disappointed Fisher** Title of a European folktale (Type 832) having the punishment of child murder (plus greed) for its motif (Q553.5). A fisherman and his wife had always caught three fishes every day for themselves and their child; but one day they killed the child in order to have more to eat for themselves. After that they caught only two fishes every day.

**disdainful woman or man** Tales of the disdainful girl or man who refuses to marry any suitor, and her or his subsequent humbling experiences, are popular among certain North American Indian tribes, namely those of the North Pacific Coast, the interior Plateau region, the western part of the Mackenzie Yukon region, and among some Plains tribes. [EWV]

**diseases** Plagues were anciently looked upon as visitations of God's wrath upon a people. Syphilis especially, until very recently, was thought to be divine punishment for promiscuity. Cotton Mather of colonial Boston called disease "the whip of God for the sins of man" and held also that the sins of the fathers caused infant ills. Martin Luther made a great advance when he acquitted both God and man as cause and declared

diseases were "naught but the Devil's work." Everywhere before the advance of medical science, and today in many places, diseases are believed to be caused by God, or gods, by demons and evil spirits, by object intrusion and other forms of witchcraft, by the air or other mysterious causes, or to be the consequences of broken tabus. See AIRE; CURES; EPILEPSY; MEDICINE.

✍ One of the main causes of illness in Middle America is believed to be the intrusion of small animate objects, such as spiders, worms, and the like, in the body of a witchcraft victim. Unlike the common pattern in North America, inanimate disease objects are rarely, if ever, used. See MEXICAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN INDIAN FOLKLORE [CMF]

✍ Diseases among South American Indians are rarely assigned to natural causes. Most of them are attributed either to a mysterious missile which enters the body of the sick person or to loss of the soul, which has been kidnapped or has left the body for some other reason. The theory of the intrusion of some pathogenic object in the patient's body is by far the most common. The material cause of the illness is described as a dart, or a piece of quartz, shot by a spirit or a sorcerer. The magic virus may also be some nondescript substance; or the pathogenic object may even be a spirit that has taken on material shape after entering the victim's body. The belief in the harmful effects of the loss of the soul is widespread among the Indians of the Andean region, but is also shared by many tropical tribes. Spirits and sorcerers are generally held responsible for the kidnapping of the soul, but the accident may occur as the result of sudden fright.

The ancient Peruvians and some modern tribes of South America, such as the Araucanians and the Chaco Indians, believe that epidemics or misfortune can be driven away like real foes. They perform ceremonies during which, after purifying themselves, they charge their invisible enemies, the evil spirits, and threaten them with their weapons. The great *situa* feast, celebrated in the Inca empire, had as main purpose the cleansing of cities and villages of all ills. [AM]

**dittany** An herb of the rue family originally found on Mt. Dicte in Crete, hence its name (*Dictamnus origanoides*). The *Encyclopedia of Bartholomew Anglicus* attributes knowledge of this herb to the hind "for she eateth this herb that she may calve easier and sooner; and if she be hurt with an arrow she seeketh this herb and eateth it, which putteth the iron out of the wound." Wild goats also knew of this herb, and it cured Godfrey (in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*). The root applied in salves eased sciatica; the juice in wine cured the bites of snakes and other poisonous animals. It is a hot herb under the sign of Venus and is also sacred to Diana. It is sometimes called gas plant because it exudes a volatile oil in hot weather which is inflammable.

For toothache the Slovaks fumigate with bastard dittany, a species of horehound. The root of this plant is also used for epilepsy, hysteria, and worms. American dittany (*Cunila origanoides*) belongs to the mint family and was employed by the Indians as a stimulant, a nerve tonic, and in intermittent fevers.

**dive for the oyster** An American square dance figure. The first couple dives under the raised arms of the

second couple; second couple the same; then the first couple dives and passes through and around, all holding hands the while. [CRK]

**divide-the-ring** An American square dance figure. One couple advances through the center and between the opposite couple, thus dividing the ring. [CRK]

**divination** The act or art of knowing or foretelling the unknown, whether future or distant in space: a practice of the greatest antiquity, performed everywhere in the world, by peoples in every cultural status, and utilizing almost every conceivable instrument or phenomenon as an indicator. Divination is a form of sympathetic magic; the status or action of the divining medium is determined by the future or far-off event, and vice versa; both the indicator and the event are in some form of logical harmony; each is the cause or the reflection of the other. Thus, dreams, when interpreted correctly, foretell the future, if not by picturing it directly then by symbolic constants. Sometimes the meaning of the dream is clear; sometimes it is obscured by the complexity of the symbolic events which occur in it. Therefore, to interpret dreams, or to read the augury of the flight of birds, or to explain the markings of the shoulderbone or the liver of the sacrifice, or to determine the precise configuration of the stars and planets at a given moment and thus their meaning, a class of diviners (shamans, priests, augurs, astrologers, doctors, *bokóns*, *lukumans*, etc.) has existed from early times. These diviners, as the augurs in Rome, often have been men of great influence in their communities, for an action that the portents show will be of unlucky termination can be stopped by them for the community's welfare. Abuses of this power have been frequent; even the great oracle of Apollo at Delphi was not entirely above suspicion. With the rise of the great religious systems these practices have been condemned as partaking of magic. Nevertheless, they continue: astrology and various forms of marriage divination have flourished under Christianity; geomancy is popular in Arabic Islam; gematria, letter and number symbolism, was significant in Jewish scholasticism. "Superstition" generally concerns itself with omens: the black cat, the twitching eyelid, the dropped spoon—all minor events foretelling some future event, good, bad, or indifferent. Yet even where such practices are recognized as magical relics, few would care to risk a breach of etiquette by refusing to say "God bless you" or "Gesundheit" at a sudden sneeze—formulas that recognize the danger of the soul's escape during a sneeze, or the entrance of a demon—both the sneeze and the saying being symbols of some greater event.

As the word itself indicates, divination is the act of determining the will of the gods, and in several of its forms approaches animistic belief, e.g. the gods as the spirits of the dead, the soul of the sleeper in the land of the dead, etc. Oneiromancy, divination by dreams, presupposes basically the soul's communion with the knowing spirits. Shamanism or other types of possessive divination rely for their effect on the voice of the god or spirit speaking through the human medium. In more direct fashion, necromancy is the conversing of a person in full possession of his conscious faculties (the dreamer is unconscious, the shaman is deliriously or otherwise possessed) with the spirits of the dead. Augury depends




on the widely held belief that birds and animals are closer to the gods than human beings or that they incorporate the departed spirits. Ordeals, lot-casting, and other means of divination are based on the assumption that the gods interfere with the actions of people or objects as indicators of their good or ill will.

The oracle at Delphi, traditionally the great classical oracle, must originally have been a place of augury, connected with serpent-divination. Even when the method changed, and the possessed or intoxicated priestess of Apollo uttered her cryptic phrases, the name of Pythoness was kept. There are, thus, certain places suitable for divination, potent regardless of the means used. High places are such in early Semitic belief, and so are sacred groves and springs. The time of day (e.g. midnight, the break of dawn) or the season of the year (e.g. the solstices) is often important: Halloween and Christmas, times when the spirits have returned to earth, are such days; night is the time when the future husband appears in a dream to the maiden on St. Agnes' Eve.

Most divination is systematized. The Chinese use a complex system of diagrammatic symbols; the Arabs have a standardized method of reading the points marked on the ground; there were regularly recognized meanings for the markings on the liver of the sacrifice in Babylonia; judicial astrology maintained distinct meanings for the various relationships of the stars, planets, signs, etc.; there was system behind the readings of omens by the Roman and Aztec augurs—these are patterns, and are prepared for by the diviner beforehand. But much divination is from accidental signs: if the ear burns, someone is speaking of you (good or evil depending on which ear); if twins are born, some calamity is impending; if a person trips, if he sneezes, if he breaks a mirror, if he meets a priest or an old or cross-eyed woman first thing in the morning, he has an omen of an event to occur. Here, despite the lack of ordered arrangement of omens and signs, the same primitive logic is still at work: a lesser event is connected with a greater, causally. Things happen in chains; deaths follow each other in threes; three-on-a-match is unlucky; what you are doing at midnight on New Year's Eve determines what you will do for the remainder of the year. From such beliefs stems the idea that all signs are indicators of the future, and when the sign is obscure or ambiguous the trained reader of omens, the diviner, is necessary to trace the chain, to tell what indication the peal of thunder, the number on the dice, the figure of the wax in water, gives of the further action of the spirits or gods.

Apart from organized systems and accidental occurrences are the isolated popular forms of personal divination. The petals of the daisy tell if "she loves me" and the florets, tossed into the air and caught on the back of the hand, tell the number of one's children-to-be. The wishbone of the fowl and the candles of the birthday cake, the wedding cake under the pillow and the bride's bouquet are instruments to determine the future course of events. Often a rime is recited as the divining is performed, but in general such incantation is of a lesser, perhaps degenerated ritual than the more formal and priestly kinds of divination. Yet tea-leaf reading and palmistry and cartomancy are but median forms of the reading of omens. One the one hand lie

the "signs and portents," the augurs and the other mighty diviners, priests, and shamans; on the other lie the little "superstitions" that tell of good or bad luck.

 A variety of techniques are known in Middle America. The most widespread consists (and consisted before the Conquest) in throwing grains of colored maize or beans on the ground, and interpreting the question from the position in which they fall. Other methods may be used to determine causes of illness. Feeling the pulse for strength indicates whether the soul has left the body, which, if so, results in sickness. An egg may be rubbed over the body of the patient, broken open, and examined, to determine whether the evil eye or some other cause has made the patient ill (see EGG CURING).

The Popoluca of Veracruz (Mexico) divine by throwing small balls of copal incense in a pot of water, and depending on whether they float or sink, the question is answered affirmatively or negatively. The Zapotecs of Mitla, Oaxaca (Mexico), kill a fowl over a cross drawn on the ground to determine whether a sick person will recover. If the fowl expires with its head to the east, the answer is affirmative. The Chorti diviner (Guatemala) asks questions of a spirit which lives in his right calf, first chewing tobacco and rubbing the saliva on his skin. A twitching of the calf muscles means an affirmative answer to direct questions. [GMF]

*djägowa'öenq* An Iroquois Indian social dance, the pigeon dance. The choreography could be attributed to the coupling habits of the pigeon, for men and women circle against the sun in pairs. The step is the *ga'ddšot* type. There is no development in the dance formations, yet the songs have a wide range and ingenious treatment of the rhythmic theme. The only accompaniment is provided by the two leaders with horn rattles. [GRK]

*Djambu Baros* The Batak (Sumatra) tree of life which grows in the topmost heaven. On each leaf of the Djambu Baros is written a word such as wealth, fruitfulness, etc. The tondi (soul) must obtain one of these before it can depart for the earth, since the longevity and fortunes of each unborn child depend upon what the tondi is able to obtain for its future being.

*djoéga'öenq* The Iroquois coon dance, of the *gedjdenq* or fish dance type. It is somewhat slower than the fish dance, and is preceded by a stomp round dance in moderate tempo. At the end of each song the dancers and singers whoop in imitation of the coon. Otherwise it is like the fish dance. [GRK]

*djoged* A Balinese dance performed by a professional girl dancer and any man whom she "entices" out of the audience. Steps follow the pattern of the legong, but the *djoged* is the world-wide courtship dance of flirtation, pursuit, and retreat, ending with the man's attempt to get near enough to the girl to enact the Balinese "kiss." This means getting his face near enough to hers to smell her perfume and feel the warmth from her skin. As the dance proceeds and emotion intensifies, one by one other men from the audience cut in on the performers and continue the eternal pursuit.

Sometimes the *djoged* is performed by a boy in girl's clothes; when this is the case the dance is called *gandrung*. At a *gandrung* performance there is even greater

rivalry among the men in the audience, participation becomes intense and violent and fights sometimes occur. The djoged in both its aspects is forbidden in Tenganan.

**djówiyai'óenq** An Iroquois social dance; the robin dance. It may at one time have been a ritual bird impersonation, but retains only very faint mimetic suggestion in little hops at the end of each musical section. Its choreography is archaic, a circular side-shuffle against the sun, men in the lead, segregated from the women—a procedure typical of animal medicine rites. The songs, to horn rattle accompaniment, have most original syncopated rhythms, which the best dancers follow in variants on the fundamental step, in two-steps and stamps. A threefold cry opens each song, announces its repetition and its end. During the cries in the middle of the dance the rattle vibrates and the dancers face about with small hops, repeat the dance with backs to the center, and face the center again on the terminal cries. [CPK]

**Djunkgao** The Australian Muringin myth cycle and the rituals associated with the career of the Djunkgao sisters, who on their travels named the clan countries and animals and made totem wells with their yam sticks. After the younger sister had been incestuously raped, they lost their totems to the men so that they became ordinary women. They are associated with movements of ocean tides and rainy season floods. [KL]

**Dobrynja and Aljoša** Title of a Russian byliny depicting vividly the Kiev background and narrating several exploits of the hero Dobrynja: of especial folkloristic interest for its relation to the German Noble Moringer theme. This is the old Odysseus and Penelope story: the story of the hero who departs on the morning after his wedding for distant lands and some great adventure (usually the wars, in this instance the extermination of a great dragon). He bids his newly wedded bride await his return for seven years. She waits the whole appointed time and longer, but Dobrynja over-stays the tryst, and she is forced into a new and unwelcome marriage with Aljoša Popovič. Dobrynja returns in disguise, arriving just in time to drop his ring into the cup that traditionally goes the rounds of the wedding feast, and Aljoša is dismissed with dispatch. See NOBLE MORINGER. Compare HIND HORN. [MEL]

**Dobrynja Kikitch or Dobrynaya Nikitch** A Russian historical personage, noted for great courtesy; central figure and hero of several byliny of the cycle of Vladimir; killer of a terrible dragon (or serpent) with twelve tails. He killed the dove of the witch Marina, who in turn transformed him into a bull. He was also the hero of several encounters with the Tatars. Dobrynja was blood brother of Aljoša Popovič, who tried unsuccessfully to betray him and steal his wife. Legend says that he was eventually conquered by a warrior giantess; historically he was killed at the battle of Kalka in 1224. See DOBRYNJA AND ALJOŠA. [MEL]

**Dóc Cu'óc** In Annamese belief, the longitudinally half-bodied good spirit who stands on his single leg and brandishes an ax over his head with his single hand. Dóc Cu'óc is as swift as lightning and can see evil spirits from afar. He protects the country and its inhabitants, cures diseases, and sends good or bad weather. His ritual contains formulas which are written

on paper or shells and are used as charms against toothache, nightmares, barrenness, and ghosts. Figures of paper, straw, or wood are made by the priests of his temple which are sent to wreak vengeance upon men or animals.

**docey-doe** The Western square dance form of *dos-à-dos*, back to back. [CPK]

**Doctor Knowall** A folktale (Type 1641), known in all parts of Europe and Asia, in some parts of Africa and the New World, and most familiar in the Grimm version (#98) from which it is named. Crabb, a peasant, dresses like a doctor and begins to act like a savant. A nobleman, having lost some money, asks Crabb to recover it. Crabb and his wife go to the castle where they sit down to a meal. Crabb, alias Doctor Knowall, nudges his wife as the fine dishes are passed, and says, "That's the first," "That's the second," etc. The guilty servants who carry the dishes are terrified, thinking he means them. So when Crabb, asked to guess what is in a covered dish, cries, "Alas, poor Crabb," they are sure he knows, for crabs are in the dish, and the servants call him out of the room and confess. He reveals the hiding place of the money to the lord, protecting the servants, and is rewarded by both servants and nobleman.

The story of "The Brāhman Hariśarman" in the *Ocean of Story* contains an incident missing in the German tale but found elsewhere in variants often enough to be included in the type tale. Hariśarman steals a horse, hides it, and pretends to hidden knowledge to locate it. Sometimes the missing animal is found inadvertently because the sham doctor gives a laxative to the searcher: when the laxative takes effect the horse (or other animal) is found in the bushes. Often the stolen horse is followed by stolen cow, pig, etc., all to build up the reputation of the "doctor."

The tale is a balancing parallel to the wise maiden-riddle answerer type. The maiden is really clever; Doctor Knowall is an ignoramus who succeeds despite himself, despite his blurting and blundering. There is some indication that the story, known in about 400 versions, is an originally Eastern tale, and spread from the Indian region eastward to the Philippines and westward to Europe and Africa. The two Philippine variants, collected and discussed by Fansler (*MAFLS* 12: 1-10), about Suan and his luck, seem to have been influenced to some degree by European sources, but the tales are basically cognate with, rather than derivatives of, the European tales.

Big John the Conqueror (Kennedy, *Palmetto Country*) is a recent southern U. S. Negro Doctor Knowall. He sees the diamond ring accidentally thrown out by the mistress and swallowed by the turkey. (In most of the tales, the recovered ring is fed to the fowl to cover the identity of the real thieves.) So Big John is able to tell where the ring is and strengthen his reputation as a "fortune teller." Then, as in Oriental versions, his master bets everything he owns on John's being able to tell what is beneath an overturned wash-boiler. John scratches his head and sighs, "You got the old coon." Of course, an old coon is under the boiler. The punning on two meanings of the same word is a theme running through all the incidents of the story. The doctor's name is Crab or Cricket or Rat (and a crab or cricket

or rat is in the jar or covered platter); or he says in disgust, "Oh, filth!" (and filth is the hidden object); or he complains, "O tongue, see what trouble you have caused yourself" (and Tongue is the name of the thief). The basis of the story thus seems to be success through misunderstanding.

**Dodona** The oak or beech grove in Epirus where the oldest of the oracles of ancient Greece, that of Zeus, was situated. According to the legend, Zeus gave two pigeons to his daughter Thebe, which were endowed with human speech. One flew to Libya where the temple of Ammon was founded, and one to Dodona. The oracle was founded by the Pelasgians. From the rustling of the leaves of the trees, or from the sounds of the spring which gushed from the roots of the sacred oak, priests (later priestesses of advanced age) gave the words of the god to men. These priests were called *Selli* or *Helli*. The sound of the wind in the oaks was accentuated by the hanging of vessels of brass in the trees. The importance of the oracle of Zeus at Dodona became secondary to that of Apollo at Delphi only within historical times.

**dog** The dog, the only domesticated animal which the North American Indians possessed prior to the arrival of Europeans, figures as a character in various North American Indian tales. The best known and most widespread American Indian dog tale is that of the *Dog Husband*. A girl has an unknown lover who is a dog by day and a man by night. The girl gives birth to puppies, and is deserted by her tribe. Crow helps her by hiding fire for her. The girl destroys her children's dog skins, thus changing them into human beings; her sons succeed as hunters, and when Crow visits the family, Crow is given meat. The girl's tribesmen are starving; when they discover through Crow that she has meat they gladly return to her. This tale is told, in approximately the above form, by many Eskimo, Mackenzie, Plateau, and Plains tribes; it is also known in Siberia. The incident of a girl's lover being a dog (or other animal) by day, and a man at night, occurs as a part of other stories than that of *Dog Husband*, in all parts of North America.

Other stories in which the dog figures as a central character are the tale of the talking dog who informs a husband of his wife's infidelity, and the Eastern Woodlands origin account in which the dog pleads that he may be man's companion on this earth. The Shawnee, an Eastern Woodlands tribe, picture their female deity, Our Grandmother, as an old woman who is always accompanied by a small dog. The picture of the old woman bending over a cooking pot, with her dog by her side, is to be seen on the face of the full moon. Among the Southern Utes, a western tribe of the Great Basin, a few stories are told of dogs who, in the pre-human age, "were once people and lived in a village."

The dog was honored by various ceremonies among North American Indians, and dog flesh was eaten by the Iroquois and several Central Algonquian tribes of the Eastern Woodlands, ceremonially. Other tribes on the American continent ate dog as a flesh food, or in times of famine. [EWV]

**Dog** Hero of a folktale of the Fjort tribes of West Africa (i.e. the coastal provinces north of the Congo River) in which a young man could marry certain beau-

tiful young girls only if he could find out their names.

The parents of two beautiful daughters had decided not to ask for rich presents when their daughters were asked in marriage, but to require the suitors to find out their names. A neighboring prince named Nsassi came and asked for the girls. "Guess their names and you shall have them." Nsassi's little dog was with him, heard everything that was said, and watched his master walk away grieving for the girls. So the little dog hung around, here and there, all day, listening. He heard the father say "Lunga! Lenga! Come here." He ran as fast as he could to tell Nsassi the names, but on his way he forgot them. He went back. "Lunga! Lenga! Give the little dog some food," said the father. The little dog ate and ran as fast as he could to tell his master the names. Again he forgot. He went back. "Lunga! Lenga! Give the little dog food and water." The little dog ate and drank, and ran home and told Nsassi the names.

Nsassi was very happy. He and the little dog set out to go claim the girls. But on the way they both forgot the names. So the little dog went on alone, again heard the names, ran home fast thinking of nothing else, told his master, both ran fast to the village of the girls. Then Nsassi asked for Lunga and Lenga for his wives and received them.

**dōgai** In the western islands of Torres Straits (Melanesia), female mischief-making spirits, easily outwitted. The dōgai wear a woman's dress and ornaments, have hideous features, long, skinny legs, and huge ears, one of which is used as a bed and the other to cover the dōgai. Dōgai are sometimes able to personify beautiful women and in this guise deceive human beings. In folktale they transform themselves into animals, trees, constellations, or rocks, play tricks, and sometimes kill boys or girls. Consequently naughty children are threatened with the dōgai.

**dogheaded people** A group of beast-man beings, the *koerakoonlased* of Estonian folklore, similar to the Centaurs of the Greeks. They were half man and half dog, vertically, with one hand and foot like a man's, the other hand and foot like a dog's, or the whole body was a man's body with the head of a dog, with one big eye in the middle of the forehead. Their reasoning was a mixture of human and dog sense and they could run on all fours. The Dogheads lived on the end of the world and were constantly attacking, murdering, and robbing human beings. The latter were unable to defend their homes. Only the smell of the rhamnus shrub drove the Dogheads away. The Dogheads overpowered people, bit and murdered them, ate them, and feasted their children with human flesh. Women and children were taken as captives, fattened, and later slaughtered for fresh meat.

Similar stories are known to the Latvians, but appear only occasionally among the Lithuanians. The idea of dogheaded beings may have originated from real robbers, using the pelts of dogs for masking. Another explanation suggests that they may be reminiscent of the sanitary personnel during the time of a pest epidemic, who carried out the corpses of the dead, took sick people to quarantine, gathered and destroyed infected clothes, etc., and who wore special clothes and often very dreadful masks. The concept may also be a survival of traditions about cannibals and "savage people," as the dog-

headed beings are called in Lithuania. The Estonians, seeing in 1854 the Bashkirs, Kalmuks, and Cossacks with the Russian army, considered them as the dogheaded people. Byzantine influence (via Russia) is also possible. (M. J. Eisen, *Estonische Mythologie*, pp. 202-06) [JH]

**Dog in the Manger** Title of one of Aesop's fables (Jacobs #40) in which the dog, lying in a manger full of hay, snarled and bit at the horse (or ox) when he came and tried to eat. This fable comprises the widespread European motif (W156): the common phrase *dog in the manger* having become a by-word for the selfish person who begrudges to others even what he cannot use himself.

**dogwood** Two types of dogwood have been known since early times. Red dogwood or dogberry, hounds-tree, pricke-timber, gater tree (*Cornus sanguinea*) grew and was named from the practice of bathing dogs in a decoction of the berries or bark to cure them of mange. The berries yielded an oil used in lamps, and the wood made a superior charcoal for the manufacture of gunpowder. Cornel tree or cornelian-cherry (*C. mas*) was cultivated for its highly prized edible berries. Galen, a 2nd century Greek physician, claimed that the leaves, when laid in deep green wounds, were an effective cure, but not for small wounds in tender flesh.

Flowering dogwood (*C. florida*) is the most common American variety and was used by all Indian tribes of the eastern United States as medicine. The Nanticoke Indians tell of a grasping chief with four beautiful daughters. Many braves sought these attractive maidens but the chief said they would go to the braves who brought the richest gifts. Soon his lodge was piled high with furs and other articles of value, but the gods were angered with the chief for his greed, and they turned him into a gnarled tree. His daughters are the four white bracts, and the flowers are the gifts.

The Indians of the eastern United States made a decoction of the bark which they gave to warriors fevered with battle wounds. The colonists used this medicine for malaria with good results, and today we know that it contains the active principle of quinine. This knowledge was particularly valuable to the Confederacy during the Civil War when the blockade cut them off from South American sources of quinine. Today it is used principally as a stimulant to the appetite. The Catawbas say the raw berries are good for chills. In Newfoundland and among some North American Indian tribes children are passed through the limbs of the dogwood to make them immune to children's diseases, and as a cure for rupture. Those cured in this way are supposed to feel acute pain when dogwood sticks are burned in the fire. In Tennessee they say that if you chew dogwood you will lose your sweetheart, but in the southern mountains they make an essence of the bark, a few drops of which in a tumbler of whisky is considered very salubrious. Red osier (*C. stolonifera*), the inner bark of which was used as part of the Indian Kinijinnick (tobacco mixture), was very highly thought of. Rough dogwood or real-arrow tree (*C. asperifolia*) was used by the Dakota and Pawnee Indians for the shafts of arrows, and by the Chippewa to lure muskrats and as a remedy for sore eyes.

**dokpwe** Dahomean term for a cooperative men's work society of the kind widely spread in West Africa and in

the New World. Basically, the principle is that of the American frontier "bee," whereby the beneficiary of group labor pays no money for the services rendered him, but must provide food for the group. New World forms reported are the *combite* in Haiti, and the *gayap* of Trinidad. In Dahomey, the *dokpwe* also functions importantly in the rites of death, its chief, or *dok-pwegdn*, being in charge of funerals in the district where he exercises control over the men in directing their group labor. [MJH]

**doll** A small figure made from various materials to resemble a baby, boy, girl, man, woman: often for a child to play with, but used in many cultures for various other purposes. The doll for play is known among almost all people and is of great antiquity in its use as child entertainment and companionship. It was known in Egypt as early as 1900 B.C., among the Greeks, Romans, Japanese, and the East Indians. Dolls have been found in graves in Europe and elsewhere, where from various indications they were used as playthings. In ancient times dolls were made of clay, wax, or dough; they are still sometimes made of wood and painted. In America, even a cornucopia dressed in a bit of cloth often served for a doll for the frontier child. Throughout a succession of periods in which rag dolls, wax dolls, china dolls, were made, to the plastic dolls of today, great ingenuity has been used, even to the making of unique dolls out of shells, nuts, and other unusual things.

Dolls are significant in the folklore of the Chinese as fertility charms: a woman who desires a child carries a doll on her back in the hope of becoming a mother. Similar doll customs obtain in Russia, France, Sweden, and elsewhere. The dolls on our American wedding cakes, ostensibly bride and groom, probably are a carry-over of this symbolism, as is the cake itself.

As a charm, the doll is effective. In general European practice a doll was often given to a sick child to serve as a scapegoat, i.e. for letting the disease go out of the child into the doll. Such uses are known also in Borneo and the Celebes. The doll is used in love oracles. To deceive witches or fairies, a doll is often put in the cradle so that no changeling may be foisted on the parents. In the Middle Ages, dolls were used in the practice of magic, a use later transferred to America wherever the practice of "black magic" occurred. (See ENVOÛTEMENT). As a charm against bombers in Paris, and before that in 1919 as a protection against influenza, people carried about with them dolls representing a man and a woman.

Of great interest is the doll as vegetation *demon*. All over the British Isles and on the Continent, it was the custom to make a doll out of the last sheaf harvested. The doll was called the "Old Woman" or the "Maiden," the former referring to the yield just past and the latter to the following hoped-for harvest. In Scotland, this image was called the carline or Old Woman (see CAILLEAC). In Germany it was called variously, *Bride*, *Oats-Bride*, or *Wheat-Bride*; in Bulgaria its name is *Corn-Queen* or *Corn-Mother*. In most localities the doll is taken, sometimes with pomp and ceremony, to a certain farmhouse and fastened on the wall. For the Doll Festival of Japan, see JAPANESE FOLKLORE. [CPS]

**Dō-mañ** or **mDo-mañ** *gsum bsḍus* A collection of mystic formulas, culled from the *Dō* of the Tibetan

*Käh-gyur*, used as potent charms by laymen, and by the lamas as incantations in the treatment of disease and ill-fortune. All literate laymen possess pocket editions of this collection, since the mere act of reading it is believed to ward off misfortune and disease.

**domare dansen** Literally, judgment dance; an ancient Swedish folk dance for men and women circling around a central figure with a lighted candle. The meaning is lost but probably refers to the life inherent in the purifying flame, resurrection symbolism reinterpreted in terms of the Christian Day of Judgment. [GPK]

**domovik or domovoj** The one in the house: a Russian household spirit, ancestral and usually the founder of the family, who watches over and protects the inhabitants of the house, taking care that all is in order; probably the inheritor of many observances of the early snake-ancestor cults. The domovik lives behind the stove; he likes fire, and one of his punishments when the family displeases him is to burn down the house. When the family moves, brands of the old fire are carried to the new home, and the domovik is welcomed there as the new fire is lit. He is an old, gray-bearded man, looking very much like the living head of the family. His correct name is never used; he is called "he" or "himself" or "grandfather" (Ded). Some of the supper is left out over night for the domovik, who bustles about in the dark, always busy, guarding against the intrusion of strange and hostile spirits. Sometimes someone brushes against the domovik in the dark: if the person is hairy, he will have good luck; if his hands are smooth, the domovik will bring trouble. There are several kinds of domoviks: the chlevnik, or barn spirit; the ovinnik, or kitchen spirit; the bannik, or bathroom spirit. Every house has them.

**Dôn** In Brythonic mythology, especially in the *Mabinogi* of Math, the sister of Math, mother of Gwydion, Gilvaethwy, Govannon, Eneyd, Arianrod, and in *Kulhwch*, also of Amaethon. The constellation Cassiopeia was called Llys Dôn, Dôn's House. She is interpreted as a goddess of fertility and identified with the Danu of Old Irish mythology.

**Donar** The old Teutonic god of thunder, corresponding to the Norse Thor.


**door** A hinged or sliding frame used for closing or opening an entrance or an exit, usually made of wood, but frequently of iron, bronze, or other substances. Whether used in houses, temples, churches, or gates, doors play a large part in ritual and belief over a wide area. The door is a protection from everything that threatens from the outside. Not only the door itself partakes of a sacred character, but all the parts of the doorway: lintel, doorposts, and threshold.

Various ritual acts are carried out at the threshold, such as sacrifices to propitiate guardian or household spirits. Charms and prayers are recited at this spot; the reverence paid to it extends from taking off shoes before entering the building (Chinese, Moslem, etc.) to kissing the threshold. The husband carries his new bride over it. It is dangerous to sit or linger on the threshold; stumbling on it is especially dangerous when starting on a journey (Germany, Scottish Highlands); sneezing was an unlucky omen if it happened on the threshold; and such was the importance of the threshold

that it was often forbidden to tread upon it. The threshold was a superior place for sacrifice and occasionally for burial.

Altars were erected near the door in Greece and Rome, as well as in Assyria, Asia Minor, Mexico, and Polynesia (for Hebrew belief compare *Ex.* xxxiii, 9; *Deut.* xxxi, 15; *Ezek.* ix, 3). Souls were believed in ancient India to dwell under the threshold; in general, persons buried there became guardian spirits. In some cases, special deities became protectors; for example, Janus, the Roman god, was guardian of the door and his image was placed there. As protecting devices salt and pebbles were used. Many ideas connected with the door are also pertinent to the gate. Sacrifices were made here also, as was burial.

Gates and doors are mentioned in myth and legend—of the otherworld, of Heaven, Paradise, Hades, Tartarus—and most of these have guardians and special qualifications for entry. The tabooed door is frequent in folktales. Its metaphorical use is common: compare the Biblical, "I am the door" (*John* x, 9). [GPK]

 In rather general European and American folk belief it is unlucky to leave the doors open when going out of a house. One should always leave a house by the same door by which he entered. If a new doorway is cut in a house someone in the family will die; to this southern Negroes add the warning, especially if the old one is closed over.

In Ireland, Scotland, and the north of England especially, all the doors in the house were opened when someone was dying to ease the passage of the soul, and it was wrong to stand or kneel between the dying one and any door. The opening of all doors to ease and quicken childbirth is a common practice among Indonesian peoples.

The power of the door is seen in various southern United States Negro beliefs: A sure way to keep your lover's love is to bury some of his hair under your doorstep. A person's footprint, taken up, tied in a cloth, and put over the door will bring that person to your door. Hair cut from the tip of a dog's (or cat's) tail and buried under the doorstep will keep the animal from straying. The idea of the door as a symbol of entrance to another world is suggested by the Maryland Negro belief that to see a ghost, all you have to do is to look steadily past the edge of a door, or door-frame, in such a way as to see just past the edge. If you persevere in the steady gaze, and keep looking just past the edge, you will see a ghost.

**door signs** Objects placed on or above a door as the most obvious position to attract attention: used, in general, to ward off danger, to protect from witches and evil spirits, to bring good luck or to avert ill. Such signs have been known from antiquity. In *Exodus*, we read of the blood of the lamb sprinkled upon lintel and door posts to indicate the homes of the Israelites, so the Lord would pass them by when He smote the Egyptians. In Greek mythology, Antenor, the Trojan elder, was advised to hang a panther skin outside on his door to indicate to the Greeks that they were not to sack his house.

The Christian cross has been used on the door in many countries; the swastika is popular in the East as a door sign. Sacred plants and flowers are sometimes placed on the door. The hand, painted in vermilion

with fingers extended, is believed to have repelling qualities, especially against the evil eye. It is used in different forms on doors and walls in Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, often dipped in ox-blood before affixing it into position. The Tower of Justice in the Alhambra is pictured with a hand sculptured on the Tower.

In Scotland, sex symbols appear on doors and in a number of cases, on churches, pictured on the archway of the door. In North Africa, people are more realistic and actually hang up the genitalia of animals over the house door entrance. In this connection, the horseshoe should be mentioned. The horseshoe appears over barn doors in America and occasionally over house doors. Signs made by the hobo on house, doorstep, or fence by various markings are thought to designate what homes offer food or otherwise to the knight of the road. [crs]

**dor-je** or **rDo-rje** (Sanskrit *vajra*) Tibetan symbol of the thunderbolt, a part of the equipment of every monk: used for exorcising and driving away evil spirits. The original dor-je fell from Indra's heaven to a spot near Lhasa. Imitations are made in bronze or other metals.

**dosu** In the twin cult of West African and New World Negroes, the dosu is the child born after twins. This was also one of the "strong" names of Akaba, king of Dahomey, who reigned from about 1680 to 1708. [MJH]

**double** A 15th century dance step: three steps (left, right, left, right closes). [crk]

**dove** Any of various birds (family *Columbidae*) including the domesticated pigeon and especially the wild doves, turtle dove, mourning dove, etc. The dove is fabled to have originated in Mesopotamia; or, it came out of Noah's Ark. That the dove is of divine origin is an idea popularized in numerous etiological stories about certain animals being created by God, others by the Devil. The Devil can transform himself into any bird except the dove, for instance. God as a dove is mentioned in *Matthew* iii, 16; and His spirit as a Holy Dove descended on the Virgin at her Annunciation. As a symbol of purity, the white dove is used in all Christian art and parable.

The dove was sacred to certain ancient divinities of love and fertility (Ishtar and Aphrodite, for example) and offerings and sacrifices of doves were made to them. In many lands the dove is used in divination and love charms. Even the phrase "billing and cooing," descriptive of lovers, suggests not only the bird's habits but is reminiscent of its early erotic symbolism. Missouri Negroes, for instance, swallow a raw dove's heart, point down, to inspire love in a beloved. A courtship rime is reported, also from Missouri (Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, p. 77) which goes: Is you a flyin' lark or a settin' dove?/ I se a flyin' lark, my honey love. The settin' dove is a woman already married or permanently attached; the flyin' lark is still free.

That the constant sound of the mourning dove predicts rain is quite general folk belief through the southern United States. A white dove flying over a person means good luck. But Welsh miners fear to see a dove fly over the pithead of a coal mine. It is historical fact that hundreds of miners have refused to enter the pits on a day on which someone has seen a dove fly over the

adits. To dream of doves means happiness. Three wishes made on hearing the first dove of the season will surely come true. The turtle dove protects from death, lightning, and fire. But the constant sound of a mourning dove around the house presages a death in the family within a few days. This omen, say Mississippi Negroes, can be counteracted by tying a knot in each corner of your apron. This not only drives the dove away, but ties the souls of the inmates to the house.

The dead are often reincarnated in the form of a dove. And those about to die sometimes see doves coming to carry their souls to heaven. (See *BIRD SOUL*.) In fact, the dove is frequently regarded as an omen of coming death. In France, when a sick person craves pigeon to eat, he is considered near death. In England, too, the dove is a death omen, especially if one settles on the roof. Those die a lingering death who die on pillow or bed of dove or pigeon feathers.

Dove's blood has been considered efficacious from antiquity. Blood from the right wing was used for sore eyes, warts, and stomach ills. Its droppings were used for sore eyes, colic, and swellings. Its flesh was eaten raw as a remedy for fevers and epilepsy. The magic power of its blood was seen in the old hunting custom of smearing bullets with it. In France the blood of a dove is used in poultices mixed with wine. For headache and especially for insanity the bird was cut open and applied to the head or side of the patient.

The dove figures in folktale all over the world. Dove is a popular character in Central California and Great Basin American Indian tales of the prehuman era. No particular plot is associated with Dove as a main character, however. (Compare *Dzöávrrs*.) There are stories explaining why dove lays only two eggs (A2247.4; A2486.3) balanced against her pride and concern for her large brood (U81.1). There is a tale about her proverbial lack of foresight in nest-building (J16) and another about how thrush teaches dove to build a nest (A2271.1). There are tales about doves transformed into people (D354) and of people transformed into doves (D154.1), reincarnation as dove (E613.6), soul as dove (E732.1), revenant as dove (E423.3.1), etc. See *ATARGATIS*.

"dozens" Songs of derision used extensively by Negro troops of World War II. The allusions of the "dozens" are sexual, using as a theme parents and parentage, and as a vehicle of spoken and sung banter in rimed and unrimed form. A medium of release through abuse, which affords much opportunity for improvisation, and for which there is no retaliation permitted except a response in wittier and more telling form, this song-type is in the direct tradition of the many other kinds of "songs of allusion" found among African and New World Negroes. [MJH]

**dracena** A shrub or tree of the lily family (genus *Dracena* or *Cordylina*) which grows in tropical climates. In the Solomon Islands the first dracena is said to have grown from the grave of Pau Tangalu, the sea spirit. It is planted around altars and is grown among their magic plants. It is used in many of the ceremonies of these peoples as well as those of Polynesia. Lime and ginger wrapped in a dracena leaf and laid in the path of an intended victim will cause his sickness and death. A leaf buried in a village will cause the inhabitants to fight among themselves. Spirits causing sickness can be

made to flee with a leaf of this plant. These leaves are used in divination of the weather, of the cause of illness, and for the discovery of the innocence or guilt of those suspected of adultery. In the Celebes the sick are beaten with dracena leaves, for, since the plant grows readily when cut down, it is considered to have a strong soul.

In the Canary Islands during the past century there was a dracena tree known to have existed since 1402, and considered one of the oldest inhabitants of the earth. In England the imported resinous gum of the dracena, dragon's blood (so called for its bright red color), was burned by young girls and estranged wives, while reciting incantations, to restore their loves.

**Draco** The Dragon: a circumpolar constellation of the northern sky, identified variously with the Babylonian ocean-dragon deity, Tiamat, with the snake hurled by Athena into the sky, whose tail lies coiled between the two Bears, and whose head lies under the foot of Hercules, or with the terrible dragon of Thebes killed by Cadmus, whose teeth he sowed. Later astronomers called it the Old Serpent who tempted Eve. The early Hindu constellation which they called Crocodile or Porpoise may have been Draco, may have been Delphinus. The Persian Azhdehā, Man-eating Serpent, was Draco. And it is probably the "crooked serpent" mentioned by Job. Arabic astronomers named it Al Shujā', the Snake. In Norse mythology it was the Midgard serpent hurled into outer darkness by Odin.

Four thousand years ago the yellow star Thuban, in the tail of Draco, was the pole star, to whose perpetual visibility the slanting shaft in the Great Pyramid of Khufu at Gizeh was oriented. Draco was a much longer and more serpentine constellation in Chaldean configuration than it seems now, encoiling both Bears.

**dragon** A mythical creature found in the lore of all peoples of the Old World and many of the New. All dragons have as an anatomical basis a snake or crocodile body covered with scales, the forelegs and head of a lion, eagle, or hawk. Many have wings. The physical characteristics vary with the location so that almost any combination of animals, such as the elephant-dragon of India, or the stag-dragon of China, may appear. Usually the dragon breathes fire, emits a thunderous sound, guards a treasure, lives in a cave, or in a lake, or in a stream, or in the clouds. Usually he is associated with water in some manner. Compare with this the serpents and chthonic deities in the form of snakes associated with the earth. In later folktale and myth, the distinction between water-dragon (e.g. that of the Andromeda story) and the earth-snake (e.g. the Python of Delphi or the Midgard Serpent) is not clearly made. The dragons of all countries must be propitiated by human sacrifice, commonly of a virgin princess.

The story of the dragon-slayer is, consequently, likewise common. Such stories relate how the hero killed the dragon, cutting off its head or heads and removing the tongues; as a reward he is given the princess as his wife. The sowing of the dragon's teeth, from which spring the founders of the city, occurs in Greek mythology. The famous dragon-slayer of British legend is St. George, though King Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon (dragon's head), is also a dragon-slayer. Dragon tales blend with tales of giants and ogres with several heads

who breathe fire; the same motifs, rescue of a people and a princess, cutting off of heads, cave dwellings, and the like, are common to both types of story. In Christian legend, the dragon is the Devil or the servant of the Devil; the leathery webbed feet and pointed tail are characteristic of both. Apocalyptic literature abounds with symbolic dragons, while the apocryphal *Bel and the Dragon* relates the tale of Daniel's slaying of the dragon.

The dragon is associated with the gods by all people; early in the history of each culture it is identified with a specific god. Tiamat, for example, is the dragon goddess of Babylonia, the antagonist in the first dragon myth in history. Considerable evidence exists to prove that the dragon myth was assembled first in Babylonia of elements from Egyptian mythology and thence spread largely by diffusion eastward through India to China where its development has been manifold, and westward through Greece to the people of Europe. Close relation exists between the dragon myth and the cult of the Mother Goddess; this relationship explains the persistence of stories of human sacrifice, concern with thunder and cloud, and with treasure. It explains, too, the virtue of slaying the dragon, i.e. the slayer is protecting mankind from the malignancy of the god. But not all dragons are malignant; some, especially in China, are beneficent, but even they had to be courted by gifts and petitions. The dragon is a prominent character of the mumming parade on the Chinese New Year; dragon kites are flown. [MEL; JF]

**Dragon cult** In China, a subject of many studies in which learned people have made fantastic suggestions. In the 4th millennium B.C. a dragon delivered the eight mystic trigrams, the Pa Kua, to a legendary emperor. In the legendary Hsia dynasty (c. 2205 to 1557 B.C.) dragons were associated with ancestor worship and fertility. One of the kings collected foam from the mouths of two ancestors who appeared at his palace in the form of dragons. He put the foam in a box. No one in succeeding generations dared open the box. At the end of the reign of the tenth king of the Chou dynasty (c. 1100 to 221 B.C.) the box was opened. The foam spread through the palace. The king made his wives appear naked before it. It became a black lizard and entered the women's apartments. An extraordinary pregnancy occurred. A dragon was the symbol of the emperor; it appeared on the Chinese flag; it represents the essence of yang, the male element. The scholars of the Chou dynasty who collected dragon lore were impressed by its importance but were vague in their interpretations. A Sung emperor in 1110 A.D. divided all dragons into five families: Blue Spirit Dragons, very compassionate kings; Red Spirit Dragons, kings of lakes; Yellow Spirit Dragons, kings who receive vows favorably; White Spirit Dragons, virtuous pure kings; Black Spirit Dragons, kings of mysterious lakes. Another classification: Spirit Dragons are those which rise to Heaven; Earthly Dragons are those hidden in the earth who protect treasure. A number of other classifications are known. Dragons are associated with pools. Carp may be dragons in disguise. Chinese dragon lore has been modified by the Hindu lore of nagas, rakshas, etc. [RØJ]

**dragon-fight or dragon-slaying theme** It was inevitable that the concept of the dragon should beget stories

of the slayer of the dragon. Such stories are numerous and widespread. The effect is the dragon sacrifice was known all over the world. The central episode deals with a youth who, when he discovers a maiden or princess about to be sacrificed to a dragon, kills the monster, cuts off its heads (usually seven), extracts the treasure, and goes his way, telling the girl that he would see the world before marrying her. He returns (often after seven years) to find the princess about to be married to an impostor who claims that he is the one who killed the dragon. The hero shows up the impostor, proves his own identity by producing the tongues and matching them up with the proper heads, and so marries the princess.

Allied to this story, or to the concept behind it, are the numerous dragon-slayer stories with local heroes as protagonists, heroes usually famous in other legends and myths. It would seem that the slaying of the dragon has been added to their stock of exploits to enhance their stature as heroes. Some of the most famous of these dragon-slayers are: Perseus, Marduk, Hercules, Apollo, Siegfried, St. Michael, St. George, Beowulf, Arthur, and Tristan. See BEAR'S EAR; BEAR'S SON; DRAGON. [MEL.]

**dragonfly** A predatory insect (order Odonata) having a slender body, and four finely veined wings, huge eyes, and strong jaws. It feeds on flies and mosquitoes, and for this reason is sometimes called a mosquito hawk. Dragonflies are said to have been sent by Satan to cause mischief in the world. They are often called Devil's-darning-needles. Children are told that if they tell lies the Devil's-darning-needle will sew up their mouths; it is even likely to sew up nose and ears and go right on through the head. It will also sew up the mouths of scolding women and cursing men, and has the whimsical habit of sewing together the toes of anyone it finds sleeping uncovered. It is said that dragonflies can tell good children from bad: when a good boy goes fishing, the dragonfly will settle on the bank of the stream where he is apt to find the best luck. But if it lights on the fishing pole, the fish will not bite. It is very bad luck to kill one. That dragonflies can sting is a fairly widespread misconception. Dragonflies are sometimes called "snake feeders" and "snake doctors" from the quite general belief that they feed and minister to snakes. In the southern United States the "snake doctor" is even able to revive a dead snake. [CPS.]

Among Zuni Indians the dragonfly is regarded as possessing supernatural powers and it is taboo to kill one. The Somaikoli (Dragonfly) Society of Zuni cures sore eyes, convulsions, and cramps. The kachina masks have small eyes, and it is dangerous for a pregnant woman to look at one, lest her child have sore eyes. The Zuni association of awl and moccasin-making with Dragonfly kachina is suggestive of the general sewing superstition connected with the dragonfly.

**dragon's blood** The blood of a dragon, when obtainable, has many marvelous properties. A bath of dragon's blood restores the petrified to life. Siegfried was made invulnerable by bathing in dragon's blood. Eating a dragon's heart, or drinking its heart-blood, bestows immeasurable courage on the drinker, or else enables him to understand animal languages. In a Danish folktale (Type 293) only the blood from a dragon's heart

can cure a certain king (D1850.103). The blood, which the blood, overcomes an impostor, and a hero who marries the king's daughter. See above. [CPS.]

**Draupadi** In Hindu mythology, the wife of Pandu, Pandu prince. At the swayamvara, marriage festival at which suitors vied with each other, Arjuna won her, the others in archery and received the princess Draupadi. When the brothers returned home, their mother told them to share their spoils. Draupadi became their common wife, spending 13 days at a time in the house of each.

When the oldest brother, Yudhishthira, gave up his kingdom, the freedom of the brothers, and their wife. She was mistreated by the Kauravas, Yudhishthira and Duryodhana, the latter tearing off her clothes. Krishna, however, restored the clothes rapidly as they were torn off. The enraged brothers were restrained by Yudhishthira, but Bhishma vowed that he would drink the blood of Duryodhana and cut the thigh of Duryodhana, which vow he finally fulfilled. The Pandus and Draupadi were exiled for 13 years. The 13th year was spent incognito in the service of the king of Virata, where Draupadi's beauty attracted the queen's brother, Kichaka. Bhishma, angered by Draupadi, fought Kichaka and so marveling that his bones and flesh were rolled into a ball. The feat was attributed to the Gandharvas who were believed to guard Draupadi and she was condemned to death but was rescued by Bhishma.

**dream books** Popular books which interpret all sorts of dreams. A dream treatise published in 1651, *A Treatise of the Interpretation of Several Dreams*, may have been a forerunner of various modern dream books much sought after by youngsters, adolescents, and others anxious to know the meaning of their dreams. One extract from its pages reads, "The old person dream that he married a maiden, signifieth death to ensue. But good it is unto him which beginneth a new business, for that it shall come into a good purpose." Other items are in the same formal language. The prophecies in modern dream books are quite often wise—short and snappy: Dream of a cat—bad luck. dream of a neighbor—warning of gossip. [CPS.]

**dreams** Among many peoples, dreams, the marvelous adventures of the soul during sleep, are looked upon as communion with the spirits, both the spirits of the dead and the wandering spirits of other men and women. Hence occurrences in dreams are portentous, for they indicate the will of the powerful dead and may therefore be used to foretell the future. And, like dreams are often not logical in their development, certain standards of interpretation must be placed upon the symbolism of the dream, not only by Freud and his followers, but by the dream interpreters of more primitive civilizations, the shamans and witch doctors, the old wives and the soothsayers. Losing a tooth means a death in the family; the seven fat and the seven lean kine mean seven years of plenty and seven of famine; the river flowing from a king's daughter causes the king to desire his grandson's (Cyrus) death. See DREAM BOOKS; GARDIAN SPIRITS; FETTER; MATHIAS, J. J. AND POWERFUL; NIGHTMARE; SUGGESTION.



☞ A basic theme which appears to spread over all Middle America is that dreams foretell the future, that they are among the most reliable of omens. Impending death or misfortune is the most common sign. To cite a few examples, they are presaged by dreams of meat in abundance, dreams of water or drowning, dreams of fire burning one's body, dreams of lizards and serpents, dreams of being married, dreams of the loss of a hat or other personal property, or of the loss of a tooth. Aside from the content of a dream the mere act of dreaming may be dangerous, since many peoples believe the soul leaves the body during this period and wanders about. If something happens to the soul, the sleeper may not awaken. Conversely, sleepers often are not rudely awakened, for fear they may be dreaming and their souls will not have time to return. See DREAM SOUL; SOUL LOSS. [GMF]

**dream soul** One of the multiple souls of man: a West African Negro concept, surviving also in the New World. In Dahomey men have four souls, of varying quality, importance, and function; women and children have only three. Among the Ewe and Tshi-speaking peoples of West Africa the dream soul sleeps while a man is awake; when the man sleeps it leaves his body, via the dream, and goes forth to associate with the dream souls of others. As the man wakes, the dream soul returns. The great danger is dream-interruption or sudden awakening, lest the dream soul not have time to return. If it gets shut out the man will sicken, and unless it can be recovered, he will die. Only the sorcerer or witch-doctor knows how to find a lost dream soul or conjure it back into a man's body.

**dream time** The mythological past of Australian mythology: variously termed by the various tribes. See ALCHERA; AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY.

**drilbu** A Tibetan prayer-bell rung by the lāmas to attract the attention of good spirits and to drive off evil ones.

**drinking the moon** A folktale motif (J1791.1; Type 1335) in which a numskull sees a cow drinking from a pool in which the moon is reflected. A big cloud drifts across the moon and blots out the reflection. The man, now seeing only darkness in the pool, believes the cow has swallowed the moon, and splits her open in order to save it. This is a very ancient tale, belonging to the great body of noodle stories popular all over the world. One of the most famous uses of the motif is known through an ancient Spanish writer who tells how a group of town worthies once imprisoned an ass for drinking the moon. Observers, who saw the moon in the water disappear when a huge cloud obliterated its reflection, were aghast at the idea of their town having no moon. And the ass was condemned to be cut open that the moon might be restored.

**drolls or drolleries** Humorous stories of semisophisticated folk type, the humor growing largely out of the antics of dim-witted characters or grotesque and exaggerated situations. Unlike the fable they point no moral; unlike the fabliaux they are seldom satiric or coarse. They resemble the tall tale in humor and exaggeration, but in form are usually shorter, with focus on a single situation, and the main character in the droll story is the butt of the humor. They are

humorously odd, prankish, farcical. Some of the best known in English are: *Mr. Vinegar*, *The History of Tom Thumb*, *The Three Sillyes*, *The Wise Fools of Gotham*. See ÆSOP'S FABLES; NOODLES. [MEL]

**druid** One of a class of priests, teachers, diviners, and magicians of ancient Celtic (perhaps pre-Celtic) religion. They possessed all supernatural and human wisdom. They were physicians, historians, mathematicians, astronomers. Their rank was next to the king, but their decisions were final in all matters. Their enormous learning was never written down and the mysteries of their cult remain mysteries. They functioned at all rituals of naming, burial, and sacrifice. Old Irish texts mention the druids in connection with the terrible human sacrifices associated with Beltane and Cromm Crúac and also Tara.

They could cause illness, sleep, or death, raise storms and mists, and draw the *airbe druad*, druids' hedge or fence, around an army (by simultaneous incantation and circumambulation) which could not be crossed. As healers they are associated especially with mistletoe and the ritual of gathering it. With the persecution and extinction of the druids, the mantle of druid magic fell upon and enhanced the glamour of the Celtic saints. See ACORN; FAET FIAÑA; MISTLETOE; OAK.

**drūj** (Persian *drauga*) In the Avesta, a female spirit of deceit and treachery; one of a group of demons created by Angra Mainyu to counteract the good created by Ahura Mazda. The drūj is the opponent of the Amesha Spenta, Asha Vahishta. In later belief, the term was applied to many demons including the daēvas, kavi, yātus, and the pairikās. Angra Mainyu is also commonly known as Drūj, or Deception.

**drūj Nasu or Nasu** In Zoroastrianism, the corpse-fiend or spirit of contamination; the best-known of the drūjes. Drūj Nasu, in the shape of a fly, takes possession of dead bodies and spreads their contagion. It can be expelled from bodies only by means of the glance of a dog (sagdid). It is removed from those who have contact with the dead by means of the Barashnūm ceremony of purification.

**drum** The most widespread, sacred, and ritually significant of all musical instruments: a hollow frame or vessel with one or two openings covered by a stretched skin and sounded by beating with the hands or with sticks; also, the slit-drum (a log hollowed through a narrow groove and stamped, rammed or beaten with a stick), and certain other percussion instruments lacking the skin head, such as the water drum and the stamped pit. Drums date from neolithic times and have served all over the world for accompaniment to religious ceremonies, dancing, singing, marching, and communal work, for the exorcism of evil spirits and expulsion of scapegoats and evil-doers, for divination, for the induction of a state of possession suitable for communication with the gods and supernatural forces, as a means of signaling, and especially as a fertility charm. Their absence in a given area, as among some Indian tribes of modern Brazil, the early Greeks and European peoples, is the oddity rather than the rule. As a matter of historical record, works of art in Mesopotamia dating from 3000 B.C. show a wide range of drums in use, and sculptured reliefs of India show their importance there at least 2000 years ago.

The origin of the instrument is unknown, though various cultures have legends of drum creation. The Hittites credit the invention to a bird, Nehen-akka, which beat the ground with its drum-shaped tail. Even Nambé, the Earth Mother, was not allowed to deprive the creator of its ownership. Many Pacific and South American peoples believe that the slit-drum was the invention of the water divinity, whose functions it serves. Whatever the origin, a particular type of frame drum probably spread over Asia and Europe from the Near East, and the slit-drum of many South American tribes extending to its northernmost use in California is of the Pacific type.

The rounded, hollow shape, just as it does in many household vessels, earthen pits, etc., carries to the mind of primitive man a female connotation, hence, cohabitation, fertility, water, rain, grain, moon—all closely linked ideas. The original shape was probably cylindrical, the form of a log, and the original material, wood, for these were the earliest manifestations of man's work. In this shape, the slit-drum of Pacific and American cultures, with its hollow body and narrow slit rammed with a pole, is completely mimetic of the sex act. Bulging barrel, kettle, cup, bowl, and goblet shapes, now executed in wood or metal, probably followed the introduction of pottery drums, which evolved in prehistoric times and strengthened the female symbolism of shape, material, and use. Archaic barrel drums of Japan and China were filled with rice or rice hulls, and in other parts of Asia, as well as among North American Ojibwas and Crees, grain-filled drums were used.

The meanings and the sex applications become enormously complicated with acculturation and the multiplication of types of drums, beating instruments, and uses. For example, small frame drums with the skin stretched on a shallow hoop have been almost exclusively the instruments of women in Semitic lands, where they accompany singing and dancing and rites of the moon. Greek and Roman followers of the cults of Dionysus and Cybele used them, as did Egyptian dancing girls of the 18th century B.C. Yet the Egyptian god Bes, attendant at childbirths, is sometimes shown playing this instrument. Furthermore, this drum closely resembles the shaman's drum widespread in Asia. It is differentiated sharply in that, like women's drums generally, it is played with the bare hands, while the shaman's drum is struck with a stick, horn, or bone.

The whole problem of the drumstick has its own symbolism. Probably the most archaic types of drums were all beaten with the bare hands, and many continue to be so played, by both men and women. The use of a stick or tubular implement, which is symbolic of the phallus, contributes the fertilizing agent to the conception of the female instrument, and is consistently reserved for men in most societies. A Koryak rain-making legend tells of attaching a woman's vulva to the frame of a drum and beating with a penis for the stick. East African coronation drums must be beaten only with a human tibia, a phallic symbol. (Today we still refer to the leg bones of fowl as drumsticks.) The large hanging drum of Japan, *tsumi daiko*, is played with two leather-knobbed sticks, the right designated as male, the left, female.

With this double implication of female power, the tabus and restrictions on the use of drums are considerably from place to place. Clans forbade their drums, as they do rattles, to help women through their first menstrual period and to speed the recovery of algarroba pods. In some African tribes, drums mark the rites of circumcision. In some, drums are beaten for the funerals of men only. The entire usefulness of a drum may be determined by certain Pacific island peoples if a woman sees the process of construction, but in the New Hebrides women play the slit-drum, which is beaten on the rising of the new moon. The Wahluks of East Asia consider it courting death for men to beat drums. They will carry it only at night, and even then it is safe from the danger of the sight of it only on the time of the new moon.

As against the sexual connotation of the drum in primitive usage, Origen, the early Christian father of Alexandria, considered the tympanon, god of his period, a symbol of the destruction of the great Eastern civilizations, extend the symbolism to more abstract concepts. Siva, in his dancing meditation, has the attribute of a small hourglass-shaped drum which stands for sound, communication, meditation, incantation, and magic. The Chinese cosmic coordination matches drums with earth, water, and skin.

The making of drums involves numerous magical practices and beliefs. Lapp drums are made of wood selected for the favorable direction of the grain. The Melanesian drum-makers climb the tree selected for the body of the drum and complete the whole drum before descending. The Babylonian *lilu*, moon god and played in lamentation for the darkness of the moon, was covered with the hide of a special bull, sacrificed in the temple of Ea, god of moon and wisdom. The great honor of his fate was explained in incantations sung to the bull before ritual slaying.

The earliest membranes for drums were probably the skins of fish, snakes, and lizards (water animals), and only later, possibly when drumsticks began to be used, were game animals, cattle, sheep, and goats used. For the huge log war drums of Africa, some tribes consider skins of wild beasts most suitable. Human skin flayed from their captives or slain enemies was sometimes used for the ancient Peruvian *huacra*, the belief being that the use of a part of his body gave possession of the enemy's strength and vigor and to strike terror to his companions.

Attaching the skin to the frame with nails had a special significance, both for the barrel drums of the Far East and the *huehuell* of Aztec Mexico, nails being a protective virtue then, as today, in many cultures. Also the inclusion of various objects inside the drum has been thought to add to its powers. Small pieces of crystal or obsidian from a volcano are used in the shaman's drum of the Araucanians for curing effects with amulets, skulls, shells, etc., being used elsewhere. Therefore it can be dangerous to take a casual strike into a drum.

The elaborate formula observed in making the drums of Haitian vodun drums of today is characteristic of such activities. The maker, before cutting the skin,

because of the many different tones that could be produced by pressure of the arm under which it was held, and its sound is said to have survived in the Negro humming called "moaning."

When the hand is the striking instrument, the tone may be changed by using the flat of the hand, the fingers, or the base of the thumb. African, West Indian, and Asiatic drummers produce intricate variations by the manipulations of their flying hands and fingers.

Some drums are sounded not by beating at all but by friction. Resin or grit is used on the fingers and rubbed over the head, or a vibrating cord or stick on the membrane produces a continuous rumbling sound. This, in a different way from the ramming or beating of drums, also symbolizes cohabitation and is used at initiation ceremonies of both boys and girls in Togoland. Europe also has its friction drums, now chiefly toys, but probably dating back to fertility ceremonies.

One tuning method for drumheads, the application of a paste to the center of the skin, originated in sacrifices and offerings to the drum. Though the primary significance of this practice is now largely forgotten and only the achievement of two different tones from the areas with and without the paste is intended, the custom originated in smearing the blood of enemies or sacrificial animals on war drums to bring strength in battle, good fortune to the armies. Later, any red-colored substance served the same purpose, and still later the offerings changed to agricultural symbols of abundance, such as rice, meal, saffron, etc. In India some barrel drums are treated with a different paste for each head, so that greater tonal range is obtained. However, Chamar women of southern India paint five cinnabar spots on the drumhead before a ceremony for Mother Earth, and the Haitian vodun drums are still treated with alcohol and flour before a service, not so much for the tonal changes as an offering to the spirit of the drum.

A part of the Mexican Coyote dance previously mentioned includes the offering of meat to the drum. Dancers carry it in their teeth from the plates where it is laid out to the drum. An allotment of meal was regularly provided for the Sumerian drum *a-lal*; the Aztec slit-drum was also the recipient of sacrifices and offerings; and novices of the cult of Attis in Rome ate a sacramental meal from a drum in a secret reenacting of the death and resurrection of the god.

Certain drums are assigned special houses, guardians, and properties. The sacred jar drums (*bajbín*) of the Chamulas and Tzotzils of Mexico are brought out only at carnival times, in the interim being cared for by two attendants. Every week or two incense is burned before the drums, which rest on a table in the house of one of the guardians. The day before a carnival they are given a drink of brandy, are washed with hot water and camomile, and fitted with new lacings, while one attendant waves a banner in the four sacred directions, the other, in ceremonial headdress dances through the washing, and fireworks are set off. Only after such attentions can the drums be carried to the church door for the carnival dancing.

The African Bayankole maintain a dome-shaped drum house for their two greatest drums, which are served by a woman known as "the wife of the drums."

Her duties are to attend to the milk and butter-making from the herd of cattle owned by the drums, to offer milk to the drums daily, and to keep house for them. Another woman is charged with keeping the fire in the drum house to the temperature preferred by the drums. At the birth of a son or on any occasion for rejoicing, the prominent men of the tribe bring cattle or beer as offerings to the drums. No one may kill one of the dedicated herd except on order of the chief, and the meat is presented to the drums before it can be eaten by the guardians. Hides from the cattle are used to repair the drums, and the butter made from their milk is smeared on the drumheads.

So powerful and holy are the drums in East African society that the drumyard provides sanctuary for criminals and other fugitives as the church did in European tradition. (See *ASYLUM*.)

In contrast to this idea, drums have also served as the instrument of execution, expulsion, and disgrace. Thieves have been drummed to their hanging; the roll of the military drum in European armies beats a cheat or a disgraced officer out of camp and out of the regiment; and drumfire prefaces the volley of the firing squad when a spy or traitor stands with his back to the wall. In China, human scapegoats, selected as the embodiment of pestilence, have been driven from their villages to the beating of drums that the community might be restored to health. In Burma, cholera epidemics have been broken up by creating a din to frighten away the disease demons, drums adding their sound to the uproar. And on the island of Boru, day-long beating of drums and gongs preceded the departure of a boatload of evil spirits driven out to sea with all the troubles of the community.

Singing, dancing, and drums are almost inseparable in folk customs. Some American Indians have no concept of song without the undercurrent of the drum. Street singers in Egypt today are accompanied only by the drums they carry. The Ethiopian chant is set to drums and hand-clapping. The wedding songs of modern Jews of Yemen are sung to drumming and dancing, much as Jewish singing was done before the Temple at Jerusalem was built. Singhalese, Hausa, and Eskimo—all have their drum songs.

Among the dances dependent on drum rhythm are the healing dances of shamans in Sumatra, in South America, and in Siberia; the whirling dance of dervishes in Cairo; the convulsive dancing of vodun and Shango, and their distant connections in West Africa; the classical bugaku dances and Nô performances in Japan; the prancing of the Morris dancers in England, with their characteristic pipe and tabor accompaniment; the frenzied tarantella of Italy, with its tambourines; the sword dances of medieval Europe, and the jazz of America. Negro slaves, transported from Africa to America without any of the ceremonial objects basic to their lives, improvised drums of barrels, nail kegs, and boxes slapped with the bare hands in order to preserve some vestige of their background. When forbidden to drum, as they were in Louisiana in 1740, they pounded the wooden floors of their shacks with their feet in the intricate drummed and shuffled rhythms essential to their religious ceremonies.

The greatest use of drums for purely musical purposes perhaps is Asiatic. There the drums assume a

melodic as well as rhythmic function in the orchestra in a manner not known in the West until the modern experimental art music of the 1920's. In Burma, where the chief outlet for orchestras is the accompaniment of the *pwe* shadow plays, a full drum chime is characteristic. It consists of as many as twenty-four tuned drums, arranged in a circle around the player who plays with his hands in an extraordinary display of virtuosity. The Javanese and Balinese gamelans also feature drums to guide the changing tempi for the choir of gong instruments, and in India the drums frequently outnumber all the other instruments in an orchestra or band.

On the strictly practical level of everyday use, drums have served to set the pace for communal work groups such as the combite and gayap, and for the strokes of rowers in Egypt. American slang holds an indication of the application of showmanship to business in the term "drummer" for salesman, and the phrase "drumming up business." They bring to mind the picture of the ballyhoo of the medicine-show, the sales-talk from the tailboard of a wagon, and the straggling parade behind one bass drum painted boldly with the name of a nostrum.

Finally, drums have boomed as a battle rally on every continent, and have stood as the talisman of victory and the symbol of royal and military might in many cultures, with the attendant sacrificial and signaling meanings previously discussed. The traditions surrounding the military drums of European and American armies are of comparatively modern origin. The importance of the military drum grew up as the foot-soldier superseded the armored and mounted knight as a tactical element in war. Then the drum and the cross-life came into their own to set the time for the marching feet of the mercenaries. Kettledrums (English *naker*, French *nacaire*), introduced from Arab countries after the Crusades, joined the armies, and kettle-drummers of the 15th and 16th centuries were trained to perform with affected and exaggerated pomp and gesture, still seen in the antics of present-day drum majors and majorettes. The much-admired clash and clang of Turkish Janizary music set the style for European military bands, and Swiss soldiers marched to the roar of some of the largest drums ever made, copied from Near Eastern models. The drum was paired with fife or bugle as the visual and aural motif of war, of military glitter and discipline. Swift trials on the battlefield were held around a great drum serving as table or desk for the judge, and the term "drum-head court-martial" spoke of summary justice. Heroic drummer-boys, as the youngest lads officially attached to an army, provided appealing figures for tales of defeat turned to victory. While mechanized warfare, vehicle-transported troops, and electrical and radio communication have taken from the drums their serious function in war, their appearance in parades still brings out the motor impulses of marchers and spectators that are the secret of the power of the drums in all societies, perhaps an extension of the same motor impulses displayed in the drumming activities of animals.

HERESA C. BRAKELEY

**Drunken Sailor** A short-haul chantey of late vintage, called the "runaway song," because the crew ran down

the deck with the rope as they sang in chorus, hauling a light sail aloft. This could have been done only with the greater deck space of the large ships in the late days of sail. The song details the measures used on ships for sobering up a drunken sailor "early in the morning." It is also called *Early in the Morning*, pronounced with a long i sound for early (earl-eye).

**Dryad or Hamadryad** (plural *Dryads* or *Dryades*) In Greek mythology, a nymph inhabiting a tree, properly an oak tree, who died when the tree died, or, less commonly, moved to another tree. Compare NYMPHS.

**drying the candle** A European folktale motif (J2122) occurring in the vast cycle of stories known as numskull or noodle tales, in which a candle, having gotten wet, is placed on the stove to dry, with the natural result (unforeseen by the numskull).

**dry rod blossoms** A well-known European motif (F791.1; Type 756): a dry branch (rod, staff) puts forth flowers, green leaves, or fruit in token of the forgiveness of a sinner, the innocence of someone accused (E131.05.1), or as some other sign. Aaron's rod blossomed as a sign of the selection of Aaron and his descendants for the priesthood. Tannhäuser's dry staff blossomed to disprove the judgment that he could no more be forgiven than the dry staff could bloom. Joseph won the Virgin Mary in a suitor-contest in which the reward was given to the one whose staff bloomed (H331.3). The most widespread folktale using the motif, Type 756B (probably of medieval western European origin, but known in some 209 versions in Ireland, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Siberia, Germany, Bohemia, Spain), tells of a boy sold to the Devil. He starts out for Hell to retrieve the contract, is guided by a robber, in Hell sees the red-hot chair reserved for his guide, and describes it to him. The robber does penance till his dry staff blossoms or bears fruit (Q521.1) in token of his forgiveness. "When a dry branch sprouts" is one of the by-words for the never concept (Z61).

**dual creators** Twin or elder and younger brother creators: a concept found in many mythologies of the world. The Hindu Āsvins are probably the most ancient of the world's mythological brother-hero gods. The two-fold creator-transformer-culture-hero is common to all American Indian mythologies. One of the pair is good; one is bad. One is benevolent and constructive; the other either wilfully destroys or stupidly hinders the creative acts of the other, or sometimes clumsily imitates him, bringing forth, however, usually grotesqueries or mistakes. See DIOSCUR; TWINS.

**Dúc Bà, Dúc Thánh Bà, or Bà-Dù'c Chúa** In Annamese belief, the Three Mothers who represent the Spirit of the Forests, the Spirit of the Air, and the Spirit of the Waters. In Tonkinese pagodas the principal room contains the statues of Buddhas, but the second room contains statues of these spirits and their servant tigers, the quan. In legend the Dúc Bà were assigned, one to each region, by the Emperor of Jade, Ngọc Hoàng. The Dúc Bà are worshipped locally as the spirits of feminine trees and in the pagodas on the first and fifteenth of each month, chiefly by women.

**duck dance** A North American Indian mimetic dance portraying realistically or symbolically the duck, usually to effect their multiplication. The Kutchin wave their arms realistically, the Iroquois merely cry "quack,

quack." The *twé'óeng*, a double circle, has become a social dance, with women passing under the arches formed by the men's joined arms, and then caught between couples. The duck dance, or *waima*, forms part of the *hesi* cycle of the Patwin and Maidu Indians of California. Men calling "hat-hat" are joined by impersonations of the spirits of plenty. A completely secular boogie-woogie step, the duck walk, suggests the waddling gait in a curious hips-displacement. [CRK]

**bDud** A Tibetan demon, usually male, black in color, and the malignant ghost of a persecutor of Lāmaism. The bDud is one of a large group of demons which belong to the eight classes of *yul-lha* or indigenous country gods. It can only be appeased by the sacrifice of a pig. In the *Kesar Saga* the bDud possesses great treasure, a girl kept in an iron cage, and lives in a castle in the north near a well of milk and nectar.

**Dudugera** In a Wagawaga (New Guinea) folktale, the leg-child who became the sun; son of a woman and a fish. A Wagawaga woman, who was weeding her garden near the beach, saw a large fish playing in the surf. She went into the sea and played with the fish each day and, as they played, the fish nuzzled her thigh. Finally her thigh began to swell and ache. When her father cut into it a baby boy burst forth.

Dudugera, as his mother called him, grew up in the village and played with the other boys until one day, while they were throwing spears at trees, he threw his at his companions. Frightened that Dudugera might be punished by the villagers, his mother decided to send him back to his father. They went down to the beach; the big fish came swimming up and carried the child off in his mouth. Before he left, Dudugera told his mother that she and her relatives should move their gardens into the shadow of a great overhanging rock, for he would climb via a pandanus into the sky and all the people, trees, and plants would die.

As Dudugera had prophesied, everything dried up because of the heat from the sun which never ceased during each day to send its merciless heat down to the earth. Finally, Dudugera's mother threw lime into the face of the sun as it came up one morning. Since then clouds appear to relieve the heat and men are able to live.

**Dug-from-Ground** Title and hero of a California Indian tale of a woman who digs up a root which turns into a child. When grown the child goes on adventures; he climbs a stretching tree and ascends to the sky, where he kills a deer. Other of the child's adventures are in the form of tests: shiny contest, eating test, heat test, shooting contest, etc. [RWV]

**dukun** An Indonesian (Menangkabau, Sumatra) medium whose duties include soul-catching, the practice of magic, and healing by means of simple remedies. The dukun is either male or female and is respected because of his knowledge of curing and of magic formulas which are chiefly Moslem in origin. He, like the Dayong, frequently cures by bringing back the soul when it wanders.

**dulcimer** A stringed instrument of the zither family, having a varying number of strings and either struck with two sticks or hammers or plucked. Of Near Eastern

origin, the instrument was carried to Europe through Spain by Arabs, who also passed it along to Jews in Africa; to eastern Europe through Turkey; and later to the Far East. The *cimbalon* of Hungarian Gipsies is the chief remainder in Europe. In the mountains of the southern United States, a three-stringed home-made zither is called a dulcimer. It is plucked or brushed with a turkey feather or goose quill, and a stick or reed called the "noter" is moved across the frets to make the melody. It is used to accompany the singing of lonesome tunes, lullabies, ballads, and hymns.

**dumi** A type of Ukrainian folksong and ballad, usually with couplet rhyme in lines of free length. The subject-matter is comparatively modern history, topical to some extent; the style is prosaic, wordy and pedestrian in many cases; the supernatural does not occur. The accompanying music is played on the twenty-stringed lute, the kobza. See BALLAD.

**dún** A fortified enclosure within which the ancient Irish kings and nobles dwelt. It was encircled by two or more earthen walls or mounds called *ráth*. Within the enclosure were a number of wooden buildings: the king's or chief's house, the houses of his chiefs, the feast hall, the guest lodges, etc. Before the *dún* or *ráth* was the *faitee*, or lawn, a wide green field used to practice feats, or in some cases perhaps used for pasture. Emain Macha, the residence of Conchobar, in Ulster, and *Ráth Cruachan*, the residence of Meib and Ailill in Connacht, were typical of these ancient strongholds. The remains of Cuchulain's *dún*, *Dún Delgan*, can still be seen today in County Louth, near Dundalk, to which place it gives its name. See RÁTH.

**Dund or Dhúndh** In popular Indian belief, a headless, handless, footless ghost who rides about with his head tied to the pommel of his saddle. At night he calls outside houses to the people within. It is dangerous to answer; anyone who does will die or go mad.

**Durgā** In Hindu mythology and religion, a malignant form of Devī, the inaccessible, represented as a yellow woman riding a tiger.

**Dvalin** (1) In Teutonic mythology, the dwarf who invented runes. When Loki cut off the hair of Sif (Thor's wife) as a prank, all the gods were so exasperated with him that he persuaded Dvalin to make a beautiful golden wig to take its place, and also the spear, Gungnir, for Odin, and the ship, Skidbladnir, for Frey, as peace offerings.

(2) In Teutonic mythology, one of the four stags who grazed on the tree Yggdrasil.

**dvergar** The dwarfs of Scandinavian mythology, formed by the gods from maggots in the flesh of the giant Ymir. Less powerful than the gods, the dvergar were more intelligent than men. They had dark skin, long beards, green eyes, powerful stocky bodies, short legs, and crow's feet. They possessed caps and cloaks to make them invisible at will. They could not come out in the daylight, lest they be turned to stone by the light. They lived underground, where they mined gold and other metals which they fashioned into beautiful jewelry, wonderful swords, and other magical objects. They were fabulously wealthy, and when captured by mortals, would pay large ransoms for their liberty.

**Dvīpa or Dwīpa** In Hindu mythology, one of the insular continents, usually seven in number, which stretch out from Mount Meru and which are separated by circumambient oceans. They are Jambu, Plaksha, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauncha, Śāka, Pushkara. In the *Mahābhārata* four Dvīpas are named: Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Jambu-dvīpa, and Uttara Kuru. See *LOKĀLOKA*.


**dwarf** Dwarfs are renowned in European tradition as members of a separate community, usually a kingdom with a king of its own. They were underground supernatural beings; they lived in the mountains, in hills and caves, sometimes in rivers, or near a spring. Their dwellings were described as splendid palaces. A dwarf was full-grown at three years of age and a graybeard at seven. Some of their characteristics are indicated by the names given to them: Little Gray Man, Flat-foot, Goose-foot, etc.

Dwarfs have faces like men, but with wrinkled, leathery skin, wide mouths, thick heads, long beards. They are either flat-footed, goose- or duck-footed, or have their feet on backwards. Hence their gait is uncertain and wobbly. They dress in gray or green and wear little red caps with a long tapering point. By virtue of either the cloak or the cap, they can become invisible. German folktale especially presents them as ugly, or covered with moss, big-headed, or humpbacked, or stooped over, long-bearded and gray-bearded. Sometimes they nod at people and seem eager to tell something. Sometimes they are toads by day and dwarfs by night. The Eddic dwarf *Alviś* turned to stone at sunrise.

Dwarfs love feasting and dancing, usually at full moon, to light and joyous music. Otherwise they are busy at their forges in the mountains. If clouds and mists are seen over dwarf holes, people say the dwarfs are cooking or forging. They are marvelous smiths and workers in all kinds of metals; their women excel in weaving and spinning. Traditionally the dwarfs taught men to bake, smith, and tailor.

Dwarfs can see into the future and are good weather prophets. They give good advice, and are helpful both in the house and in the field. Although they often tease both children and adults, they also often give them rich presents. In fact any gift from a dwarf is apt to turn to gold in your hand. Thievery is one of their bad habits; so is the kidnapping of women and children. If they plunder the larder, the housewife marks a cross in her dough or strews salt about. For helping in the field, people reward them with little pieces of cake or tidbits placed on the plow. On the whole dwarfs adjust themselves fairly well to the outside world; but if anyone offends them, they take a rude revenge.

There exists a rich and varied folk literature about dwarfs. Perhaps the most famous dwarfs in European folktale are the seven dwarfs in the story of *Snow White* (Grimm #53), whose popularity has been extended through Walt Disney's animated moving picture. *Bibliography*: Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin & Leipzig, 1927-42; Alexander H. Krappe, "Antipodes," *MLN* 59 (Nov., 1944), pp. 441-47; a discussion of Celtic and Germanic dwarfs as chthonic beings, divine ancestors, and a new interpretation of the word *Antipodes*; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Helsinki, 1935. [crs]

 A native belief in dwarfs is practically universal among the North American Indians and the Eskimo. Scattered references to dwarfs occur in American Indian myths and tales, but with no great frequency except among the Eskimo. The existence of dwarfs, however, is taken quite for granted. Among such tribes as the Coeur d'Alene of the Plateau, the Tübatulabal of east-central California, and the Paiute of the Great Basin, dwarfs are described as small supernatural mischief-makers who frighten people, but rarely do real harm. Some live in springs or rivers, others on land. The Cherokees of North Carolina believe there are four kinds of dwarfs; some are good, some evil. To see them causes, or is a sign of, death. The Cayuga, an Iroquois tribe, believe in twin dwarfs, a male and female, who hunt with slings and stones; the neighboring Seneca also believe in dwarfs or "little people." The Shawnee of the Eastern Woodlands, and the Cherokee refer to the Thunders as powerful male dwarfs. Eskimo tales of dwarfs (*JAF* 51:149) present them as harmless or benevolent land or water creatures who sometimes help hunters. The Kodiak tell of two hunters in a kayak, caught in thick fog, who met another kayak containing two small men. As soon as they took them into their own kayak the fog cleared. They took the little men home and cared for them secretly and forever after had good luck. The Baffin Land Eskimo believe in a dwarf people who live in the sea; human beings have tried, but unsuccessfully, to fish these dwarfs out of the ocean. See *AZIZA*; *BERRIES IN WINTER*; *DVERGAR*. [EWW]

**Dyaus** In Vedic religion and mythology, the sky god; the elemental supreme spirit of the primitive Aryans, usually mentioned with Mother Earth as *Dyāvāprithivī* with whom he shares the offerings of soma in the ritual. He was the sky father whose offspring included *Uśhās*, the *Āsvins*, *Agni*, *Parjanya*, *Sūrya*, the *Ādityas*, the *Maruts*, *Indra*, and the *Angirases*.

Dyaus was only slightly anthropomorphized: usually represented as a bull who bellowed downward or as a black horse. His worship was little more than the direct adoration of the sky. In his fatherly aspects he resembled Zeus, but differed from him in that he had no sovereignty over other gods or the world. *Varuṇa* represents this phase of the Aryan sky god and as his importance in Indian mythology increased, that of Dyaus became evanescent. See *DYĀVĀPRITHIVĪ*; *VARUṆA*.

**Dyāvāprithivī** In Vedic mythology, heaven and earth as one deity, regarded as so closely united that they are more frequently invoked together than as Dyaus (sky) and *Prithivī* (earth).

The primitive Aryan invaders of India believed that the universe included only the earth and sky and compared the two to two bowls turned toward each other. *Dyāvāprithivī*, as the union of the male and female principles, was regarded as the universal parents of both gods and men. Sometimes the earth and sky are spoken of as having been themselves created. Speculation on the priority of their creation led to the conclusion, in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, that the earth was created first.

**Dying Californian** An American religious ballad, giving in the first person the dying words and wishes of a 'forty-niner. It has been sung as a hymn among various religious groups all over the United States. It was published in Boston by Ditson in 1855.

*Dying Cowboy* Variant title for *Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie*.

**Dylan** In Cymric mythology, one of the remarkable twins born to Arianrod after her failure to pass the test of virginity imposed on her by Math, son of Mathonwy; twin brother of Llew Llaw Gyffes; interpreted either as a local sea god or equated with the waves of the sea. The *Mabinogion* states that as soon as he was born, Dylan plunged "and swam as well as the best fish, and for this reason he was called Dylan Eil Ton, Son of the Wave." When he was killed by his uncle, Govannon, the smith, the waves rose to avenge him; and over his grave they "make a sullen sound." The voice of the tide when it turns and roars up into the Conway River is called the dying cry of Dylan. Rhys's interpretation of Dylan as darkness and his brother Llew as light makes of the whole a solar myth that is not substantiated. Dylan's death was loudly lamented, not desired, as would be the case if he represented dark and gloomy winter in contrast to Llew as spring and sun.

**Drelarhons** A mythical character of the North Pacific Coast Indians of North America. The niece of Githawn, or Salmon-Eater, she came with six canoe-loads of people out of the sea, and was betrothed to Ka'iti, chief of the Grizzlies. Among the Athabaskan-speaking tribes in the Northwest she is also known as Copper Woman or Volcano Woman, and among the Haida groups as Frog Woman, Copper Frog, or Drelarhons (Barbeau, *Alaska Beckons*). According to Barbeau, the story of Drelarhons belongs to the migration tale of the Salmon-Eater tribe to America, via the Aleutian Islands. Boas gives *Dzilaogans* (Djilaguns) as the name of the Haida for their ancestors. [LWV]

**Dzôávits** A huge ogre of Shoshonean Indian folklore who stole Dove's two children. With the help of Eagle,

Dove rescued the children, and then Eagle gave Dove some tallow from an animal he had killed, also in paunch and some feathers. Dzôávits began to pursue them. They crossed a river via the crane bridge (i.e. Crane stretched out his leg to make a bridge for them to cross it), but Crane delayed Dzôávits by dumping him in the middle of the river. They were helped again by Chickadee, and again by Weasel, who dug an underground passage for them, but delayed Dzôávits by sending him down the wrong hole. When Dzôávits began to catch up again, Dove threw down the tallow Eagle had given her; it became a deep gulch and delayed the ogre a long time. When he drew close again, Dove threw down the paunch; it became a steep cliff which Dzôávits could not climb. The next time Dzôávits was catching up with them, Dove threw down the feathers; they became a thick and covering fog, and the ogre lost track of them for a long time. But at last they heard him behind them again. Badger saved Dove and her children this time. He dug a hole for them to hide in and another hole nearby. When Dzôávits came he asked where Dove was. Badger said "In the hole"; but when Dzôávits wanted to go in after them, Badger turned him into the wrong hole, threw hot rocks in on him, and plugged up the hole. Then Dove and her children could come out and go home. See OBSTACLE FLIGHT.

**Dzokhk or Dzôxk** The underworld of Armenian mythology; an abyss beneath the earth, permeated by the dense smoke from innumerable fires. The souls there wear iron shoes and are tormented by the vermin in their mouths. They are tortured by devils who burn them with red-hot iron staffs. The only exit from Dzokhk is the bridge Marë which joins Paradise and Hell. This, however, breaks easily under the weight of sins, drops the souls into the fiery stream beneath, where their torment is renewed.

## E

**Ea or Enki** The god of the waters of Sumerian and Babylonian mythology; one of the supreme triad with Anu and Enlil. Ea was the creator of mankind; the god who gave man his arts, crafts, and sciences; the protector and healer of men. As the god of the deep and of the waters of the earth, Ea was a fructifying god. He was the lord of wisdom, hence the guardian and aid against demons, and was invoked in exorcisms. In these spells, and in the creation myth, Ea principally appears. He later developed into a fish god, half fish, half goat. See ADAPA; NINKI; OANNES.

**eaí uíge** The water horse of Irish folklore, a water spirit usually regarded as malicious towards men: analogous with the kelpie. It is not to be confused with the beautiful lake-dwelling supernatural horses such as Cuchulain captured and trained and which returned into their mountain pool upon receiving mortal wounds during Cuchulain's last fight. Compare NISSE.

**Eneas, Lolus, etc.** See AENEAS, etc.

**Eagentci** Old-Woman or the Ancient-Bodied; the first mother of Seneca Indian mythology. See ATATNISC.

**Eagle** One of the two chiefs of the animal characters in many Central Californian Indian tales, and a prominent character in tales of neighboring Great Basin tribes. Sometimes Eagle is identified with the Thunderbirds. On the North Pacific Coast the Eagle (Na'as) group of the Tlingit was one of the most powerful Tlingit clans. Eagle as an eponymous clan animal is not limited to this area, however. An Eagle dance, in which the bird's motions are simulated, was probably widespread in eastern North America.

Live eagles were shot or trapped and ceremonially killed in California and on the Plains. Eagle feathers and eagle down were widely used by nearly all American Indian tribes for ceremonial costumes, headdresses, and ceremonial objects, such as prayer sticks, pipes, wands, and so forth. [LWV]

**eagle** As king of birds, the emblem of royalty. The American eagle (genus *Haliaetus*) is the national emblem of the United States.

In Roman mythology the eagle is associated with Zeus and lightning and hence could not be struck by

lightning. For this reason eagle wings were often buried in the growing fields to protect the crop from destruction by storm. In the *Rig-Veda* the sacred soma was brought to man by an eagle. In the Avesta an eagle lives in the mythical all-healing tree. Everywhere the eagle is noted for swiftness, the marvelous height to which it soars, its inaccessible nests, its keenness of vision, and its longevity. Job mentions the eagle on her crag "and her eyes behold afar off" (*Job* xxxix, 29). In Persian legend the simurg sometimes plays the eagle's role, as does the roc in the *Arabian Nights*.

It is bad luck today to kill an eagle among the Samoyeds, the Bosnians, certain North American Indians (especially the Osage), and in Maine. The first Buriat shaman was the son of an eagle and a Buriat woman, and is regarded as especially powerful against evil spells. The Ostyaks not only revere the eagle, but revere even the tree in which an eagle nests. There is an eagle cult among certain Australian peoples, but in New Guinea the people believe that planting bananas in sight of an eagle-hawk will put a blight on the crop.

In folklore, fable, and ballad the eagle plays a prominent role as helpful or warning bird. Eagle was the warning bird in the Pima Indian deluge story. Well known are the fables in which the eagle saves a man's life by upsetting a cup containing poison which he was about to drink, or snatches the hat off a man's head to lure him away from a wall about to fall (B521.2.1). In the *Kalevala* (Runo 7) Väinämöinen was rescued out of the ocean by an eagle who carried him to the borders of Pohjola. In a Chiricahua Apache Indian folktale (Opler, *MAFLS* 37, p. 91) a young boy climbs to an eagle's nest and brings home one of the young eaglets. He is warned against it by the people, but persists in befriending it. It flies by his side wherever he goes, catches rabbits and other game for him. The warning against it reveals the Chiricahua belief that because eagles eat snakes, mere contact with an eagle will cause sickness.

**eagle dance** A mimetic dance expressive of the eagle's soaring flight. Because of its disappearance beyond the clouds, North American Indians associate the eagle with powers beyond the clouds, particularly with powers governing thunder and rain—hence often he is identified as Thunderbird. Early in the spring in Tesuque, Jemez, and other pueblos, the eagle dance takes place: two dancers, representing male and female, approach and circle in difficult crouching, hopping, and swaying motions. Their extended arms hold wings of large eagle feathers; a feather cap projects over their faces in a yellow beak. In the Comanche eagle dance (*kanani kiyake*) a special dancer imitates the eagle. This goes back to the legend of the young son of a chieftain, who died and was later turned into the first eagle, as answer to his father's prayers to the Creator. The former Iowa eagle dance was equally mimetic, but the dancers carried an eagle-feather fan in their left hands; they were associated with war societies and interpolated boasting tales between dances. The Iroquois eagle dance or *gane'gwa'e* also features a feathered fan and includes anecdotes, but it is mimetic only in a crouching hop. Two lines of dancers lunge face to face vibrating a feathered rattle in their right hands and holding a wand in their left. The dance resembles the Midwest

and Plains calumet dance and Cherokee *tsgi'dali*. It invokes tribal prosperity.

Eagle feathers not only stand for martial success in Sioux war-bonnets. As ornaments, in fans or brushes, in Pawnee, Yuchi, Delaware, Iroquois ceremonies, they exert purificatory and invocative power. [CRK]

**Eaglehawk and Crow** Names of two moieties in several Southern Australian tribes: subject of J. Mathew's theory (in *Eaglehawk and Crow*) that the ancestors of each moiety were of different racial origin. Bunjil (Pundjel) is an eaglehawk and Waang is a crow (Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 126). (Also see Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*; N. W. Thomas, *Kinship and Marriage in Australia*, p. 53 ff.) [KL]

**ear** A tingling or throbbing of the right ear in northern Europe is said to be a good sign. Hindu literature has similar references with the addition that among women, the left ear is involved. In the Indian science of physical signs, men with long ears are certain to be licentious. Elsewhere, ears close to the head indicate a stingy nature. Ear ornaments when not for simple decoration are part of the large number of amulets which protect the openings of the body against morbid influences, spirits, powers, etc. When the temple prostitutes of Madras became too old for service they ceremonially unhooked their ear pendants and walked away without looking back. The pendants were later returned to them. In some Hindu stories thieves were punished by having their ears cut off. In others a faithless wife had her ears cut off, though in the Middle and Far East amputation of the nose is the more common punishment for infidelity. [RDPJ]

**Earl Brand** The Scottish-English version (Child #7) of a ballad of general North European distribution: known in Denmark as *Ribold and Guldborg*, in Sweden as *Hillebrand* or *Redevold*, in Norway as *Rikeball* and *Veneros*, in Scotland also as *The Douglas Tragedy*, and in the United States as *The Seven Sleepers*, *The Seven Brothers*, or *Sweet William*. The story seems to derive from the second lay of Helgi in the *Poetic Edda* and has some connection with Hildebrand, of whose name Earl Brand seems to be a modification. The central element of the story is the stealing of a bride, with the subsequent chase by the girl's father, brothers, or servants. Earl Brand fights them off, is wounded (and in bending over a stream he stains the water with his blood), and dies after he reaches his home with his bride. A very essential element of the Continental versions of the story is curiously left out of the English-Scottish and American versions: the motif of the name tabu. As Ribold turns to fight, he warns the girl not to call his name, but she, seeing her brothers dying, calls on him to spare the last, and he is mortally wounded. For some reason, only the barest hint of this appears in one of the versions of *Earl Brand* collected by Child. The American transformations of the story suppose it to have occurred recently.

**earth** Worship of the earth, typically as the Earth-Mother, is probably as widespread as any kind of worship in the world. Its origins lie perhaps in the magical nature of planting and growth: crops do fail and a ceremonial approach to the placing of seed in the ground is indicated. The earth as receiver of the



seed must be precipitated; hence, Earth becomes personified and deified. Almost universally the earth, as bringer forth of the fruits, is regarded as female, the mother goddess, and there arises the myth of the Earth-Mother and the Sky-Father. This bountiful female deity also takes into herself the dead, and, as beliefs from North America, West Africa, Mongolia, etc., indicate, this too is a kind of planting ceremony, for the spirit of the dead may enter a woman's body and be reborn. In this aspect, the earth is a rather forbidding deity, and the earth concept includes the idea of an underworld where dead spirits live. (See CARTHUSIANISM.)

Of the origin and nature of the earth itself, many and varied myths are told. Earth here is matter and is not personified. It may be made from nothing; it may be fished out from the bottom of the universal waters; it may be the body of a dead god or monster. Earth may rest on an animal or person, or be held up by deities placed at its four corners; thus arise earthquake myths, for when the animal moves or the deities shift position the earth shakes.

☞ The concept of the earth as personified mother to all mankind is widespread in North American Indian mythology. In certain creation stories, such as that of the Zuni Indians, Earth definitely figures as the mother, and Sky as the father, from whose union man was born. Other American Indian tribes, although lacking such a definite conceptualization of Earth Mother in their myths, refer by allusion in speeches, prayers and formulas to "our mother, the earth." This metaphor is especially common among the agricultural tribes of the eastern United States. The earth as mother is also referred to in the myths of certain Plateau and North Pacific Coast groups. [EWV]

☞ The earth was regarded as a major deity by the ancient Peruvians who called her Pachamama (Mother Earth). The Jivaro, who have received many Andean influences, also worship an Earth spirit who protects the crops. The earth does not seem to have been deified outside of the Andean region. [AM]

☞ As part of the ancient imperial cult of China, the Emperor prostrated himself before five mounds of earth, representing the five directions, i.e. four points of the compass and the center. The Emperor sacrificed an ox; tributary chiefs sacrificed sheep. [RDJ]

**Earth** In the mythology of the Kato Indians of California, the earth is conceived of as a huge horned animal eternally wallowing southward through the primeval waters. Nagaicho, the traveler-creator of the Kato, was standing on its head directing it, until it finally stopped in its present position. In the mythology of the Yurok Indians of California and many other North American Indian tribes, the earth is believed to be floating in water, and is sometimes referred to as Earth-island.

**earth diver** In North American Indian myths of the origin of the world, the culture hero has a succession of animals dive into the primeval waters, or flood waters, to secure bits of mud or sand from which the earth is to be formed. Various animals, birds, and aquatic creatures are sent down into the waters that cover the earth. One after another animal fails; the last one succeeds, however, and floats to the surface, half dead, with a

little dirt or sand in his claws. Sometimes it is a beaver, sometimes Beaver, Hell-diver, Crawfish, Mud-eater, etc. After various other animals have failed, the earth hero picks up the tiny bit of mud which is the germ of the surface of the water and magically expands it to form the world of the present time. See CARPUS, JESSE.

**Earthmaker** The supreme deity of the Western Indians of the Great Lakes region; Creator, God, and source of all good, who coexists with the evil-goddess, Earthmother. Earthmaker created the earth and the mountains, and a specific number (five or eight) of great spirits to free the world of giants and evil. Among these "Trickster, Turtle, Bladder, Hare, also Sun, Fox, etc." Some myths state that the Twins were the last "great spirits" created by Earthmaker. Each one of these spirits was given control over something: life itself, the sun, war, other blessings. The Winnebago believe that the "Dance will go to Earthmaker when they die; they are allowed to choose whether or not they wish to return to this life, and if so, in what form.

**earthquakes** Earthquakes are commonly supposed to occur when the god or hero who supports the earth changes his position or his hold on it. In Times, a giant shifts the earth from shoulder to shoulder, and natives shout to him not to drop it. The Mandan thought that this happened once every thirty years; the Indian archipelago a grandparent was thought to hold the earth and shake it now and again to see whether his descendants were still alive. The Fijians thought that a great fish slept under the earth with its tail in its mouth. Sometimes it woke, lifted its tail, and was in great pain. In eastern Peru the gods came down from heaven to see whether his children were still alive and caused an earthquake. The natives then shouted, "Here I am." In Africa an earthquake is the voice of god to which the natives reply or it is the movement of an underground god. In the Celebes the natives pluck handfuls of grass which is the god's hair to make him stop, and in Samoa the god was named to stop before he shook the earth to pieces. The La Islanders made sacrifices so that the earth god would turn over gently. Elsewhere earthquakes were thought to be portents of coming events or punishments for the wicked actions of men. See AMALA. [RDJ]

**earwig** In the United States the term earwig is popularly applied to a certain small centipede (not the true earwig), an insect of the family *Forficulidae*. It is the little centipede (genus *Geophilus*) which is said to crawl into people's ears and eat their brains out. How does get into your ear, lie down on the ground with the ear against some newly turned-up soil, and the earwig will run out again.

**Easter** The Christian festival commemorating the resurrection of Christ, synchronized with the Jewish Pesach, and blended since the earliest days of Christianity with pagan European rites for the renewed world. In all countries Easter falls on the Sunday after the first full moon on or following March 21. It is preceded by a period of riotous vegetation rites (see CARPUS) and by a period of abstinence, Lent (in Spain current in Germany *Lenz*), and by the special rites of Holy Week.

In Mexico fiestas never cease. The concheros, moros, and other groups continue their pilgrimages, on the first Thursday to Tecapulco, Guerrero, the third weekend to a great fair in Tepalcingo, Morelos, the fourth Sunday to Acapulco, México.

Palm Sunday is in all Catholic countries an occasion for the blessing of palms. Then festivities cease until Maundy Thursday. The three days before Easter Sunday are given over to processions, masses, and Passion Plays. In Catalonia and central Mexico the figure of death (*la muerte*) looms large in the processions. The Passion Plays of Spain receive original and deeply moving interpretations in Mexico, most impressively so in Ixtapalapa, México; Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán; Oaxchuc, Chiapas; and among the Yaqui of Sonora and Arizona. Here the *chapayakas* and *pilatos* dance and join in the processions to the Stations of the Cross. On Easter Saturday through the night all dancers, sacred and pagan—*matachini*, deer dancers, *coyotes*, *pascolas*—dance till the fiesta de Gloria.

Everywhere Easter Sunday is welcomed with rejoicing, singing, candle processions, flowers in abundance, and ringing of church bells. Many pagan customs survive, such as the lighting of new fires at dawn, among the Maya as well as in Europe, for cure, renewed life, and protection of the crops. The German *Osterwasser* (Easter water) is water dipped against the stream and imbued with curative properties. *Ostermärchen* are told in order to produce laughter (*risus paschalis*). The Easter lamb is perennially sacrificed. Children roll pasch eggs in England. Everywhere they hunt the many-colored Easter eggs, brought by the Easter rabbit. This is not mere child's play, but the vestige of a fertility rite, the eggs and the rabbit both symbolizing fertility. Furthermore, the rabbit was the escort of the Germanic goddess Ostara who gave the name to the festival by way of the German *Ostern*.

Flowers in profusion ornament altars and church façades. This floral association is expressed in the Spanish term *pascua de flores*. [cpx]

☞ That the sun dances as it rises on Easter morning is quite common folk belief in the British Isles, and people rise early and go to the hilltops to see it. Georgia Negroes say "the sun shouts" on Easter morning.

The children's game of "nicking" Easter eggs is common in the world from Egypt to England, and is also fairly general in the United States, especially among southern Negroes. Two children, each with an Easter egg in his hand, will knock the two eggs together; the one whose egg cracks the least under the treatment appropriates the other's egg.

**Easter smacks** The German *Schmeckostern*: the beatings given to each other on Easter Monday and Tuesday by men and women in parts of Germany and Austria to bring them good luck, protect them from vermin, and keep them young and healthy and "green." The custom is observed, by other names, in most Slavic countries. The men beat the women on Easter Monday, the women beat the men on Easter Tuesday. In Croatia the beatings take place on the way home from church on Good Friday. The beatings are commonly given with birch branches, especially branches just sprouted, or sometimes with cherry, or with a willow switch. The new young life inherent in the sprouting branch is thus be-

stowed upon the one beaten with it. In Bohemia vine branches are used, and the women make presents of red Easter eggs to their beaters. These are saved for afternoon egg-rolling. In some sections these beatings are given on Holy Innocents' Day, December 28. See *RODS OF LIFE*.

**eating the god** The custom of eating the body of a god is known in many communities although the mystery of the Christian sacrament of communion has made it difficult for ethnographers and theologians to see other customs elsewhere with sufficient objectivity to present satisfactory accounts of the profound human impulses involved in consuming the very body and very blood of God. Frazer's account is elaborate and his parallels are suggestive. The ceremonial eating of the first-fruits, or the ceremonial eating of bread made from the last sheaf, are connected with the belief that the god (often referred to as the "corn god") resides in the first or the last fruits and must be eaten to assure continued crops, that is, his and our immortality. Frazer connects the ceremonial eating of the cereal itself, even when not baked into a loaf or shaped into human form, with the eating of the god. In Yorkshire a clergyman cut the first corn and made it into communion bread. Peasants in the Volga region ate new cornbread handed them by the priest and prayed. In the Celebes the priest collected the first rice, ground it into meal and gave it to the villagers. They harvested the rest of the cereal only after all had partaken. Similar customs have been reported from India and Indochina. Among the Ashanti and the Zulu an orgy followed the celebration.

The North American Creek Indians began such a ceremony by cleaning their houses and clothes. They fasted for two nights and one day and purged themselves so that the old food would not mingle in their stomachs with the new food. They built a new fire with the thought that the new fire would burn out their old sins. They then ate ceremonially the grain and, by it, the corn spirit. Twice a year the pre-Columbian Aztecs ceremonially ate bread which, having been consecrated, became the very body of God, and taught that sacramental food was contaminated when it touched other food. The Ainu of northern Japan and Kamchatka eat the bear god (the bear is either considered as god himself or as a divine messenger to the other gods) in a ceremony which is more striking than Frazer's report of the ceremonial eating of the Ainu millet. Here a bear cub is captured once a year and becomes the pet of the village. As it grows older it is caged beside the house of the chief where it is fed delicacies and is made much of. In the spring the god is murdered with expressions of devotion and great feeling. The blood is drunk and the flesh is eaten.

The ceremonial eating of the very body and blood of Christ, which is essential in the sacrament of the Christian Eucharist, involves theological discussions which lead beyond the scope of this note. In his *Epistle to the Corinthians*, Saint Paul reminded the congregation of the seriousness of the custom and repeated to them Christ's clear words about it. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine held in effect that the bread and blood as symbols were not the signs of an absent reality but were in some sense what they symbolized and possessed the effect of the reality. In the 8th century, John of

Damascus held that the eucharistic body was identical with that born of Mary. A modern view, summarized in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is "The Body and Blood of the God-man are truly, really and substantially present for the nourishment of our souls." Obviously the eating of the very body of the very god involves complex human impulses which are no less impressive among pagans than they are among Christians. [RDJ]

**eating the heart** Eating the heart to endow the consumer with the qualities of the original owner has been reported from many parts of the world. Thus the Ashanti of Africa who killed Sir Charles McCarthy in 1843 are reported to have eaten his heart to acquire his courage. A similar custom is said to be popular among the Basutos. In West Africa a king's heart was, according to some reports, eaten by his successor. Other peoples believe that eating the heart of a lion, leopard, wolf, or bear gives courage, or that the heart of a jackal or hare induces timidity, or that a snake's heart gives the gift of languages. [RDJ]

**eating the sacred animal** A custom observed among several ethnic groups, though social attitudes toward this custom show great diversity. Some totemic groups eat their totem animal, considered as a member of the clan or its founder, either customarily or ceremonially. In some cannibal communities the sacrifice to the god, having acquired a degree of sanctity, is eaten, or the sacrifice is considered a representative of the god, as in the Ainu bear ceremony. Other parallels are the eating of the first-fruits and the Christian Eucharist. Thus the phrase "eating the sacred animal" requires careful scrutiny to fix the quality of sacredness attributed to the animal in the community described. Before eating the bear and drinking its raw blood the Ainu reach a state of emotional exaltation not customarily found among Christians who partake of the Holy Communion, yet the position of the bear in the social and religious organization of the Ainu is vastly different from the position of Christ in the Euro-American religious structure. See EATING THE GOD; TOTEMISM. [RDJ]

**eating together** Although communal eating is a custom followed in many parts of the world, it is subject to innumerable variations and special ceremonies. The sense of well-being and general emotional exhilaration which follows a good meal, and the transformation of inert food into vitality, or conversely the sickness and death which sometimes follow a meal, make the taking of food an important and hazardous custom. Consequently the taking of food, like other actions with which man passes from one state of being to another, is surrounded by large numbers of precautions to protect against possible danger.

Eating together is one of these precautions which is of particular importance on special days: weddings, birthdays, funerals, days of religious ceremony, birthdays or death days of the gods or heroes. On these days the feast is connected with strong emotions produced by the ceremony and is, at times, preceded by a fast. In some communities eating together is prudent protection against an enemy, who is thus restrained from poisoning food which he himself will share, or against working magic on it. The belief that persons become to some extent part of the social unit, as clansmen, brothers, or

allies, after they have shared food or "broken bread" involves a complex etiquette in some parts of the world, particularly the Near East.

In Europe and America a different degree of social acceptance is involved in having a "business lunch with a man" or "having dinner at the house." To eat food at banquets in honor of, or with, local or national heroes is to participate in a magical rite still only vaguely understood. It involves at least temporary membership in the social group, and thus a share not only in the virtue of the group but in the virtue of the person honored. The grace before meat whether in formal or family meals which consecrates the meat "to our use and us to Thy service" is a recognition of the hazards of eating and an attempt to get the beneficent forces on our side. In communities which are generally undernourished or subsist on monotonous diets, the party meal which at times supplies needed and unaccustomed elements of diet, has other functions in addition to those listed here. In some strict communities all food is shared with the entire group and the portion of the hunter and his family limited by custom. In the United States where food is plentiful, and standing in the community is determined in part by the food served and by the way it is served, and where, moreover, people from many parts of the world constitute the acting social units, the amount of time given to the preparation and serving of party food requires special examination. The fact that Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners have in the United States become orgies of communal gluttony is due in part to the fact that food is plentiful and in part to obscure, but rigid, sexual and orgiastic prohibitions.

Yet eating together is subject to many local prohibitions. In some places people surround eating with precautions of secrecy because they fear that evil may enter their mouths as they take food. Elsewhere the taking of food in public is an indecency. Men and women, particularly pregnant or menstruating women, often eat separately. In the Far East, prostitutes and sing-song girls, though they may sit beside their customers at feasts, do not normally eat with them. In some communities men and women have special food prohibitions. Elsewhere children and adults do not eat together; members of different social classes though they occupy the same quarters eat separately, as in the armed forces. Or again, adolescent males and adolescent females eat communally but in separate places and of special foods. [RDJ]

**Ebisu** One of the Japanese Seven Gods of Luck; the God of Fishing, Food, and Honest Dealing. See JAPANESE FOLKLORE. [JLM]

**Echidna** In Greek mythology, the monster, half woman, half serpent, daughter of Chrysaor and Calirrhoe and sister of Geryon, who was mother by Typhon of many of the monsters of mythology and legend: the Chimera, Orthus, the Sphinx, Cerberus, Scylla, the Lernean Hydra, the dragons of the Hesperides and of Colchis, the Nemean lion, the eagle which ate Prometheus' liver. She is perhaps of Oriental origin; she dwelt underground beneath Arima. Hercules was bargained into sleeping with her as he returned with the oxen of Geryon, and she bore three sons from the union, one of whom, Scythes, was capable of bending the bow

of Hercules and became king of the Scythians. Echidna was finally slain by Argus Panoptes.

**Echo** In late Greek and Roman mythology, an oread pursued fruitlessly by Pan. He drove the shepherds in the neighborhood mad and they tore Echo to pieces, scattering her parts, each of which retained the power to speak; or else they tore her until only the voice was left. Another story, told by Ovid, is that Echo was detailed to occupy Hera with chatter while Zeus sported with the nymphs. Annoyed, Hera condemned her to be able to speak only when spoken to. While thus afflicted, she fell in love with Narcissus and faded away to bones and voice, the bones being changed to stones.

**Echtrae Conli** Literally, the adventure of Conle: the oldest of the adventure stories of ancient Irish tradition. Conle was the son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, king of Ireland in the 2nd century. One day as Conle walked with his father on a hill, he saw a woman in rich garments beside him, who described to him the wonders of the Land of the Living, and promised him beauty and love forever without old age, if he would go with her there. Conn bade the druids sing against the woman's voice, so that Conle would not be tempted. So the woman went away, but she threw an apple to Conle; and Conle ate no food but the apple for a month. At the end of the month the woman returned with more words about the country which delights the mind of anyone who goes there. Conle was torn between love for his own people and longing for the woman and the things she promised. But in the end he leaped into the ship of glass with her, and sailed away in that crystal coracle, never to return. See ECHTRAÍ.

**Echtrae Cormaic** or the *Adventure of Cormac* Title of an Old Irish story contained in the *Book of Ballymote*, the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, and the *Book of Fermoy*. One day at sunrise when Cormac Mac Airt, king of Ireland, was walking on the rampart at Tara, he saw coming towards him a warrior who carried a branch with three golden apples. The branch, when shaken, made a music so marvelous that even the ill and wounded would sleep when they heard it. After their greeting and words of friendship, Cormac asked for the branch. The strange warrior gave it, asking in return only the promise of three wishes, and Cormac promised. In a year the warrior came and asked for Ailbe, the daughter of Cormac, and Cormac gave her. In a month he came and asked for Cairpre, the son of Cormac, and Cormac let Cairpre go. The third time he asked for Eithne, the wife of Cormac, and Cormac pursued them, but was lost in a magic mist that fell on the plain. After many sights and adventures Cormac came at last to a castle where he was generously entertained by a handsome warrior. Stories were told while the pig for the feast was cooking. It was a pig that would not cook unless a true thing were told for each quarter. It fell to Cormac to tell the fourth story, and he told how first his daughter, then his son, and his wife had been taken from him. Then the host sang a song and Cormac slept. When he woke fifty warriors sat at the feast and also his wife and son and daughter. A gold cup was handed to the host and Cormac was amazed at the beauty of the carving on it. But its greatest wonder was yet to be shown: for it was a cup of truth. The warrior told three

lies and the cup broke in three. Then he told Cormac that Eithne had lain with no man since she left Tara, nor had Ailbe, and Cairpre had lain with no woman. And for these three sayings the cup was whole. Then the warrior made himself known to Cormac: he was Manannán Mac Lir, and he had brought them all into the Land of the Living. He let Cormac keep the branch and the cup for his lifetime, but he said after Cormac they would not be seen in Ireland again. The next morning Cormac and Eithne and Ailbe and Cairpre woke again in Tara. Cormac used the cup to judge false from true in Ireland after that, but when Cormac died it vanished. See ACT OF TRUTH.

**echtraí** Literally, expeditions, adventures, also stories and wonders: a group of early Irish stories in which a journey to the Otherworld (Land of Promise, Land of the Living, Island of Women, Many-Colored Land, Land of the Young) is the main theme. The echtraí are to be distinguished from the imrama, voyages, in which the wonders of the voyage itself are the main theme. Most of the echtraí follow a traditional pattern of enticement of the hero by a beautiful woman enumerating the marvels of a marvelous land (...a place without grief, without death, without old age,...there are treasures of every color, listening to music, and drinking of wine,...happiness and laughter, pleasant company without strife...) or by a wonderful warrior who either invites or otherwise brings the hero to the Land of the Living.

The Otherworld is usually situated either in the western ocean, or is reached across a plain on which the hero is lost in a magic mist. The wonderful Otherworld warrior usually turns out to be one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the divine race of ancient Ireland: sometimes Manannán, sometimes Lug, etc. Either the hero never returns, as in the *Echtrae Conli*, or returns bearing magic gifts and greater wisdom, as in the *Echtraí Cormaic*, or he vanishes in a whiff of ashes when his foot touches the earth, in testimony that he has been gone 300 years, as in the case of one of the companions of Bran in the *Voyage and Adventure of Bran, Son of Febal*. Compare IMRAMA.

**eclipses** Eclipses are misfortunes which must be corrected. Folk explanations of them show a general similarity; methods of correction differ. The account in the Edda that the sun in eclipse is being pursued by a monster which must be driven off is typical. The Lettish peasants believed that the sun and moon were being devoured during an eclipse. The view among the Burats was that Alka, a monster, swallowed the sun or moon but, because the gods had cut him in two only the head remained and the objects soon reappeared. The Altaic Tatars thought the cause was a vampire who lived on a star. In India, the Asura, Svarbhānu, eclipsed the sun, or Rahu, a demon, swallowed Soma, the moon. Among the Buddhists Sakyamuni is said to have commanded Rahu to leave the moon in peace. The Armenians, in a variant of a Persian belief, explained that two dark bodies, the offspring of a primeval ox, got between the sun and the moon. In northern North American groups, an eclipse occurred when the sun or moon took their child in their arms. On the northwest coast, the eclipse appeared when the sun dropped its torch. The

Alaskan Tlingits thought eclipses occurred when the female moon visited her husband the sun. The Cherokees, however, thought the moon was male and the sun was female. Among the Eskimos the sun and moon are brother and sister who commit incest during an eclipse. The Tahitians also explained that sun and moon had sexual intercourse during an eclipse. The tribes of the Pampas thought that the eclipsed moon was darkened by her own blood drawn by savage dogs. In Yucatan the day of an eclipse, particularly a solar eclipse, was a day of great national peril, and the Orinoco Indians promised to lead better lives. Although Thucydides' account of the lunar eclipse before the battle of Syracuse had a political purpose it is significant that the period of waiting for the evil effects to be dissipated was thrice nine days or a lunar month.

In an attempt to check the misfortune, the Ojibwas shot lighted arrows to keep the sun from being extinguished; but the arrows shot by the Peruvian Indians were to frighten the beast attacking the sun. The Guarayú Indians of Bolivia shoot arrows at the celestial Jaguar attacking the moon, shouting as the burning missiles fly towards the sky. The uproar made by Chinese peasants has a similar purpose. The Orinocans buried fire during a lunar eclipse to keep some fire hidden. The Kamchatkans brought fire from their huts and offered prayers. The Babylonians offered incantations. The Mexicans sacrificed humpbacks and dwarfs. The Chileatins of northwest America held sunrise circular processions until the eclipse was over and the kings of Egypt walked ceremonially (and sunwise) around the temple. The nubile girls kept in seclusion in Cambodia, were allowed to emerge only during eclipses when they paid homage to the monster who was eating the sun or moon. The Indians of the lower Yukon believed that an unclean emanation descended during an eclipse and to avoid sickness the women turned their pots and dishes bottoms up. The Swabian peasants would not sow, mow, or gather fruit during an eclipse. The Bavarians and Thuringians shared this belief and added that eclipses on Wednesday were particularly bad. See CIRCUMAMBULATION. [RDJ]

Eclipses of both the sun and the moon occasioned energetic responses among many North American Indian tribes. A popular theory was that some mythological being, such as Coyote, a bird, a dog, Frog, Lizard, Rattlesnake, etc., was eating the sun or moon. In many tribes noise was made to frighten the aggressor and bring back the sun or moon to life; dogs were made to squeal by twisting their ears or beating them; people shouted, struck a plank or canoe, shot arrows into the air, turned over vessels, or threw out food and water. Men who knew how to make certain medicines went to the mountains to do so; babies were taken outside and made to howl, or a formula was recited so that they would grow quickly, as the moon grew coming out of an eclipse. [Ewv]

The general Middle American belief, which is a part of a wider complex found in all the Americas, is that the sun or moon is fighting with the earth, or that one or the other is being devoured by a celestial animal, usually the jaguar. In either case, it is a critical period for mankind, for if light is lost, life is lost. Hence, man does what he can to prevent this tragedy. The Sumu of Nicaragua shoot arrows at the heavenly

body, build great fires, and beat drums in an attempt to frighten off the jaguar. Shouting and otherwise making noise probably is the most widespread activity which accompanies an eclipse. Many groups believe that a pregnant woman who gazes at an eclipse will give birth to a hare-lipped child. This probably is closely related to the ancient Aztec belief that a rabbit is visible on the face of the moon. [CMF]

It is a general belief among South American Indians that eclipses are caused by some supernatural feline, as a rule a jaguar, that attacks the Moon or the Sun (Yuracare, Chiriguano, Mojo, Chiquito, Guarani, Incas, etc.). According to the Vilela, lunar eclipses occurred whenever a gigantic bat (a bird according to the Bakairi) covered the moon with its wings. The Cavina say that partial eclipses are the result of ants gnawing the moon. [AM]

*Edward* A Scottish-English ballad (Child #13) known also in Swedish and Danish, and in Finnish from the Swedish: probably of Scottish origin. It is regarded by many as the finest of the English ballads. Of the three versions collected by Child, the earliest calls the son Davie, but the ballad is best known in Percy's version, which was at one time suspect because of the antiqued spellings. The tale is barely outlined in a series of related questions: the answers, at first evasive, become at the end precise in a very terrible manner. The dialog is between mother and son. She asks where the blood on his sword comes from, and refuses the answers hawk's blood and steed's blood. He admits he has killed his father. He says he will sail away, leaving his wife and children the world to roam in. "And what wul ye leive to your ain mither deir?" "The curse of hell frae me sall ye beir." The implication of the mother in the killing is sudden and unexpected, and it has been lost from American variants, like *The Cruel Brother*.

Much thought seems to have been given to the origin of the eel. Most persistent is the belief that they grow from horsehair in water or that they all spawn in the Mediterranean Sea. The 4th century *Hexameron* of Basil holds that eels are generated by mud alone. Others claim they are generated from their own saliva. Some Philippine tribes believe them to be the souls of the dead, but in Madagascar they are considered the souls of the dregs of the population. A Japanese legend says eels are dragons in disguise, which suck the blood from the legs of horses who enter the water. Many peoples believe that eels, like snakes, do not die until sundown. In the Ozark Mountains they say a fried eel left alone will become raw again. In some parts of the United States eels are believed to have a taste for human flesh and there are tales of fishermen who have caught truckloads of eels with human bait. In many parts of the world eels are tabu, or believed to be poison.

In New Zealand the head of the spiny eel is eaten for toothache. In Bengal, the skin of an eel is wound round the leg to prevent cramp; elsewhere eelskins are wound around affected parts to cure various aches. An eelskin wound around the head will surely make the hair grow. Cherokee Indian ball players anoint themselves with eel fat to make themselves hard to hold. The fat is also used in a healing ointment, and in parts of Europe anointing a person with eel-fat

ointment enables him to see fairies and other supernatural beings. To cure a man of drunkenness, skin a live eel and dip the skin in his drink. Another authority says put a live eel in the drink. This is prescribed on the theory that a man who takes a drink large enough to float a live eel needs to be cured.

Eels are sometimes found as guardian spirits of wells and magic springs. G. L. Gomme, in his *Ethnology in Folklore*, reports a sacred well in County Kerry, Ireland, called Tober Monachan. Those who sought its powers would be given the sight of a salmon and an eel, its guardian spirits, if their petition was to be granted.

The eel figures variously in folktale. There are etiological stories of his origin and why he has no tongue. He figures as paramour (Maori folktale); and men are transformed to eels in Polynesian, Melanesian, and Indonesian story (D173). In the general European story of the fearless hero who went out in the world to learn what fear is (Type 326), nothing frightened him, not sleeping under a gallows nor in a graveyard, not fighting ghostly cats, nor being shaved by a ghost, nor playing cards with the dead. But he was scared out of his wits the night his wife put eels down his back while he was asleep (H1441.1).

eeny, meeny, miny, mo An inquiry conducted among 2000 Massachusetts grammar-school children in 1899 discovered that all but five of them knew one or more counting-out rimes, that the group knew 183 different ones, but that the most popular by far (91%) was:

Eeny, meeny, miny, mo,  
Catch a nigger by the toe;  
If he hollers let him go,  
Eeny, meeny, miny, mo.

There is no doubt that this version was the most frequently used one at that time in New England and upstate New York, or that it was for a time the dominant rendering throughout the northern states, but it is not the oldest, and there are many variants which give us interesting clues to the history of the rime and to the characteristic evolution of counting-out rimes in general.

The writer remembers that in Massachusetts, only a short time before the survey mentioned above, his mother tried to get the children of the neighborhood to substitute the word "feller" for "nigger" in the rime, but it was too early.

During World War II the children of New York City were patriotically shouting:

Eeny, meeny, miny, mo,  
Catch old Tojo by the toe;  
If he hollers make him say,  
I surrender, U. S. A.

When the war ended, however, they quickly went back to former versions, and continued the trend away from "nigger" to such variants as "baby," "rooster," "black cat," and "rabbit." In New York City, at any rate, it is distinctly bad form in juvenile circles nowadays to exhibit any form of race discrimination.

How did the word "nigger" get into eeny, meeny, miny, mo in the first place? We have clues in the variants.

Strangely, most adults who learned the rime in childhood now know only one version and almost resent hearing of others. Deep in their subconscious is the

"correct" one they learned in infancy. In Nebraska, for instance, it usually was:

Eeny, meeny, miny, mo,  
Catch a nigger by the toe;  
Ev'ry time the nigger hollers,  
Make him pay you fifty dollars.

In Iowa and Illinois in the Eighties it ended:

If he hollers, make him pay  
Twenty dollars ev'ry day.

At the same period in Connecticut children were chanting a local variant:

Eeny, meeny, miny, mum,  
Catch a nigger by the thumb;  
If he hollers send him hum,  
Eeny, meeny, miny, mum.

It is apparent that these various indicated ways of treating the "nigger" are the children's reaction to or interpretation of their parents' conversation when the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was being debated. Negro slaves were escaping by the underground railroad through the northern states to Canada. In northern New England and New York the inhabitants were all for letting him go on his flight north. In Connecticut, some, at least, were for sending him back "hum," but in the Midwest and along the Mason and Dixon line others were for making him pay twenty or even fifty dollars toll.

This theory explains the third and fourth lines of the jingle, but leaves the second, and especially the first, unaccounted for. Here is a suggestion as to the origin of the second line. In French Canada the children are still using an eeny meeny which their parents brought from France long ago. They count out by starting with the rime:

Meeny, meeny, miny, mo,  
Cache ton poing derrière ton dos...

Then, having accordingly "hid his hand behind his back," the counter-out demands of the player on whom has fallen the word "dos" that he guess how many fingers are closed in the hidden palm. If the answer is, say, four, then the fourth player counted is "out."

Now, since the French word *cache* (hide) sounds like the English word *catch*, and *dos* (back) is easily heard as *toe*, and since, moreover, it was in the north New England and York states that the first eeny meenies containing the phrase "Catch a nigger by the toe" appeared, it is entirely possible that the Yankee children were simply trying to do their best to make some sense out of the sounds they heard.

We have also to consider the possibility of an Indian or half-breed intermediary, just as the very word Yankee is explained by some lexicographers as the attempt of the Indians to pronounce the French word for English, *Anglais*.

It is interesting in this connection, and somewhat corroborative of the above suggestion, that the New England oral tradition word for counting-out rime is *rimble*, easily derived from the French word for it, *rimaille*, since the latter has the liquid *l* and the former the short *i*.

As for the origin of the first line, Eeny, meeny, miny, mo, we must go much further back. The early versions

used in the United States had no reference to Negroes and the first line was slightly different:

Eeny, meeny, mony, my,  
Huskalony, bony, stry,  
Farewell, brown hat,  
Kippety, we wah wat.

This version came straight by oral tradition in a family still living near Taunton, Mass., from a Quaker lady ancestress who was born there in 1780. In New York City, the related variant in 1815 was:

Ana, mana, mona, Mike;  
Barcelona, bona, strike;  
Care, ware, frow, frack;  
Hallico, wallico, wee wo wack.

Three years later in Philadelphia they used:

Eeny, meeny, mony, Mike,  
Butter, lather, bony, strike;  
Hair, bit, frost, neck,  
Hallico, wallico, we wo wah wum wack!

All three of these, since they are known to have been used at the very time when mothers and nurses were using the dread name of "Bony" (parte) to scare children into obedience, illustrate the propensity of children to weave into their play-rimes references to much-discussed current events. And all three are plainly derived from an older one evidently brought over from Cornwall, England, since English scholars reported it still current there a century ago. Its corresponsion with the American derivatives is more apparent when recited than when read:

Eena, meena, mona, mite,  
Basca, lora, hora, bite,  
Hugga, bucca, bau;  
Eggs, butter, cheese, bread,  
Stick, stock, stone dead—O-U-T!

Here is one of the oldest known rimbles—perhaps not as old as Hickory, dickory, dock, but quite respectably ancient—betraying its age by the word-fossils so thickly sprinkled through it. Mixed with the English words are Latin, Cornish, and Cymric (Old Welsh).

We are back in Druid times, about the first century B.C., when we chant some of these words. It was in 61 B.C., so Tacitus tells us, that the Roman conqueror Suetonius commanded the holy Druid groves of the sacred isle of *Mona* (now Anglesea) cut down to end the bloody rites of Druidism. To get to that island, even today, from North Wales, you must cross the *Menai* Strait. *Hora* and *lora* are Latin for hour and binding-straps, and *bucca* was Cornish for hobgoblin or evil spirit.

Julius Cæsar tells us that the Druids were much concerned with divination by magic rimes, charms, and spells which were never put in written form.

Of course, we have only etymological evidence coupled with historical coincidence, and we are inferring from a long stretch of oral tradition, but it is certainly possible that our common eeny, meeny, miny, mo is a descendant of an ancient magic rime-charm used in Druid times to choose the human victims to be ferried across the *Menai* Strait to the isle of *Mona* to meet a horrible fate under the *Golden Bough* of the sacred mistletoe amid the holy oaks.

Since one known method of Druid sacrifice was to

burn victims alive in wicker cages, perhaps the words in our last-quoted counting-out rime reflect the scene when the man chosen by this sacred lot of the magic rime was told his *hora* had come and was bound by the *lora* inside the *stick* and *stock* wicker cage or huge *basc* (basket) and burned until he was *stone dead*.

We still have the *eggs*, *butter*, *cheese*, and *bread* to account for, and might well consider them comparatively modern additions or incorporations by the children from other play-rimes, were it not for the fact known to anthropologists and students of comparative religion that for many centuries (no one really knows how many) these four have been deemed powerful magic foods. Significantly enough, they are still employed in incantations in rural midsummer festivals still celebrated in former Druid regions, according to Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*.

The remaining word *eeny* is probably also from the same land and period, for it occurs in the very ancient Anglo-Cymric "shepherd's score" by which West of England shepherds count their sheep and Cornish fishermen their mackerel, even to this day, again illustrating the persistence of oral tradition. This "shepherd's score," taught to the present writer as "Indian Counting" by his mother, was used in Indiana about 1875 as a counting-out rime in a version beginning:

*Eeny, teeny, ether, fether, fip.*

There are many other variants of *eeny meeny* still used in the United States. One class or type which did not mention the Negro ran:

*Eeny, meeny, tipsy, tee,  
Delia, dahlia, dominee;  
Hatcha, patcha, dominatcha,  
Hi, pon, tuss. O-U-T!*

Recently movie-wise children have changed the third line to honor their hero thus:

*Eechy, peachy Don Ameche.*

Somewhat similar is another type often reported from the South and West (Tennessee, Louisiana, Indiana, Missouri, Colorado):

*Eeny, meeny, miny, mo,  
Cracka, feeny, finy, fo;  
Oppa, noocha, poppa, toocha,  
Rick, stick, ban, Joe.*

In Washington, D.C., and vicinity the children are likely to add to almost any *eeny meeny*:

*O-U-T spells  
Out goes he . .  
Right in the middle of  
The dark blue sea.*

Regarding this termination, H. C. Bolton of the Smithsonian Institution once wrote, "the significance of the allusion we have not divined." The children knew their Bible, if he didn't, for what could be plainer than the reference to an early counting-out when "the lot fell on Jonah" to be "It" and, according to *Jonah* i, 15, "So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea." See COUNTING-OUT RIMES; SHEPHERD'S SCORE.

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

*egbere* A category of Yoruban "little people" of the forest. See AFUKU. [MJH]

**egg curing** A common medical treatment, probably European in origin though widespread among Middle American Indians. It consists of rubbing the nude body of the patient with an uncooked egg. If the purpose is diagnostic, the egg is broken and its form examined. The shape it assumes, any unusual color, or the form of the fertilized spot will indicate the nature of the illness, and the curer then knows how to proceed. If the purpose is therapeutic, usually to relieve fever, the egg is buried in a stream to dissipate the heat it has drawn from the sufferer's body. This treatment, generally known as *curar con blanquillos*, often is used to treat illness resulting from the evil eye. [CMF]

**eggs** Eggs have long been considered to have symbolic properties, either as representing the earth, life itself, or the seat of the soul. In the folklore of most of Europe, the strength or the life of supernatural beings could be destroyed only if an egg, usually hidden in the body of one or more animals, in some inaccessible place, was broken. Such separable soul tales have been reported from Italy, Iceland, Ireland, Bohemia, Brittany, and Lapland.

Eggs also figure prominently in fertility rites, both human and agricultural. In 17th century France, a bride upon entering her new home had to break an egg to ensure her fecundity. Among the Germans and Slavs, a mixture of eggs, bread, and flour was smeared on the plow on the Thursday before Easter, so that the coming harvest would be rich. In order to protect the poultry from harm, various devices were used: the Miskito Indians of Central America preserved their egg shells; in Czechoslovakia, on Shrove Tuesday, a man dressed in straw went around the village, and each woman took some of his costume to place in the hens' nests; in Auvergne, on the first Sunday in Lent, fires were kindled in the fields, from which torches were lit, and the ashes from these torches were put into the nests; in Brunswick, eggs were begged on Whitsuntide, and refusal meant that the hens would not lay.

Eggs are also used in sacrifice, particularly to the dead, and as survivals of tree-worship. The Maori buried their dead with a moa's egg held in one hand; the Khassia of Assam placed an egg in the navel of the corpse. The Romans placed eggs in the graves as did many of the Slavic peoples. The Jews of eastern Galicia ate eggs upon returning from a burial.

In the Harz mountains, on Midsummer Eve, fir trees were decorated with flowers and red and yellow eggs, while the people danced around them. In Moravia, on the third Sunday before Easter, a tree decorated with flowers and dyed eggshells was carried from door to door by the girls of the village; and on May Day, in Alsace, trees were carried about, while eggs were collected. In Sweden, they sold in the market place maypoles which were decorated with leaves, flowers, colored paper, and gilt egg shells.

Oomancy (divination by eggs) is widespread. The most common form was to let the albumen drop into water, and from the shapes it assumed the future was foretold. In England this was done on New Year's Eve, in Spain on Midsummer Eve, in Scotland on Halloween.

The use of eggs at Easter is universal in the Western world. In the United States it is common to give children decorated eggs, which may be real or made of

candy. Children are told that they are "brought by the Easter Bunny." In many parts of the world egg-tapping takes place, and the person whose egg cracks first is the loser. (See EASTER.) In Old Russia, eggs were most beautifully decorated, and among the wealthy, eggs of semiprecious stones were prized gifts. Egg-rolling, which survives in the United States as an annual custom on the White House lawn on Easter Monday, has counterparts in the Old World. In northern Bohemia, boys rolled red eggs downhill on Easter Monday, and he whose egg rolled fastest won all the others.

The Romans carefully destroyed the shells of eggs which they had eaten, so that they could not be harmed by magic which might be worked upon them. [NFJ]

☞ Southern United States Negroes have a great stock of egg lore. If you put eggs in your parents' bed, for instance, they will quarrel. To remove a baby's birthmark, rub the mark every morning for nine mornings with a fresh hen's egg and bury the egg under the doorstep. Goiter can be removed the same way. Dreams about eggs have a variety of meanings. To dream of eggs means good luck, or riches, or a wedding. To dream of broken eggs portends a lovers' quarrel, or sometimes that the quarrel itself will "break" and reconciliation follow. To dream of unbroken eggs means a quarrel just as often, in England and the United States. To dream of a lapful of eggs betokens riches.

Marks put on eggs under a setting hen will be seen later on the chicks. Eggs from a guinea nest are taken out with a spoon, because a guinea hen will leave her nest if a human being touches it: a general European as well as southern Negro belief. The old belief, common in the British Isles, that to set a hen in May is useless because all the chicks will die, is also general in the southern United States. Another egg-setting belief is that eggs set in the nest by a woman will hatch out all pullets; to carry them to the nest in a man's hat will result in a hatch of cocks. See WORLD EGG.

**Egil** (1) In Teutonic mythology, a peasant with whom Thor several times left his goats and chariot. Once seeing that the household had no food, Thor bade them kill his goats and eat the flesh, only to be sure to throw the bones back into the skins. But Loki persuaded Thialfi, son of Egil, to break one of the bones and eat the marrow. Thus when Thor wished to reanimate the goats, struck the skins with his hammer, and the goats sprang into being, one was discovered to be lame. To atone for this, Egil gave to Thor his son, Thialfi, and his daughter, Roskova, for bond-servants.

(2) In the "Song of Volund" of the *Elder Edda*, Egil and his two brothers, Slagfin and Volund, once came upon three Valkyries bathing. They stole the swan garb which the maidens had laid aside, and were thus able to force them to remain in human form and become their wives. At the end of nine years, however, the women regained their swan shifts and departed. Compare BEAST MARRIAGE. See SWAN MAIDEN.

**Egun** (Egúngún) A Yoruban secret society, based on the cult of the dead. In the New World, the name and the cult have been retained in Brazil and Cuba, though many of the distinctive features that characterize the African secret society, especially in its public rituals, have been lost. [MJH]



**Ehlaumel** The creator in the mythology of the California Coast Yuki Indians. He is Thunder, and has superseded in importance the "one who travels alone," the traveler-creator of the Kato. See EARTH; NAGAICHO.

**Eileithya** In Greek mythology, the goddess of childbirth: early either an independent goddess later identified with Hera or an aspect of Hera worshipped independently; she became nearly identical with Artemis in the protection of the very young and of women in childbirth. There seem to have been two Eileithyas originally, one presiding over easy births, one prolonging birth pains, but these functions were later said to be the manifestations of the pleasure or anger of the same goddess. Eileithya was displeased by unchastity and by frequent childbearing. She it was who sat outside Alcmena's chamber with her legs held together delaying the birth of Hercules. Eileithya may have been Cretan in origin.

**eingsaung nat** The Burman and Talaing house guardian; a benevolent nat; Min Māgayē of the Thirty-seven Nats. The Burman eingsaung nat resides in the south post of the house. This is decorated with leaves and corpses are placed beside it. The Talaings hang a coconut in the southeast corner of the house to obtain the protection of the house nat.

**Einherjar** or **Einherjar** In Teutonic mythology, the slain warriors who were Odin's guests in Valhalla. They were served by the Valkyrs and feasted on the boar, Sæhrimnir, which came to life again after each meal. They spent their time in fighting, but were healed again by mealtime.

**Eira, Eir, or Eyra** In Teutonic mythology, the goddess of healing. She was Frigga's attendant and taught healing to women (the only ones to practice medicine among the early nations of the North). She appears relatively late, replacing Thor and Odin as healers.

**eisteddfod** A periodic assembly of Welsh bards, held to conduct examinations and competitions in poetry, prose compositions, and music, at which qualified candidates were admitted to the highly esteemed and trained bardic profession. Begun probably sometime before the 12th century, recognized in the time of Queen Elizabeth as an institution of authority, the eisteddfod (literally, session) lost its prestige during the 17th century and suffered a lapse of about 150 years until its revival in the early 19th century. Since then it has become once more a national institution in Wales and a center for the revival of Welsh folklore and traditions. Musical and literary competitions are still the order of business. The meetings may be on a national or local scale and some have even been held among people of Welsh descent in the United States. See PENILLION.

**eixida** Literally, exit: a Catalan longways dance for men and women. In spite of the name, the dance does not serve either as exit or finale. The step is a right and left balance. The first couple leads off, then dances face to face with the second couple, then leads off to the foot of the column. The routine repeats for each couple in turn. [CRK]

**Ekeko, E'eq'o, or Ekako** An ancient deity of the Aymara Indians, the good-luck fertility spirit, still

popular with the modern Indian and mestizo population of Bolivia. His feast, the Alasita, formerly celebrated about the time of the summer solstice, now takes place on January 24, and coincides with the mock selling of miniature pots. Ekeko is represented by comic images of a fat little man covered with toy household utensils. These images are kept in houses as good-luck fertility tokens. [AM]

**ekerā** In the religion of the Gallas of Ethiopia, the afterworld. Life after death is lived there as a shadow-like existence.

**elder** A shrub (genus *Sambucus*) with white flowers and purple-black or red berries. In Bohemia men tip their hats to the elder, but in some Christian countries this tree has evil associations because it is supposed to be the tree on which Judas hanged himself, and whose wood was used for the Cross. This is also given as the reason why the wood stinks. On the Scottish border and in Wales it is said that the dwarf elder only grows on ground which has been soaked in blood. Elder wood is never used in shipbuilding or in fires. A cradle of this wood would cause a child to pine away and to be pinched by the fairies. In Germany an elder branch brought into the house brings ghosts; in England it brings the Devil; however, in Scotland elder is hung over the doors and windows to keep evil spirits out. In parts of the United States burning an elder stick in the fire on Christmas Eve will reveal all the witches, sorcerers, and practitioners of the evil arts in the neighborhood. In the Tyrol also an elder stick cut on St. John's Eve will detect witchcraft. Lightning will not strike an elder bush.

In one form or another the elder was thought capable of curing most of the ills of mankind. The North American Mohegan Indians made the bark into a tea. When the bark is scraped upward it is an emetic, and when scraped downward, a laxative. The same tribe gave elderflower tea to infants for colic. In other parts of America elder tea is used for headache, a laxative, and a diuretic. Both elderberry and elderflower are used to make a tonic wine. In Bohemia and Denmark the fresh juice is drunk for toothache caused by a cold. A salve made of the flowers and bark is used by southern United States Negroes for the bites of the red bug and harvest tick. Elsewhere this salve is used for gout, burns, swellings, and tumors. The leaves are used to keep flies and ants out of the house, and in poultices for inflammations. The fruit is a good cure for dropsy, rheumatism, and swollen limbs; the seeds are taken for dropsy and to reduce. Two elder sticks carried in the pocket will keep the thighs from chafing while riding a horse. An elderberry in the pocket prevents ivy poisoning. In Ireland a necklace of nine elder twigs or berries is a cure for epilepsy. Southern United States Negroes make an elder necklace for teething babies. Warts rubbed with a green elder stick will disappear if the stick is buried in the mud to rot. In Bavaria if a fever patient sticks an elder twig in the ground in silence the fever will go away; anyone who removes the stick will catch the fever. In the 17th century a piece of elder between two knots was cut from the tree where the sun never shone to cure erysipelas. If a boy is beaten with an elder switch it will stunt his growth. In Massachusetts elder pulp was carried in a

bag around the neck to cure rheumatism. The Slavs cure fever by pulling three elder shoots to the ground while the patient crawls through the arch. Elder was also good for deafness, faintness, strangulation, sore throat, ravings, snake and dog bites, insomnia, melancholy, and hypochondria. See **ELLE WOMAN**.

**Elderberry Bush** The cause of mankind's fate to die early, in North American Tsimshian Indian mythology. Stone and Elderberry Bush were quarreling (at a place up Nass River): each wished to be the first to give birth. Stone said if she gave birth first, people would live a long time, but if Elderberry Bush gave birth first, people would have to die soon, as Elderberry Bush herself had to die. Giant came along and heard this, touched Elderberry Bush, and told her to give birth first. So Elderberry Bush gave birth to her child. This is why people do not live very long in this world, and why elderberry bushes grow on graves. Raven (Txämsen) does not enter into this (Nass) variant of the story except as having been there and having heard and seen it happen, but other versions present Raven as the one who bade Elderberry Bush give birth first, and add that if Stone had given birth first, not only would men not have to die, but their skin would have been like their fingernails all over. Tlingit versions of the cause of death story explain that if Raven had made men out of rock instead of leaves (or grass) men would not ever die.

**Elfin Knight** A ballad (Child #2) of widespread occurrence in Europe and Asia, having for its central theme the motif of the countertask (H591). The knight agrees to be the girl's husband if she will make him a shirt without cut or hem or thread. She in turn says she will deliver the shirt when he delivers grain from an acre plowed with a horn and sacked in a glove. The dénouement of the parting of the lovers seems to be added from some other source than an original form of the ballad. The title too, the elfin-ness of the knight, plays no essential part in the story.

**elk** Elk as an animal character appears in tales of various North American Indian tribes of the Great Basin, Plains, and elsewhere. One tale is especially notable for its recurrence; it concerns the giant elk which is vanquished by a human hero (often a young boy, sometimes the Twins) with the help of a mouse, rat, mole, or other rodent ally. The Apache, among whom this tale is popular, assign the feat of killing the giant elk to their culture hero, Killer-of-Enemies (or Child-of-the-Water). Tales of Elk husband, or wife, are also of quite frequent occurrence in North America, especially on the Plains. Elk teeth as costume ornaments for women's fancy dresses are highly valued and were much used by Plains Indians. In the origin legends of the Oto, it was Elk who gave the people fire and started them to building villages. [ewv]

**Elle Woman** The spirit of the elder tree in Danish folk belief; the *Hyldemoer*, or elder mother. No Danish woman would break off a sprig of elder (whether for brew or other purpose) without first invoking or apologizing to the spirit of the tree. No Danish child would injure the branches in any way. Hans Christian Andersen's story entitled *The Elder Tree Mother*, in which the Elder Mother presides over the lives of the

people in the house, but takes no part in the action of the story, bears out the belief in the spirit of the tree.

**elm** A shade tree (genus *Ulmus*) of America, Europe, and Asia. According to Teutonic mythology an elm, given soul by Odin, senses by Hoenir, and blood and warmth by Loki, became the first woman, Embla. In Finno-Ugric mythology the elms were the mothers of Ut, goddess of fire. In England the elm was once known as elven, and was associated with the elves. Formerly it was the custom to deck the cathedral and close at Lichfield with elm boughs on Ascension Day. When the leaves of the elm are as large as a mouse's ear it is time to plant barley; when the leaves begin to fall out of season it is a sign of a murrain among the cattle. In Devon it is said that lightning will not strike an elm.

Elm leaves are used in poultices for swellings, and the leaves tied on a green wound with strips of bark will heal them. The inner bark is used in skin and venereal infections. The wood of the elm was sometimes used for a soft snuff.

Slippery elm (*U. fulva* or *rubra*) is sometimes used in a cough medicine and as a demulcent. The bark when boiled down makes a jelly which is very nutritious where a bland diet is needed. It was also used in the treatment of syphilis.

**St. Elmo's fire or light** The corposant; a globular or flame-shaped light (an electric brush or glow) sometimes seen at night on the masthead, ends of yard-arms, etc., of ships at sea in stormy or threatening weather. Pliny's *Natural History* describes the phenomenon as appearing not only on masts, spars, etc., but sometimes on men's heads. It is called St. Elmo's fire or light for the patron saint of Mediterranean sailors. This St. Elmo was either the Dominican Pedro Gonzalez of Astorga (1190-1246) who preached to sailors, or the 3rd century St. Erasmus, also patron of sailors. The word corposant is a corruption of Italian or Portuguese *corpo santo*, holy body: early Mediterranean sailors believed it to be the actual presence of their guardian come to warn them. Two of these lights appearing simultaneously are often called Castor and Pollux. Two mean that the ship will have good weather; one alone portends storm.

In Brittany this light is thought to be a lost soul and is prayed for. In Greece it is regarded as an omen of shipwreck and bad luck, and it can only be dispelled by the yells of a pig. German sailors believe it is the soul of a dead comrade with a message: good weather, if the light rises, bad if it lowers.

**Elysium** In Greek mythology, the fields on the banks of the river Oceanus in the farthest west where the blessed dwell. In Homer, the inhabitants of this fair land without snow or cold or rain are not shades, but heroes like Menelaus, who have been translated without dying. They live there under the rule of Rhadamanthus. In Hesiod, the same land is the Isles of the Blessed and is ruled by Cronus with Rhadamanthus dispensing justice from his side. Roman mythology makes the Elysian Fields part of the underworld, to which the shades are sent by the three judges, Rhadamanthus, Minos, and Æacus. Compare **HADES**; **UNDERWORLD**.

**Ema** Votive offerings in Japan in the shape of a picture of a horse. [JLM]

**Emain Macha** The capital of ancient Ulster; the seat of Conchobar: now Navan Fort near Armagh. The usual story is that Emain Macha, literally the twins of Macha, was named for the twins borne by Macha at the moment she won the race against the king's horses at that place. Because of her husband's thoughtless boast that his wife was swifter than the horses, she was sent for and made to run, in spite of her plea that she was about to give birth to a child. Because of the king's cruel refusal to wait, and his insistence that she run, she invoked upon the Ulstermen "the weakness of a woman in childbirth" to come upon them in their every hour of peril and need.

**Embla, Emla, or Emola** In Teutonic mythology, the first woman, who, according to the *Elder Edda*, was created from an elm tree. Odin gave her life and a soul, Hœnir, reason and motion, and Lodur (Loki) gave her blood, the senses, and a fair complexion. In another tale she was created from a block of elm wood by Odin, Vili, and Ve.

**emerald** A clear bright green variety of beryl which throughout the ages has competed with the diamond both in beauty and value. Like the diamond, not all the emeralds of history have been genuine, and also like the diamond, many fabulously valuable stones have been destroyed by ignorant people who tested them by beating them on anvils and stones. The Bible mentions the emerald as one of the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem and one of the gems in the breastplate of the High Priest. The first Mohammedan heaven was of emerald, and in India, to give an idol one of these stones assured knowledge of the soul and eternal life. In classic legend emeralds were said to have been brought from the nests of griffons.

Engravers kept emeralds on their benches and looked at them to relieve eyestrain. They were of highest importance to early pharmacies: they were suspended over affected parts, held in the mouth, powdered and used internally, or merely worn to secure the desired effect. Like most gems they were effective against snakebite and poisons, and against demoniacal possessions of all kinds. They cured hot pestilence, gastric disorders, and dysentery. They stanch bleeding and were both cure and preventative for epilepsy, leprosy, and the plague. The Hindus prescribed looking at them as a laxative and stimulant for the appetite.

As amulets they were without parallel. An emerald worn on the finger would burn at the approach of poison, and would liquefy the eyes of serpents who merely looked at it. They were carried by travelers for good fortune, and could calm storms at sea. They foreshadowed future events, revealed the truth, and helped men recover what they had lost. They strengthened the memory, quickened the intelligence, and made their possessor an eloquent speaker. They conferred riches, joy, strength, and health. The emerald was an emblem of success in love, and as an emblem of eternal life, it was placed on the limbs of the dead.

**emergence myth** Among many American Indian tribes of the southwestern and southeastern United States, and among the Huron-Iroquois of the Great Lakes region, the first human beings are believed to have emerged from an underworld, from a hole in the ground (southwest and southeast), or from a cave

(Huron-Iroquois). The myths relating their experiences during and after the emergence into the upper world are often long and detailed. The southwestern tribes (Pueblo, Navaho and several Apache groups) are concerned with what happened during the actual emergence, and locate the spot where this occurred. The southeastern Creeks and other groups are more concerned with the migration account of their wanderings after their emergence. Generally speaking, tribes which tell as their origin story the emergence myth do not account for the origin of the earth by the primeval water (or flood-earth-diving myth), although a few southwestern groups of Apache combine these two origin myths. The Huron-Iroquois myth of the emergence of people from a cave is aberrant to the origin myth common to other Iroquoian tribes of the Great Lakes region. [JEW]

**Emma** The ruler of the underworld of Japanese Buddhism. [JLM]

**Emperor and Abbot** Title of a folktale, better known in English through the ballad *King John and the Bishop*. It has been found in every ethnic group of which the collection of folktales has been adequately surveyed. The story belongs to the large cycle in which a person of humble birth saves his life, gets a reward, or saves the life of a superior by answering three or more difficult questions. In this story the king will execute the bishop unless within three days the bishop can answer such questions as the following: How high is heaven? How much is a golden plow worth? How much am I worth? A miller, shepherd, or peasant answers the questions to the king's satisfaction. Other titles in the cycle are *The Clever Peasant Girl*, *The Son of the King and the Smith*, *The King and the Peasant's Son*.

This story is of particular interest to students of the folktale because of extensive and elaborate studies that have been made of it within the last quarter-century. Walter Anderson's *Kaiser und Abt* appeared in *FF Communications* No. 54 in 1924. In 1928 Jan DeVries published in the same series *Die Märchen von klugen Rätsellösern*. In 1929 Albert Wesselski studied *Der Knabenkönig und das kluge Mädchen*. The special importance of Anderson's study is that it applies to the study of the folktale the historic-geographic method which was developed by the Finnish school. By this method scholars attempt to collect all known variants of a tale, and by analyzing places and times of incidence, to formulate conclusions as to the place of origin and the extent and periods of diffusion. Anderson's conclusion is that the story may have originated in some Jewish community, possibly in Egypt, perhaps about the 7th century after Christ. DeVries believes that the cycle belongs to the legend of Solomon; Wesselski attaches it to the legend of Cyrus and thinks it is not connected with the literature of India.

The contribution of these brilliant studies of the Emperor and Abbot formula is to show the extraordinary care with which modern scholars approach the study of folktales. The general weakness of the historic-geographic method is in its use and interpretation of statistics and more seriously in our ignorance of large areas on the folktale map. Thus when several variants of the formula currently told in China have been brought into the picture new conclusions about the


distribution and origin of *The Emperor and the Abbot* may have to be formulated. [RDJ]

**Enceladus** In Greek mythology, one of the giants who warred against Zeus; son of Uranus and Ge, conceived when the blood of the mutilated Uranus fell upon earth. Enceladus is a partly human figure with serpents in place of feet. During the battle, Athena threw the island of Sicily at him; he was either killed by Zeus or imprisoned under Etna. The earthquakes in the region near Etna are caused by his struggles to free himself. Compare GIGANTES.

**endama** A type of extra-legal mating found among the Black Caribs of Honduras. See AMASIADO.

**endless tale** A type of formulaistic folktale, especially of eastern Europe, in which a certain incident or set of words is repeated so often as to become unbearable to the listeners. Typical is the story relating how hundreds of sheep were carried across a stream one by one, or how a mountain was moved one grain of sand at a time. It is an endless tale because no listener ever heard the end. One variety of the endless tale is the circular tale or prose round. This is just as often brief as long-winded. It sustains great interest up to a certain point but gets nowhere, the wording being such as to suddenly start over again at the beginning. Typical of these is the tale that begins, "It was a dark and stormy night. The robbers were sitting around the fire"—One of their absent members rides up on horseback, dismounts and joins them at the fire. "Tell us a story," says one of the robbers to the newcomer. And again it begins, "It was a dark and stormy night. The robbers were sitting around their fire"—ad infinitum.

**end of world** The end of the world is envisaged by some North American Indian tribes as resulting from a world-fire (central Algonquian) or from a huge battle (northeastern Algonquian). Other Algonquians of the Great Lakes region believe that the culture hero and founder of the Grand Medicine Society, Nanabush, will return to this earth from his present abode in the west, before the end of the world. [EWV]

 A favorite theme of South American mythology is the destruction of the world by a great fire, caused by the fall of the sun (Mocovi), by a fragment of the moon when it was attacked by Jaguar (Toba), by a spark fallen from the sky (Cashinawa), by demons (Yuracare), by the trickster (Chirihuanu), or by the culture hero. The Mataco blame the cataclysm on the Men of Fire who had been insulted by a bird. In most versions a few persons survived the disaster and repopulated the earth. According to the Mataco of the Gran Chaco, vegetation was restored to the world by a little bird who found ashes of the algarrobo tree and beat her drum until a huge tree grew. The Apapocuya-Guarani regard the great fire as one of the first cataclysms which will take place when the Creator removes one of the props supporting the earth.

The tradition of the destruction of the world by a spell of very cold weather occurs in Tierra del Fuego and in the Chaco. The Yaghan say that an angered bird caused snow to fall and ice to form. The melting of the ice sheet was followed by a big flood. The Toba and Mataco Indians speak of sleet and cold spell sent by the culture hero to exterminate most of mankind. [AM]

**Enemy Way** A Navaho Indian curing ceremony for victims of witchcraft: also known as the *Square dance*. Like all Navaho chants, the Enemy Way has a long origin legend detailing procedure for the chant; this origin myth has been recorded by Father Berard Haile (*Origin Legend of the Navaho Enemy Way*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 17, Yale University Press, 1938). [EWV]

**Enlil** The earth, air, and storm god of Sumerian mythology; one of the prime triad with Anu and Ea. He was patron of Nippur, where his temple was called E-kur, the mountain house; Enlil himself was known as the Great Mountain. He was lord of the spirits of the earth and of the air, the ghosts and demons. In the original version of the *Enuma Elish*, Enlil may have been the hero; indications in the later Babylonian and Assyrian versions are that a storm god acted such a role, but Enlil is not named. He is thus the original conqueror of Tiamat; later, all Enlil's attributes and deeds were ascribed to Bel and Marduk. See BEL; MARDUK; NINLIL; SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**Enuma Elish** The creation myth of Babylonia and Assyria: so called from its opening words, meaning "When above," viz. "When a sky above had not been mentioned." See SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**envoûtement** That form of sympathetic magic working through an image or other representation of the person the magician wishes to influence, usually to injure: a practice as ancient as Egypt and Assyria and still found from Ceylon to the United States, Europe to Africa, South America to Siberia. The word comes from Old French *vout*, image, from Latin *vultus*, face. Commonly an image, often of wax or wood, is made more or less resembling the person to be harmed; the inclusion in the statuette of bits of hair, fingernails, etc., of the intended victim is sometimes considered a necessity. While the proper spells are recited, the operator thrusts pins, nails, or splinters into the image, aiming at the spots where the vital organs might lie, or pinches it or strikes it, melts it in the fire or drowns it in a basin or river, or otherwise works some harm to the image. The human counterpart of the figure will then feel pain in the organs through which the pins have been pushed, or will die suddenly or waste away, become very ill or go insane. This practice, with variations due to time and place (e.g. photographs may be used, as among some southern United States Negroes), is remarkably consistent throughout the world and through the ages. It serves not only as a form of maleficent magic, but is also perhaps the most effective means of counteracting magic; the identity of the sorcerer once determined, his image may be made and treated in a like manner to cause his death or illness, or to paralyze his ability to cause harm.

**Eos** The Greek winged goddess of dawn: equivalent to the Roman Aurora. She was the daughter of Hyperion and Theia or Euryphassa, or of the Titan Pallas; sister of Helios and Selene; lover of many handsome men, whom she carried off. Because of an affair with Ares, Eos was caused by Aphrodite to be constantly in love with someone, and Orion, Cephalus, Tithonus were some among many. She lived with Tithonus and asked Zeus that he be made immortal, but neglected to ask

songs, folktales, and proverbs. His collection of Magyar poems and folktales, *Magyar Népköltés*, was published in three volumes (1846-1848); his *A Nép Költészete népdalok, népmesék és közmondások*, containing three hundred national songs, 19 folktales, and 7,362 proverbs, was published the year after his death.

**eré** Of Yoruban derivation, this word in the can-doble cults of Bahia, Brazil, and the Shango sect of Trinidad, British West Indies, denotes the childlike beings that take charge of the individual undergoing initiation, and succeed the deity "in the head" of a possessed cult-initiate. In its second role, the *eré* functions as a kind of half-state between full possession and the resumption of customary personality status. It thus constitutes a psychological mechanism for cushioning the shock of passage from the possession experience into normal life. The *eré* are conceived as childlike beings, and, when "in a state of *eré*," as this is termed in Brazil, the devotee behaves like a child-being, usually, though not always, gay and mischievous, playing children's games, eating incessantly, and at times caricaturing the dancing of the gods. Though it is clear that the New World concept is to be related to the broad West African category belief comprised in the "little people," the exact relationship to the various beings found in this category as found among the various West African peoples has not yet been explored. [MJU]

**Erebus** In Greek mythology, Darkness, a son of Chaos; father of Hemera (Day) and Æther (Upper Air) by Nyx (Night). In Homer, Erebus is the place of darkness under the earth, with its entrance in the farthest west in the land of the Cimmerians, which the shades go through on their way to Hades. In Orphic belief, Erebus existed from the very beginning of things.

**Erechtheus** A legendary king of Athens: often inextricably confounded with his grandfather or grandson Erichthonius. He is in some way identifiable with Poseidon, one of whose names was Poseidon Erechtheus. In the principal legend concerning Erechtheus, however, Poseidon is his enemy. The oracle at Delphi told Erechtheus that he would not win a war he was fighting against Eumolpus of Thrace and the Eleusinians unless he sacrificed one of his daughters. This Erechtheus did, which act so enraged Poseidon, for by it Erechtheus killed Eumolpus, Poseidon's son, that either he, or Zeus at his request, destroyed Erechtheus and his house. Variants of the legend say that his two elder daughters offered themselves for the sacrifice; that it was his youngest daughter who was killed; that after the sacrifice all his daughters committed suicide.

**Erichthonius** In Greek legend, an early king of Athens. He was the son of Hephæstus and Ge, somewhat inadvertently, for when Hephæstus struggled with Athena in an attempt to end her maidenhood, she defended herself with her spear, and Hephæstus' seed fell upon Ge, the earth. After Erichthonius was born, Athena put him into a chest and gave Pandrosos, the daughter of Cecrops, charge of it, with instructions not to look in. But Herse and Agraules, her sisters, did, and were driven mad by what they saw there. According to some, a serpent was in the chest, put there by Athena to guard the infant; others say that the child himself, like

Cecrops, was serpent-footed. Athena then took the child under her own care within her precinct at Athens, and in due time he grew up to become king. Erichthonius is credited with introducing the worship of Athena and the Panathenaia, and with building the temple to her on the Acropolis. He, and not Cecrops, is said to have decided in Athena's favor over Poseidon's claims for possession of Athens. He was the inventor of the chariot or of the four-horse chariot, according to some because he wanted to hide his feet; he was placed among the stars as the Charioteer. See AURIGA; PANDION.

**Erinyes** (singular *Erinys*) In Greek mythology, the angry and avenging deities who pursued evil-doers and carried out the effects of curses: feared by gods and men, and called in Latin *Furiæ* or *Diræ* (the Avengers). They were perhaps originally ancestral spirits, or angry ghosts of the murdered, who maintained the morality of mankind; or they may have developed from an earth goddess similar to Ge: one of the epithets of Demeter in Arcadia was *Erinys*. Several genealogies are given, the Hesiodic stating that they were born of Ge from the drops of blood falling on her when Uranus was mutilated. Being older than Zeus, they did not serve him, but acted independently. Later tradition makes them three in number: Alecto (the persevering anger), Tisiphone (the blood avenger), Megera (the jealous). They dwell in the underworld and return to earth to enforce curses and punish antisocial acts, particularly crimes against relations such as the murder of relatives or disobedience to parents. They are the embodiment of impersonal justice, the reason underlying a crime not coming into account at all, the act alone being their concern. Expiation for the crime causes them to desist from pursuit. Thus, the slaying of his mother, by Orestes, despite the moral duty he had to perform, caused the Erinyes to hound him until he was acquitted by the Areopagus. They were thenceforth known as the Eumenides (the kindly), and had a sanctuary at the foot of the Areopagus in Athens. They were likewise called the *Semnæ* (the venerable ones). Yearly, there was a festival of the Erinyes at which offerings of milk and honey in water were made. Though Æschylus made them appear like Gorgons, their later usual form was that of grave, winged maidens, dressed as huntresses, who could be distinguished by their carrying scourges, sickles, or torches. There seems to be no basis for identifying them with the Indian Saranyu. Compare DEMETER; EUPHEMISM; KERE; MOIRE.

**Eris** In Greek mythology, the goddess of discord, or more properly of emulation: the Roman *Discordia*. The insatiable sister of Ares, she evoked war and disharmony, remaining on the battlefield and gloating over the bodies of the slain after all the other gods had left. Eris threw the apple of discord among the gods at a feast, usually described as the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis, saying "Let the fairest have it." The ensuing argument was decided by Paris. (See PARIS.) Hesiod mentions also a good Eris, the goddess of honorable competition.

**Ériu** In Old Irish mythology, a queen of the Tuatha Dé Danann, third of the three met by the Milesians in their invasion of Ireland, and to whom they promised that her name would be the chief name of Ireland for-

ever. The familiar Erin is the dative case of Eriu. The inauguration feast of the early Irish kings was called *féil beandis* (literally wedding feast), because it was believed that the inauguration ceremony symbolized the marriage of the king to this ancient eponymous queen. See BANEBA; FODLA; ITIL.

**Eros** In Greek mythology, the god of love; similar in some respects to the Roman Amor or Cupid. Eros, not in Homer, was originally the god of love between friends, a beautiful youth, one of the first of the gods, in Hesiod coming from Chaos with Tartarus and Gaia. Various parentages were later assigned to him, especially those making him son of Aphrodite by Zeus, Hermes, or Ares; and with time he degenerated into the wanton and cruel winged boy, armed with arrows, from whom not even the gods were safe. He carried torches which no one could safely touch. Later additions to the myth include also the covering of his eyes; two kinds of arrows, golden ones which brought love, and leaden ones bringing aversion; and the multiplication of the god into a number of Erotes. There was also distinguished a brother of Eros, Anteros, the god of returned love, who punished the refusal to reciprocate on the part of the loved one. Eros was worshipped at Thespiae in Boeotia and at Parion in Mysia. Compare *CUPID* AND *PSYCHE*.

**Erymanthian boar** In Greek legend, the boar caught by Hercules as the fourth of his labors. He chased it into deep snow and then carried it struggling back to Eurystheus, who, when he saw the pair coming, hid in fear in a bronze jar. During the chase of the boar occurred Hercules' visit to Pholus and its tragic consequences.

**eskänye** The old-time women's shuffle dance of the Iroquois Indians: a homage to the food spirits, the three life-sustaining sisters. Thus it is one of the bread dances and associated with certain dance sequences (see *BREAD DANCE*). In the great Seneca festivals, Midwinter and Green Corn, it is inserted between two performances of the great feather dance. The women progress to the right, facing the center of a circle, with a sideward saw step, shutting the heels and toes alternately in and out. Expert dancers swing their arms from side to side with bent elbows, and execute occasional quarter-turns. The latter songs of the cycle recite the cycle of the germination, growth, and fruition of the crops, and describe the climbing of the beans around the corn stalks. The melodies, to drum and rattle background, have a tremendous range and freedom of thematic treatment which contradict the dance's traditional antiquity. [CRK]

**espringale or Springtanz** A European round dance for couples, popular, especially at the time of the Minnesingers, in the 14th century. It was a carole with little leaps and hops and, like the carole, was associated with verdure. The verses of the choral leader invoked nature; the chorus responded with a refrain, imitating instruments as the bagpipe, flute, drum, rebec, and psaltery, or yodelling or rolling the tongue. [CRK]

**estampie or istampida** A European stamping dance for men and women, with an accent on every third beat: a popular round dance from the 12th to the 15th century, in slow 4/4, 3/4, or 6/8 measure, associated in the

14th century with the fast *saltarello*. Of the accompanying songs the 12th century *Kalenda Maya* is the most famous. [CRK]

**Estonian folklore** The folklore collections of the Estonian people are among the most numerous in the world. The richness of folkloristic records depends on the degree of civilization of the people and on the intensity of the collecting activity, because with the advance of civilization the folk traditions usually disappear. Both conditions were favorable in Estonia from the folkloristic point of view and today the small Estonian people have about 711,000 written pages of folklore material.

The Estonian people were for many centuries enslaved by the German barons and all their cultural life was dominated by Germans. Nevertheless a few educated Germans, so-called *Estophiles*, showed interest in the common people, their language, history, and culture; and in 1838 was founded the *Estonian Learned Society* (GEG) in Tartu (Dorpat), later, 1842, the *Estonian Literature Society* in Tallinn (Reval). Both societies had their publications, in German of course, in which many important articles on Estonian folklore were printed, especially in *Verhandlungen der GEG*, and in the journal *Inland* (1836-1863). Thus the first works on Estonian folklore were done and published by Germans, mostly pastors, and in the German language.

The first book of great folkloristic importance dealing with the superstitions and customs of the Estonians was *Der einfälligen Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* by J. W. Boeder (Reval, 1685; 2nd edition by F. R. Kreutzwald, St. Petersburg, 1854). The Russian Academy of Sciences also showed interest in Estonian linguistics and F. J. Wiedemann (1805-1887), member of the Academy, published not only an Estonian-German Dictionary, but also a large book about the life of the Estonian people, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Ehsten* (St. Petersburg, 1876). Some material in this work is of doubtful origin and belongs to the numerous falsifications which grew up as the Estonian national awakening was started and as the "young Estonian" movement used folklore as one of their means.

The founder of the Estonian Learned Society, F. R. Faelmann (1798-1850), fabricated some deities and splendid myths (see *ESTONIAN MYTHOLOGY*). He was eager to furnish a substitute for the national epos. This task was accomplished by F. R. Kreutzwald (1803-1882) and the Estonians were delighted with him (see *KALEVPOEG*). Kreutzwald also published a collection of folktales in the literary style of this time, translated into German by F. Löwe (*Ehstnische Märchen*, 2 vols., 1869 and 1881). Another similar collection of Estonian tales and legends was published by H. Jannsen (*Märchen und Sagen des estnischen Volkes*, 2 vols., 1881 and 1888). Both editions were greatly influenced by the Grimm brothers and others who stylized folk tradition. A publication of folk songs, *Ehstnische Volkslieder* (2 vols., Reval, 1852-1852), was arranged by A. H. Neus (1795-1876) and published by the Estonian Literature Society. The editor used the manuscripts of many earlier and contemporary collectors, and this work was for many years the most important reference book for Estonian folk song, particularly because of German translations. It is regrettable

ble that some songs were stylized too much or were completed by their collectors, and that even more falsifications penetrated into another work, *Mythische und magische Lieder der Esten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), edited by Neus together with Kreutzwald.

All the above-mentioned works (even if they are not exemplary in the eyes of folklorists of today, in that they contain too many personal supplements made by the collectors), caused a widespread national movement by the Estonians. Estonians were delighted with the traditions of their folk. The gathering of folklore was regarded not as an amusement of rich people, but as a national task in which the whole people took pride. The Estonians themselves came to the work. The Rev. Dr. Jakob Hurt (1839-1907) started a very well organized collecting of folklore throughout the whole country. He had, we can say, a modern conception of the folklore method; he gave good instructions to the collectors and was able to stop the falsifications. The results were astonishing. To his appeal in the press answered hundreds of volunteers from all classes of the people. Practically every house and smallest cabin in the country was visited by a folklore collector, with the result that Hurt's collections reached 124,000 written pages. This period of folklore-gathering activity has been called "the age of folk goods." Hurt also planned the publishing of a big collection of folk songs, a *Monumenta Estoniae antiquae*, but because of lack of money only two volumes appeared: *Iana Kannel* (The Old Harp, 1875 and 1886). At the end of his laborious life he published a very well arranged collection of songs of the Setus (*Setukeste laulud*, 3 vols., 1904-1907), which remains today an unsurpassed work on Estonian folklore. The most important colleague of Hurt was M. Veske (1843-1890), who published a good anthology of Estonian songs (*Eesti rahvalaulud*, 2 vols., 1879-1883).

Another clergyman, M. J. Eisen (1857-1934), started simultaneously with Hurt the gathering of folklore. He obtained 90,000 written pages, mostly tales and legends. He became famous as the author of about 200 popular books, written with the use of narrative folklore. Some of his collaborators, inspired by his example, also imposed a literary style on their collected folktales. One must, therefore, watch for falsifications when using the collection of Eisen. In the free Estonian state, Eisen became professor of folklore, and his studies on Estonian mythology (4 vols., 1919-1926) are of real scientific value. He confessed frankly what were his own creations in his popular editions.

Among the more recent collections a very important one was made by Samuel Sommer who gathered about 124,000 pages from the Setus, mostly folksongs.

The first Estonian holding a Ph.D. in folklore, O. Kallas (1868-1947), organized the recording of folk melodies. His collection contains more than 20,000 pages. A good anthology of the melodies of folk songs with introduction and summary in German, was published by H. Tempere (*Eesti rahvariiside*, Tartu, 1935).

From the German scholars of the last few decades, those who paid attention to Estonian folklore were very few. The friend of the Estonians, L. von Schroeder, published an important study on Estonian wedding customs (*Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten*, 1888) and another on Estonian gods and elves of German origin (1906).

Another well-known German folklorist, Walter Anderson (born 1885), was for many years acting as professor of folklore at the University of Tartu in independent Estonia. He collected about 59,000 pages, mostly children's songs and verses, and published several important studies.

In 1927 the independent Estonian state founded the Estonian Folklore Archives (*Eesti Rahvaluule Archiiv*), which was directed by Dr. Oskar Loorits. There were placed all the earlier collections of Hurt, Eisen, and others, and the new ones, gathered during a period of 15 years under the skilled guidance of Loorits, reached 252,000 pages. Thus on January 1, 1941, Estonian folklore collections numbered 711,573 pages in all. This is a gigantic monument of culture for a small people. The Archives published many studies in its series *Eesti Rahvaluule Archiivi Toimetused*, and separately. Folklore publications became so numerous that folklore bibliography each year covered many printed pages, published in *Jahresbericht der estnischen Philologie und Geschichte*, with German translations of the titles. The author of many of the most important works of this period is O. Loorits.

There must be mentioned a giant plan to publish Estonian folk songs along with all the recorded variants for each song. Only two volumes have been published so far, containing 18 epic songs with hundreds of variants (*Eesti rahvalaulud*, 1926 and 1932, with summaries in German). The work ceased because it was going too slowly, was too expensive, and was of real importance for only a small number of specialists, who could easily find the material in the Archives.

The most important part of Estonian folklore is the folk songs. It must be emphasized that the old songs differ from the new ones, which were created at the beginning of the 19th century under the influence of religious hymns. The old songs have neither rime nor stanza, the rhythm is calm and reserved, the verses are mostly trochaic, sometimes with dactylic-trochaic interferences. Alliteration and assonance, and the repetition of the same contents in other words, or parallelism of the thought, are the most typical traits of the old songs. The epic elements are not so developed as in the Finnish runes and the lyrical mood is predominant. The Estonian songs have been referred to as "women's lyrics." O. Kallas gave the following characteristics of Estonian songs: "The majority of the collected runes... treat the manifestations and happenings of peasant-life, and the revelations of the human heart. They lead the listeners through the whole life story of the Estonian, from cradle to funeral bier. Particularly numerous are the wedding-songs; deepest in sentiment the orphan-songs, as in general all songs of elegiac nature. Love-songs... are conspicuous by their relative rarity. In Estonia such songs are overshadowed by the other varieties.... The Estonian is sober in this as in other respects—a calm rational reflecting spirit—and thus in the field of lore he is no dreamer, no knight of romance, but a realist and a naturalist. As a result, Estonian songs of this description deal mostly with married love and fidelity or with sensual erotics. Characteristic of the Setus are their dirges, which are entirely missing among the other Estonians" (*Folk-Lore* 34: 111).

For studies on narrative folklore the Estonian ma-

terial is of great importance because in this country the Russian and German waves of folktales come together. A type-index of Estonian tales and legends was published by A. Aarne (*FFG* 25, 1918). The west European repertoire is most important. Animal tales are not numerous. On the other hand, the number of magic tales is very great. A large part of the legends are closely allied to similar products elsewhere of Christian influence from both churches, Roman and Greek. Numerous legends tell about the origin of the world, the creation of man, animals, and plants and their peculiarities (*Ursprungssagen*). Despite the difficult conditions of life a very great number of humorous jokes were created or adopted. The legends, particularly local legends, often have historical reminiscence. Two collections of legends were published in German by F. Bienemann (*Litländisches Sagenbuch*, Reval 1887) and by C. von Stern (*Estnische Volkssagen*, Riga, 1935). Some of them contain valuable mythological data, e.g. about the dead, the Devil, house and water spirits, giants, hidden treasures, etc. A peculiarity of Estonian legend is the half man and half dog people. (See DOGHEADED PEOPLE.)

About other kinds of Estonian folklore O. Kallas says: "Of special interest are the proverbs... They offer a pithy, apt and graphic quintessence of popular wit and wisdom and are a keen character study in animated colours; a complete code of popular ethics and knowledge of life in pocket size... The material collected concerning ceremonies and customs, children's games and popular sports is so comprehensive that a whole gallery of pictures of Estonian popular life could be derived from it." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.)

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**Estonian mythology** It is a very difficult task to separate genuine Estonian mythological beliefs from the influences and borrowings of all kinds from abroad. The foreign influence, especially from the Germans, is very great. The ideas of the Catholic Church are sometimes closely mixed with earlier traditions. The infiltration from Sweden and Russia is also obvious. Much confusion was made by the Estonian patriots in the time of the national awakening in the first half of the 19th century. They created for themselves an Estonian Olympus with the names of gods borrowed from the Finns. Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* was translated in 1821 into German and published, and the Estophiles supposed that the same gods were known to the Estonians, but had only been forgotten. In 1841 F. R. Fählmann fabricated the gods Vanemuine, Ilmarine, Lämmeküine, and one year earlier had created the famous myth, "Koit ja Hämarik" (The Dawn and Evening Glow). Other fabrications: the god Turis was created by K. J. Peterson; M. J. Eisen produced "Kõu ja Pikkar" (Thunder and Lightning). It was not correct to graft the Finnish gods on to the Estonian (even though both peoples are near relatives), and it is not justifiable to create a

complicated myth out of a bare name found in the folk traditions.

No wonder that Estonian scholars have different opinions on this complicated matter. Dr. Oskar Loooris made this statement: "I have designated Animism and Shamanism as the basic conception of Estonian religious life. Even Shamanism is known in a strongly degenerate form, whereas Polytheism in the Estonian folk beliefs cannot be seriously mentioned... The modern doctrine about primeval Monotheism and the idea about one supreme god cannot be confirmed by Estonian folk tradition... The Estonian folk-religion is rather of Pantheistic pattern and it is possible to speak about a kind of Dynamism... Thinking in magic terms survives today with great vitality..." (*Grundzüge*, Vol. I, p. 10-11).

We do not have a comprehensive description or presentation of Estonian mythology from some centuries in the past; the best source remains the Estonian folklore of recent days, which, it is true, is often very conservative. The statement of Loooris is based on just this material. It is possible that in older times, as the Estonians were not so much influenced by the religious beliefs of their neighbors and by the Christian doctrine, their mythology had also other traits. Indeed the chronicles have given us a few statements. For example, in *Chronica Livonica* in 1220 is mentioned the god Tharapita. The philologists explain that probably the heathen warriors yelled "Taara avita!" (Taara help us) before the battle with the Christian knights. The Taara may have been a god of heaven and thunder like Thor of the Scandinavians. The other Finno-Ugric stocks also have gods of heaven called by similar names (cf. Vogulian *Törem*, Ostjakian *Türem*, Lappish *Turms*, etc.). However it remains an unsolved problem whether here we have a borrowed Scandinavian Thor or a genuine Estonian deity.

The word *jumal* has many meanings and may be a name for heaven and the gods in general. Names like Vanataat (the old man), Taevataat (the old man of the heaven), or Vanaisa (the old father), occurring in popular sayings, do not sufficiently prove any belief in a personal highest god of heaven. There may also be some influence of the Christian God.

The thunder has many names. *Uku* (the old man) is a borrowing from the Finns (see *Ukko*). The common Estonian word for thunder is *pikker* or *pikne* (the long one); it means the lightning also. In the North thunder is called *kõu*, meaning the thunderclap in general, probably an old borrowing from Lithuanian *kaukas* (see *FUF* XII: 186-191 and *ERE* VI:23). In the East thunder is called *äike* (the big or old one, grandfather). So the names are many, but there is lacking any evidence that thunder was imagined as a personal god and not only as a manifestation of nature. Nevertheless, the thunder was an object of worship, and sacrifices were offered to him. A prayer was written down by Gutleff in 1644 from the "heathen priest" to the *Pikker* and says: "Dear *Pikker*! We are offering you a bull, two-horned, four-footed, for the sake of the plowing and the sowing, stalks of brass, ears of gold. Push elsewhere the black clouds, over the great swamp, the high forest, the wide plain; air of mead, rains of honey to our plowmen, sowers! Holy *Pikker*, look after our fields: fine straw beneath, fine ears above, fine grain within!" *Pikker* also gives rain and fertility like the thunder god



of other peoples. Prayers for sending the clouds to the forests and deserts during thunderstorms is known also among Lithuanians.

Estonian nature spirits are very numerous. The common name of the spirits is *haldjas* (see *HALTIA* of the Finns). The household spirit is *majahaldjas* or *koduhaldjas*, the protector of the house and court. Such a protecting spirit is probably the soul of the first owner of the house. He takes care of the house for the good inhabitants, but must not be offended, and victuals and drinks must be offered to him (compare Finnish *tonnru*). The worship of house-serpents is also mentioned from the 17th century, and has survived until recently.

The prevalence of numerous water deities shows very great German influence (see *NÄKK*). They are imagined in human shape, male and female, and often the same spirit has many names. Not so much developed is the worship of fire and trees. The sacred oak and linden were mentioned by Russow in 1578. Estonians habitually call the nature spirits "mothers" and "fathers," e.g. mother of the sea, mother of the field, father of the cattle, father of the forest, etc.

Estonians also have various idols formed by the hand of man. Seventeenth century sources frequently mention the *Metsik*, which at the time of New Year and Shrove Tuesday was formed from straw in the shape of a man or woman and put on a tree or fence. The idol was to protect the cattle against wild beasts and also to promote the fertility of the crops. A similar idol is known today to the Setus in the south of Estonia (see *PEKO*). A third idol was *Tõnn* from the west. The name is derived from St. Antony. He was formed as a doll from cloth and wax and preserved in a bushel basket in the corn house. He was offered the first-fruits of all kinds of products. There are also deities of fertility. Common are the maidens of the corn-field, called *viljaneitsi*, and the wolf of the rye.

Very popular in Estonia are the demons of fortune. Such a demon can be bought or made by man and vivified with the help of the Devil. Frequently the man must promise his soul to the Devil, but usually he is able to cheat the Devil and save his soul. The demon brings the owner all kinds of goods, products of milk, grain, and even gold. He has the shape of an animal, usually appearing as a cock, cat, or toad. He is called *kratt* in the west, *tont* in the east, *puuk* in the south and on the Isle of Saaremaa. Another shape of the same demon is like a fiery flying dragon, called in the west *tulihänd* (the tail of fire), and in the south *pisuhänd* (the tail of spark). All the demons of this kind came to Estonia from Germany and Sweden, not only their names but also their shapes, their nature, and their legends (compare L. Shroeder, *Germanische Elben und Götter beim Estenvolke*. Wien, 1906, p. 14-61). A magician can himself fly in the form of a demon to steal goods from his neighbors.

Perhaps the most interesting Estonian beliefs are those concerning the dead. Many of the Estonian beliefs are more or less connected with the dead. The deceased man continues his life as before, except that now he is living in the grave. The word *kalm* means both the grave and the dead. The collective living place of the dead is called *Hiiela*, a sacred grove where the dead were buried, and *Toonela* (compare *TUONELA* of the

Finns). The "old Tooni," master of this realm, functions like a father of a numerous family. There are also houses, fields, and roads in the afterworld, as on the earth. Sometimes the name *Manala* (under the earth) is also used. It is populated by the dwarfs. The invisible soul of the man is *mardus* or *marras*. If one sees it, the man will be dead soon. The dead are often helpful to the living, but they must not be offended. They must be offered victuals during the burial and later when they return home on certain days in the autumn. The bathroom was heated for the souls. Food was also laid on the graves. In early times the living relatives feasted together with the departed on the graves. This custom is known today among the Setus, and in 1428 it was mentioned that the Estonians liked to feast in the churchyards together with their dead. There was no fear and hostility between living and dead. On the contrary, they formed together a close family, guided by love and mutual help. As a result of Christian-Germanic influence, the dead later came to be represented by a revengeful demon (*koduküija*).

The Devil has many names, old and new, of heathen and Christian origin. For example he is called *vanapagan* (the old heathen, a name also used for a giant); *vanapois* (the old boy); *äio* (grandfather); *kurat* (the left or bad side); and *juudas* (dark). The hard struggle between the old and the new religion, between enslaved folk and foreign clergy produced such names for the Devil as *säks* (a German); *poostel* (from apostle); and *kolmik* (from trinity). The beggar is called *sant* (from *sanctus*); *nuuk* (from monk) is the name for a robber. The Devil of the legends is often helpful to the poor Estonian farmer in the struggle with his oppressor, the German baron.

The priest or magician is called *nõid*, the old name for shaman (see *NOIDE* of the Lapps). There were good and bad magicians. The good ones, who were helpful to man by protecting him, healing diseases, and forecasting the future, were called *tark* (the wise). Their power depended upon knowledge about the origin and nature of evil spirits, for only when they possessed this power could they control them.

The variety of Estonian folk beliefs is very great, a mixture of mythological ideas of many cultural areas. They come from the old Finno-Ugric background, and there are borrowings from the Goths, Germans, Swedes, Latvians, and Russians. The Catholic period has left more traces than recent Protestantism. The oldest survivals are preserved by the Setus in the southeast of Estonia in so-called *Setumaa*. Folk medicine and the magic practices of daily life are of German origin.

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JONAS BALYS

**Estsanatlehi** The Woman Who Changes: an important female deity of the Navaho Indians of the Southwest. See *CHANGING WOMAN*. [EWV]

**ethnocentrism** The ethnocentric viewpoint is tellingly illustrated in many North American Indian origin myths. In the Eastern Woodlands each one of many

tribes claims to have been created at "the heart of the world"; each claims to have been created first, with other tribes created as an afterthought, or semiaccidentally, or by less important deities. The Jicarilla Apache of the Southwest say that one tribe only—their own—existed when the world was new. Ethnocentrism is also pronounced in mythical material on the confusion of tongues. In most of this material it is assumed or stated that the language of the tribe to which the narrator of the myth belongs was the language which originally was spoken universally. [EWV]

**ethnochoreography** The scientific study of ethnic dances in all their choreographic aspects (steps, formations, rhythms) as related to their cultural significance, religious function or symbolism, or social place. Comparative choreography is the juxtaposition and interpretation of salient elements in dance forms. [Word coined and defined by Gertrude Kurath]

**Etzel** The German name for Attila the Hun who, according to the *Nibelungenlied*, married Kreimhild, sister of Gunther, king of Burgundy, after the death of Siegfried. He took no part in Kreimhild's plots for revenge against her brothers, but treated the Burgundians as noble guests, and tried to reconcile his wife and her brothers until all were slain. Compare **ATLI**.

**Eugpamolak Manobo**, **Manama**, or **Kalayagan** The Bagobo (Philippine Islands) chief spirit and creator who lives in the sky and watches the doings of men. He is served by many spirits who exact punishment from the people when they do not make the proper offerings. Eugpamolak Manobo is invited to all Bagobo ceremonies, but he refuses bloody sacrifices and does not give favors.

**euhemerism** The theory that myths are simply explanations of historical events and that the gods were once men who for their deeds became important and after death were worshipped: advanced by Euhemerus, a writer in Macedonia, about 316 B.C., in his *Sacred History* (*Hierā Anagraphe*). The idea does not seem to be entirely original with Euhemerus, it forms a part of the general rationalism of the period, but his statement of it became best known. Zeus, for example, was pictured as a king of Crete whose conquests caused him to be worshipped. Euhemerus was considered an atheist by his contemporaries, and his theories were adopted by Christian writers to prove that the classical gods were not at all divine. The theory has been discarded as a fully explanatory method, but it is still utilized to some extent.

**Eumenides** See **ERINYES**.

**eunuch** A castrated man, often one emasculated before puberty. (The question of female castration is only incidental to the discussion.) The word eunuch may be derived from the Greek words meaning "bed guardian," or, according to Gray, from a Hebrew word meaning "experienced, tried," in reference to the positions of trust they held. Eunuchs were variously classified: those born so, those made so by men, those emasculated by themselves (*Matt.* xix, 12)—this was the distinction later made by the rabbis; also, a distinction was made as between Negro and white eunuchs or between those with no genitals at all and those lacking

the testicles: the Romans distinguished among *castrati* (no genitals), *spadones* (no testicles), and *thilibii* (crushed testicles), and perhaps *thlasia* (spermatic cord cut); in the East the *sandali* had no organs, another class had no penis, and a third class had no testicles, or had bruised, burned, or torn testicles. English still preserves the various concepts among its associated words: *capo*, from Latin *capo*, strike, crush; castrate, from Latin *castro*, cut; spay, from Greek *spao*, draw, drag.

The origin of the eunuch is lost in the ages. Probably the custom of castrating men developed from the castration of animals, a usage resorted to to make the animals docile and strong (e.g. horses) or to fatten them for tastier food (e.g. fowl). Human castration seems to have begun in Mesopotamia. Ammianus Marcellinus attributed the practice to the legendary Semiramis, to whose personality almost any kind of sexual legend has been attracted. Castration and the eunuch have been known in Assyria, Israel, Ethiopia, Egypt, Persia, India, China, Greece, Rome, and various parts of the Western world in contact with the East and its peoples. (The African castration customs reported do not seem to be eunuchizing, but have different aims. For example, the former Hottentot custom of cutting off the left testicle was meant to prevent the birth of twins, an event of ill-omen.)

The priests of several ancient Near Eastern goddesses of fertility were eunuchs. The Artemis of Ephesus, the Astarte of Hierapolis in Syria, the Asian Hecate, and Cybele and Attis had an emasculated priesthood. The Galli, priests of Attis, castrated themselves, probably on the third day of their Spring festival, the Day of Blood, March 24. Caught up by the frenzy of the older priests who cut their skins and whirled about splashing blood all over the crowds, the novices slashed off their members and threw them against the image of Cybele. These were later buried in places sacred to the goddess, perhaps as a sacrifice to this goddess of fruitfulness. See, for example, the story of Agdistis, from whose severed organs sprang the fruit that impregnated Nana, and the associated story of Attis who was self-mutilated and bled to death under a pine-tree. Self-mutilation occurred among the Pāvayā caste of India who served the goddess Bahucharajī, but the novice had first to prove that he was impotent before he would be considered for admission to the caste: the custom was abolished in 1880, thereby dooming its members, according to them, to future lives of impotence. Castrations such as these have myths to explain them, but in these instances the myths are undoubtedly etiological, *pour-quoi* stories explaining the reason for an established ritual. The sky-earth separation myth, however, seems genuinely cosmogonic; Uranus and Cronus both were castrated in the mythology of Greece; a parallel myth from Polynesia, and the Egyptian myth, of the separation of sky and earth indicates that this is a naturally occurring explanation: the sky-father can be separated from the earth-mother only by severing the connecting member.

Generally in Rome and in Europe, the eunuch could not become a priest, since perfect and unblemished bodies were a requirement for the office. Some early Christians, following Origen, who misinterpreted *Matt.* xix, 12 and castrated himself, believed castration neces-

sary, but the Council of Nicea forbade the priesthood to such persons. The Russian sect of Skoptzy surreptitiously practiced castration.

Like capons, geldings, and oxen, eunuchs have had their special uses. "The barbarians value eunuchs more than others," says Herodotus (VIII: 105), "since they regard them as more trustworthy." As the common derivation indicates, they have been used since ancient times as guards, chamberlains, especially of the women's quarters. The reason is obvious: a eunuch, even if subject to temptation, can do nothing to harm the physical virtue of the inmates of the harem. This is especially true if the castration has occurred before puberty; after puberty, provided that only the testicles are removed or crushed, the erectile power of the penis disappears after a time (a year to 18 months). It is said that Roman matrons used recently castrated youths for sexual gratification in view of the absence of fear of possible pregnancy. Despite the prohibition of Mohammed, the castration of young boys for the slave trade in Moslem countries continued in Africa until recently. It is said that the mortality rate made the price of these eunuchs very high. As chamberlains then, the eunuchs were in important positions of trust, able to become skilled in intrigue and to rise rapidly, given sufficient determination and ambition. Logically, a person with whom the wives of king or noble could be trusted might be entrusted with other confidential matters. Eunuchs became great officers of state in China, Persia, India, and the Byzantine Empire. Narses, for example, was a great general under Justinian, and Agha Mohammed, in 1795-98, overthrew the Zends in Persia, though both were eunuchs, hence popularly incomplete men. Potiphar, the master of the Biblical Joseph, was a eunuch, which perhaps explains his wife's trouble.

In India, eunuchs were the lowest of all classes. Throughout the world that knew them, eunuchs were despised and feared by the people, perhaps with reason, for many tales and much history emphasize the malign nature of the eunuch. There is however no basis of fact in the equally popular belief that eunuchs are devoid of sexual passion. Burton states that almost all eunuchs are married and manage to satisfy their wives, though he indicates that their own gratification is incomplete and must be guarded against by the wife lest it be expended in biting or other physical injury. A medical report cited by Bergen Evans states that 10 of 23 castration cases later acquired gonorrhea—at the very least an indication of willing spirit. The story of Abelard is a further indication that desire does not die with the loss of sexual organs. The castration of females among the Australians is said to be performed to prevent their having children by the men of hostile tribes, but the women act as prostitutes within their own tribes and the statement that they feel no pleasure may be discounted.

Castration as punishment has its most famous example in Abelard. Usually rape, seduction, adultery, and the like crimes are the ones entailing such injury. The Egyptians and the Indians made eunuchs of adulterers; a law of Alfred the Great established castration as the penalty for a servant who raped a female servant. In India, a Brahman who violated his teacher's

wife was permitted to choose, among other punishments, the right of castrating himself and walking to the southwest (the direction of destruction) carrying his genitals until he fell dead. An ancient Frisian law stated castration as the penalty for a temple robber; in India it was suffered by one urinating on a person of higher caste; in China, whereas all the older male members of the family of a traitor were killed, the young boys were castrated and made servants.

Castration destroys to some extent the secondary sexual characteristics. The beard and body hair tend to disappear, pigmentation of the skin becomes less, fat accumulates, the joints become more apparent. Eunuchs are also taller than average and have a more noticeable bony structure. The voice loses its masculinity and becomes flat. In boys, the voice remains high; for many years sopranos in the Sistine choir were eunuchs, despite edicts of the Church against castration. As late as the 19th century, where women were forbidden the stage, male sopranos for the Italian opera were provided by castration. Compare TRANSVESTITES.

**euphemism** "Speak of the Devil and he appears," so if you do not wish him to come you must refer to him by another name, a euphemism. If you are in Scotland, you call him Cloutie or Auld Hornie; in Germany, Meister Peter; in the Shetlands, da black tief; in England, Old Nick; in New England, the Deuce or The Old Boy Himself.

Theoretically, he will not know you are referring to him. The idea in the use of euphemisms is to flatter and thus propitiate, or speak enigmatically or metaphorically and thus deceive the Devil, or other evil spirits, or powerful animals you wish to avoid or not to offend, or clever ones you wish to trap, or disease and death you desire to overlook you, or kings and even gods with whom you must deal.

Take the lion, for instance. The Algerian Arabs refer to him respectfully as Mr. John Johnson, the Angolans as Sir, and the South African Bechuanas as the boy with the beard. Depending on where you live, the euphemism grandfather may mean the bear, the tiger, the elephant, or the alligator. Don't use his right name, for even if he doesn't catch you, you'll become sick. The Lapps often call the bear the old man with the fur coat, and the Sioux say water-person for beaver.

In Mombasa you must call smallpox grains of corn, but the Dyaks say jungle-leaves. In China a coffin is boards of old age. Death is widely called a sleep. To die in South Africa is to go home; in the United States it may be to go West, cash in, kick the bucket, or pass away.

Formerly in Siam, Burma, China, and Korea, the king or ruling monarch's real name must never be known or mentioned lest harm come to him from an evil person thus getting control or power over him. Only complimentary titles could be used, under threat of severe penalties.

The name of the Hebrew god, supposed to be Yahweh, was prohibited from utterance, but vowels of another name, Adonai, my Lord, were used to make the hybrid word Jehovah, a euphemism which was safe to pronounce.

In the United States in Christian circles you must not

take the name of God or Christ in vain, but you can usually employ without being criticized the popular euphemisms Gad, Gosh, Gee, Cripes, or Christmas. Even pinous old ladies ejaculate Laws-a-massy or Oh, Good Lord! without being struck dead. See NAME TABU.

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Europa** In Greek mythology, the daughter of Agenor, king of Tyre and Phœnicia, or, in Homer, daughter of Phœnix. With cosmetics belonging to Hera, she made herself pleasing to Zeus. He, hiding among cattle disguised as a bull, acted so gentle that she climbed on his back. Zeus immediately fled to the sea, and swam off to Crete where he took her to the Dictæan cave where he had been brought up. There she bore to him Minos and Rhadamanthus (and, some add, Sarpedon). Later, she married Asterius, but there were no children from the union. According to some accounts, she was also the mother of the Minotaur, and of Evander.

**European folklore** The spiritual development of mankind having been fundamentally uniform, though by no means unilinear, all over the globe, it is largely for practical reasons that the domain of folklore is divided geographically, by continents. Furthermore, when we speak of the folklore of Europe, the latter term must not be understood in an administrative sense. Caucasia belongs administratively, to European Russia; but its folklore (like its languages) is non-European and inseparable from Iran. On the other hand, certain Near-Eastern countries (Anatolia, Armenia, and Syria) are not really Asiatic but Mediterranean, i.e. European. Their folklore must therefore be considered in any comprehensive treatment of European folklore.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire Europe has never been a political entity; but culturally and historically no other continent has shown as much unity, nay uniformity, as Europe. It is therefore to be expected that European folklore should show an analogous picture of great uniformity throughout the continent. The reasons therefor are sufficiently patent. What we call European civilization is merely the result of the radiation of the ancient Mediterranean culture, developed in the Mediterranean basin from 3000 B.C. at the latest. This radiation occurred in a northerly and northeasterly direction, extending beyond the Baltic (Krappe, *Scandinavian Studies*, XVI, 1911, pp. 163-84) and as far east as the Urals. The strength and the effect of this radiation grew weaker with the distance from the radiation center, a fact which alone accounts for the gradation of culture (German *Kulturgefülle*) noticeable as one moves east and northeast from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean (K. Krohn, *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode*, Oslo, 1926, p. 13). This gradation largely explains local differences in folklore which, in the outlying posts (Ireland, Iceland, Scandinavia, Finland, Russia), is apt to reveal more archaic features than could be found, for example, in France or Germany.

The most practical mode of approach would therefore be a survey of the field of folklore types, with special mention of local peculiarities. A detailed discussion must naturally be left to the articles dealing with the various folklore types.

**Fairy tale** There are current, in Europe, about 500 known fairy tale types, each of which has its own indi-

vidual plot and virtually all of which are found not only over the whole continent or over large portions of it, but also in Asia and North Africa. A good number of them have been carried to the New World by European settlers. The origin and the history of the diffusion of most of these types are still unknown, though the researches of Kaarle Krohn and his school have definitely shown the Indian origin of some fifty tale types. (Compare K. Krohn, *FFC* 96, 1931).

The most archaic variants are not found, as has sometimes been supposed, in Russia, but in Ireland and the Western Isles of Scotland (Krappe, *Calif. Folklore Quart.*, V, 1946, p. 216). The explanation for this is that Russia has in all ages been a country traversed by the highroads of commerce from the Black Sea to the Baltic, whereas Ireland, the Hebrides, and Iceland have been largely untouched by the great currents of civilization. As a result, archaic features which were promptly suppressed or replaced by more modern ones elsewhere, were preserved in these outlying regions. Similarly, many types widely current on the continent (including Russia) are absent from these islands, a striking parallel, incidentally, to certain zoogeographical facts: many bird species known all over the continent and even in Britain are not known to exist in Ireland, the Western Isles, and, *a fortiori*, in Iceland.

Variants of individual fairy tale types ordinarily show so few local peculiarities that, were a given variant translated into a "neutral" language, say, Esperanto, only an expert folklorist could detect, and that not always, the country of its origin. By far the best clues are furnished by the prevailing demonology. Thus the troll is peculiar to Scandinavia and Iceland, the Baba Yaga to Russia, the nereid to modern Greece, the Orco to Italy, the vila to Yugoslavia, etc. The supernatural being that has given its name to the tale type (*fairy*) is obviously of French origin (*fée*); so is the German *Fee*, the Spanish *hada*, and, very probably, the Italian *fata*. Since in northwestern France, and there alone, fairies occur commonly in local traditions (in which they can be of either sex) and are part of living belief, it is a fair presumption that the whole fairy mythology (as it has been called) originated in Brittany and western Normandy. Its diffusion over England, western Germany, Italy, and northern Spain is a striking pendant to the diffusion of the Arthurian fairy lore in the Middle Ages. The French *fée*, in spite of the Latin etymology of the name (<L. *fata*, plural of *fatum*), is not Latin at all, but the creation of the Celtic inhabitants of that region of France, the exact equivalent of the Irish *síde* (Paul Sébillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, Paris, 1880-81; W. Y. E. Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*, London, 1911).

Tales of vampirism (see VAMPIRE) point to Slavonic Europe, at least when we are dealing with modern variants. For medieval texts this conclusion would not be justified, since the belief in the vampire or living corpse was once even more widely spread than it is now (C. N. Gould, *Scand. Studies and Notes*, IX, 1926, pp. 167-201).

Some Irish stories show a strange affinity with archaic Mediterranean traditions. For example the Phineus episode, with the motif of loathsome animals which befoul a king's table at mealtimes, appears in several Irish variants of the same *märchen* type on which the

Argonaut story itself is based, but in a form more archaic than is found in any of the extant Greek texts. (Krappe, *Folk-Lore*, XXXVI, 1925, pp. 314 f.) The myth of Adonis must have reached Ireland in pre-Christian times. (Krappe, *Folk-Lore*, XLVII, 1936, pp. 347-61.) The whole subject, however, is still very imperfectly known.

In many fairy tale variants an archaic and pagan demonology has been replaced by a medieval Catholic one, the leading characters being Our Lady, the Devil, and some of the Apostles, chiefly St. Peter. These Christian features are most prominent in countries which have remained Catholic to this day (Spain, Italy, Austria, and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland), the only exception being Ireland, where St. Patrick occurs only in tales which betray all too clearly their monkish and bookish origin. The Devil has kept his prominence even in Protestant countries; the Virgin and the saints have not. In Russia it is sometimes possible to follow the different stages of this Christianization process. Thus St. Prascovia in a Christian variant will play the part, which in a more archaic one, falls to St. Pyatnitsa (Yugoslavian St. Petka), "St. Friday," who has taken the place of Siva (Lithuanian Seeva), the pagan Slavonic goddess of love. On the whole, however, the survival of pagan divinities in fairy tales is very rare: the Greek Charos, a very ancient god of death, much older than his literary offshoot, the classical ferryman Charon (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 641 [exhaustive bibliography]), the Italian Orco (<L. Orcus), and Dame Holle (Grimm #24). The Teutonic Woden [Odin, Othin] appears to have survived, converted, of course, into the Devil, in a story of Anglo-Saxon origin, which was translated into French in the 12th century and subsequently became current on the European continent, reaching even to Spain (Krappe, *Arch. Roman.*, VII, 1924, pp. 470-77).

If traces of pagan mythology are rare in European fairy tales, the witch superstition has left its ugly mark on many of them, chiefly on German and Scottish variants (H. Vordemfelde, *Festschrift f. E. Mogk*, pp. 558 ff.), a fact easily explainable by the virulence of the superstition in the two countries (C. K. Sharpe, *An Historical Account of the Belief of Witchcraft in Scotland*, London, 1884). Witches are least prominent in southern European and Hungarian variants. In the last named country this is doubtless connected with the absence of witch legislation in the national code (King Kalman [1095-1114 A.D.]: *De strigis vero, quæ non sunt, nulla questio fiat*).

In certain Mediterranean countries (Greece, Italy, southern France) claims for a survival of ancient myths have sometimes been advanced (B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 6 ff.). The facts themselves are certain; but, whether we are dealing with genuinely popular survivals is another question: in these countries the classical tradition never really died; a fair degree of literacy was maintained even during the Dark Ages, and the role of the Greek schoolmaster must not be underestimated.

The classical tradition is, however, by no means the only tradition known to have affected the folktales of the Balkans and of many other European countries. The *Arabian Nights*, translated into French by Galland, in 1704, and subsequently into all European languages

(V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, IV, 1 ff.) soon became widely known throughout the Continent, and two of Grimm's tales (#116 and 142) reveal this Oriental inspiration. How great this influence was in other European countries can only be surmised, since a comprehensive study of this problem is still outstanding.

Unlike the Near East, Europe seems never to have had professional tellers of fairy tales: the professional entertainers of the Middle Ages preferred poetry to prose, and the Icelandic sagamen cultivated genres laying claim to historicity. Thus the 19th-century collectors of fairy tales drew entirely on amateurs, women and men of the country populations. Again, while in other continents, e.g. Africa, the telling of stories is limited to certain times of the day, being forbidden at others, and while in the Near East it is frequently avoided, on the plea that it brings "bad luck," no such tabus are known in Europe; if they once existed there (a thing by no means unlikely) they must have disappeared long ago. The preferred season is, however, winter and the preferred occasion the spinning-party in the village spinning-room. These were suppressed, in Central Europe, by meddling authorities, but still continue in Russia (*Mélusine*, III, 1886-87, col. 391 ff. and 445 ff.; D. Zelenin, *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde*, 1927, p. 338).

**Merry tale** The number of merry tales current in Europe is legion. A number of types have convincingly been shown to be of Oriental origin. (G. Paris, *Les Contes orientaux dans la littérature française*, Paris, 1875, reprinted in *La poésie du moyen âge*, 1885, II, pp. 75-108). Joseph Bédier's objections, in his book *Les Fabliaux* (1st ed., 1893; 3rd ed., 1925) merely prove that the conditions required for a successful tracing of a merry tale type to its origin are not always present. For a list of some merry tales successfully traced, see K. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, 3rd ed., 1925, p. 446. Quite a number of merry tales presuppose very elementary human relationships and to that extent are not peculiar to Europe. Other types have died out in countries where the underlying conditions have ceased to exist. Thus medieval Europe delighted in tales showing the *mores* of the clergy in a peculiar light. The advent of Protestantism and the abolition of clerical celibacy put an end to these stories all over northern and the larger part of central Europe. In Russia, where this celibacy never existed, tales of this type are virtually unknown. In Protestant Europe, it is true, the minister promptly took over the role of the priest as the chief butt of popular and jocular tales; but it is usually his deficiency in learning or his avidity for worldly goods that is criticized.

**Animal tale** The animal tale, virtually always explanatory in character, is probably the most widely spread folktale type and at the same time the most elementary type of fiction known. It is found in the four non-European continents even more commonly than in Europe, where it has lost ground with the spread of scientific knowledge, no doubt because of its lack of sophistication. The country richest in animal tales is Russia and its border lands: Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. There can, however, be little doubt that the same tales were once known also in the rest of

Europe. They are important because they are one of the sources that fed the medieval beast epic. (Collections of animal tales: O. Dännhardt, *Natursagen*, Leipzig, 1907-12; Moses Gaster, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories*, London, 1915; S. F. Marian, *Insectele*, Bucharest, 1903; Adolph Gerber, *Great Russian Animal Tales*, PMLA, VI, Baltimore, 1891.) A famous episode of the beast epic, the story of the wolf being inveigled by the fox to catch a fish by putting its tail into a pond about to freeze and losing it in the process, originated in an animal tale explaining how the bear lost its tail in this manner. As the bear disappeared from central and western Europe much earlier than the wolf, the story, once it reached regions where the bear was no longer known, put the wolf in its place, oblivious of the fact that it was thereby losing its point. (Compare K. Krohn, *Bär (Wolf) und Fuchs*, Helsingfors, 1891.)

*Edifying stories and exempla* Medieval Catholicism delighted in telling marvelous stories about Our Lady and the saints. Many of them are of clerical, i.e. "learned" origin. Others hark back to paganism, Our Lady having merely taken the place of some pagan goddess. The most famous of the latter is, probably, the story of the *Young Man Betrothed to a Statue* (PMLA, XXXIV, 1919, pp. 523-79; Gédéon Huet, *La légende de la statue de Vénus*, RHR, LXVIII, 1913, pp. 193-217). Most of these stories are now represented only in historical variants (A. Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, in SBWA, vols. 113, 115, 119, 1886-89). Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation were equally hostile to these stories. The only country in which they still enjoy a certain vogue is Spain (Krappe, *Hisp. Rev.*, I, 1933, pp. 340-43; XIV, 1946, pp. 164-67). In Russia, the Byzantine origin and bookish features of this story type are equally striking; the extent of their oral diffusion is still largely unknown (L. Calmann, *Altrussische Heiligenlegenden*, Munich, 1922).

The medieval *exemplum* is not, strictly speaking, a folktale type. A product of medieval Catholicism, these illustrative stories were used to enliven the sermons of priests and friars. Nor were the rabbis slow in recognizing the usefulness of the device (Moses Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, London-Leipzig, 1924). After the Reformation, Lutheran ministers kept up the custom, and thus we have some German and Swedish Protestant collections of exempla. Calvinism rejected them from the outset, preferring instead the appointment of special officials armed with pokers to keep the congregation from falling asleep during the sermon. Many of these stories have no folklore status but are tales and anecdotes taken from the classical writers, chiefly Cicero, Seneca, and Valerius Maximus. Others relate historical events culled in chroniclers such as Bede. A considerable number, however, are bits of oral folklore heard and reproduced by priests or wandering friars. (Collections: T. F. Crane, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, London, 1890; Nicole Bozon, *Les contes moralisés*, ed. L. T. Smith and Paul Meyer, Paris, 1889, SATF. On the type compare T. F. Crane, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, XXI, 1883-84, pp. 49-78; LVI, 1917, pp. 369-402; Krappe, *Bul. Hisp.* XXXIX, 1937, pp. 1-54).

*Local legend* There is a wealth of material available which suffers only from one drawback: while central and western Europe are extremely well represented, there is little printed information on southern and eastern Europe. Spain and Russia have virtually no collections whatever, though from historical texts it is easy to see that both countries are as rich in local legends as any other. The subtypes (historical and pseudo-historical traditions, ghost stories, stories of stone-hurling or stone-carrying giants, the Devil's pact, in which the Evil One is outwitted in the end, traditions about dwarfs, about nixes, dragons, etc.) are virtually ubiquitous. They have obviously a common basis: features of the European landscape (huge boulders scattered over the plain gave rise to stone-hurling giants), the Church's Devil lore (the oldest Devil's pact variant is the clerical tale of Theophilus), a prehistoric ancestor cult, the doctrine of Purgatory, etc. The banshee is by no means peculiar to Ireland and Gaelic Scotland but is found all over France and central Europe, though under different names. The vampire is in the main limited to the Balkans and Slavonic Europe (which includes the part of Germany east of the river Elbe); but it is found also in Iceland. The traditions of the Wild Hunt are current in central Europe, Scandinavia, France, and northern Spain; but they are known to have existed in ancient Greece and even in India (Krappe, *Mitt. d. Schles. Ges. f. Volksk.*, XXX, 1929, pp. 96-100). We are here evidently with a piece of ancient European lore which emigrants carried with them into the Balkans and to India. Much the same seems to be true of the traditions concerning wild animals endowed with supernatural power: the Nemean Lion and the Calydonian Boar are known from antiquity; but they are also found in western and northern Europe, and are known, in Norse, as *stefnisvargas* (compare W. A. Craigie, *Scandinavian Folk-Lore*, London, 1896, pp. 369 ff.). Quite unexplainable is the isolated occurrence of some story type in widely separated countries. Thus we find the story of the knight or soldier who falls into a dragon pit, lives on the moisture oozing out of the walls, and finally saves himself by sitting down on the dragon's tail as the animal leaves the pit, localized in the Alps (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, #217) and in Prussian Poland, but forming part also of a *lygisaga* (Ake Lagerholm, *Drei Lygisgur*, Halle, 1927, pp. lxxiii f., lxxix) and in the Spanish *Crónica general* (compare R. Menéndez Pidal, *Revista de Archivos*, XIV, 1901, p. 880). Since the same tale forms part of the *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterly, #114), one might be tempted to derive all these variants from a written source. Unfortunately, the theme also occurs in Sajjid Bathâl (*Fahrten*, übers. v. H. Ethé, 1871, II, p. 94) and in China (R. Wilhelm, *Chinesische Volksmärchen*, Jena, 1921, p. 14). And what is one to say of the famous story of a dragon killed by a bull raised expressly for this purpose, a tale found in the Alps (P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, I, pp. 242 f.) and in Norway (Craigie, *op. cit.*, p. 260). Of special interest are the supernatural beings occurring in local legends. The belief in giants seems to have arisen out of a desire to explain phenomena otherwise unexplainable: large boulders and giant structures such as Roman arenas and aqueducts (cf. the "Cyclopean" walls in Greece). The Irish *side* (pronounced shee), the French *jées* (of either sex), the German dwarfs and "unter-

irdische," the English and Scandinavian elves, Norwegian *huldrer*, are the divinized ancestors (Krappe, *Science of Folk-Lore*, pp. 87 ff.) The nixes of northern Europe correspond to the ancient Greek naiads, the various forms of tree spirits to Greek dryads (W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1904). The "Wild Women" of the Tyrolean Alps, like the Yugoslav *vilas* are to all appearances the creations of the ancient pre-Roman (Thracian-Ilyrian?) populations, as are other demonic beings known in this region (Krappe, *Herrig's Archiv*, 163, 1933, pp. 161-71). The institutions presupposed by the local legends are medieval feudalism and the medieval church: the wicked landlord and the lecherous priest, taken in the end by the Devil, are favorite themes. Even French local legends invariably reflect the state of affairs prior to 1789. Reminiscences of conditions antedating the Christianization of the continent are virtually non-existent, which means that these traditions are in the main medieval products. If the pre-Christian demonology has survived to the extent it has, this merely proves that Christianity merely overlaid, but did not destroy, the older faith.

*Migratory legend* Strictly speaking every fairy tale and most merry and animal tales are "migratory," nor are local legends necessarily stationary; but for practical reasons we designate as migratory legend (German *Wandersage*) any story not belonging to the above groups but known to have spread from a diffusion center, presumably its origin. Theoretically it might be supposed that such a tale may have sprung up anywhere and spread in any direction. Such is, however, not the case. The diffusion of stories is known to follow certain culture currents (German *Kulturströmungen*), which in Europe have succeeded one another presumably from the beginning of history (H. Schöffler, *Max Foerster Festschrift*, pp. 329-41). The oldest and most important of these currents is the Mediterranean one, emanating from imperial, later from papal, Rome. Its carriers were largely clerics and pilgrims (who were in fact the "tourists" of the Middle Ages). Hence the classical (and pseudo-classical), the "bookish" flavor of virtually all these stories. To them belongs the theme of the *Young Man Betrothed to a Statue* mentioned above, and the tales forming part of the cycle of Vergil the Necromancer (Krappe, *Speculum*, X, 1935, pp. 111-16). Closely connected with this Mediterranean current is the Oriental current, which may be divided into a pre-Islamic and a post-Islamic one. The diffusion centers of the former were Syria and Iran. Christianity having originated in Syria, the propagandists of the early Church carried west a vast amount of legendary material, e.g. the legends of Saint Alexis (A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de S. Alexis l'homme de Dieu*, Paris, 1889; Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, LIII, 1899, pp. 256 ff.), of the Seven Sleepers (J. de Goeje, *De legende der Zeven slapers van Efeze*, Amsterdam, 1900; B. Heller, *REJ*, XLIX, 1904, pp. 190-230; A. Allgeier, *Oriens Christianus*, 1916, pp. 1-45 and 1917-18, pp. 33-87), of St. Gregory (Krappe, *Moyen Age*, XLVI, 1936, pp. 161-77), of the Saints Kosmas and Damien (L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damien*, 1907), etc. The diffusion of Iranian themes is probably connected with the active intercourse between the Christian clergy of the Sassanid Empire and Byzantium. It is significant that this migration of Iranian stories (except through an Arabic medium)

ceases after the destruction of the Sassanid Empire (compare Krappe, *Moyen Age*, XXXVIII, 1928, pp. 190-207; XLIV, 1934, pp. 252-57). The post-Islamic period begins with the conquest of Syria by the Crusaders (i.e. about 1100 A.D.). It is attributable to the superior art of story-telling peculiar to the Orientals and the rich Iranian and Indian lore which had by that time reached the Near East. Because of the preponderance of French knights in the crusading armies, and the Lorraine origin of the first dynasty of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, most of these Oriental themes were carried to Europe by story-tellers of French or Belgian nationality. There is reason to believe that the tradition of the Knight of the Swan received its present form by the elaboration of a well-known Oriental theme. To the same movement is due the migration west of Byzantine material. The most notable of these themes is probably that of King Solomon and his unfaithful wife which, from Byzantium, radiated in two directions: (1) to France and thence to central Europe (Krappe, *JAF*, LIX, 1946, pp. 309-14), (2) to Russia (A. Wesseloofsky, *Salomo i Kitouras* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1872).

The founding of the Carolingian Empire (800 A.D.) marks the rise of the second culture current emanating in Belgium, the home of the Carolingian dynasty. Diffused in the forms of French poetic texts (*chansons de geste*) and clerical Latin prose versions, the Carolingian legend reached every part of Europe, including Scandinavia, Spain, and Germany. In Russia the epic cycle of Vladimir the Great of Kiev was modeled after it.

Coeval with the beginning of the post-Islamic Oriental current is that of the third, due largely to the Norman conquest of England (1066). It consists of Celtic (Welsh and Irish) materials and is closely connected with Arthurian legend. Its diffusion centers were Brittany and (subsequently) the British Isles. The whole fairy mythology is due to this current: prior to it the very word *fée* (in the modern sense) was unknown in Europe. An outstanding migratory legend belonging to this current is the story of Tannhäuser (Krappe, *Mitt. d. Schles. Ges. f. Volksk.*, XXXVI, 1937, pp. 106-32; *Mercur de France*, t. 284, 1938, pp. 257-75).

The great Spanish culture current, which set in with the reign of Charles V (1519 A.D.) and the Anglo-American one which starts with the opening of the 18th century, have left no traces in European folklore, not even in Belgium (Spanish until 1714) and Hanover (British until 1837), proof conclusive that the creative period of European folklore properly ends with the Middle Ages: after 1500 Folklore is replaced by Literature.

*Prose saga* The prose saga, in Europe, is the product of the Norwegian people and reached its apogee in Iceland. There is no trace of its existence anywhere else in Europe: its function is there taken by the Latin (in Spain the Spanish) prose of the chroniclers.

*Proverb* Proverbs are a spontaneous product of non-literary peoples and classes; they are apt to fall into abeyance with the progress of literacy. This explains why the proverb lore of non-European continents is so much richer than that of Europe, and why countries largely illiterate, such as Spain and (until recently) Russia, abound in proverbs as compared with other regions of the continent.

*Folk Song and Ballad* At the opening of the Middle Ages and down to about 1100 there existed, in various parts of the continent, isolated forms of epic-lyric poetry, notably in Iceland, Wales, Anglo-Saxon England, and the Teutonic lands of continental Europe. Of these some specimens have come down (Eddic song and epic lay). They disappear about 1100, making room for a wholly different type (with many subtypes), originating in southern France and differing from its predecessors mainly in that (1) it is based on rime, (2) is sung according to a more or less "catchy" tune, and (3) has a dance rhythm. All modern European folk songs, from the Faroe Islands to the Black Sea and from Portugal to Sweden are of this second type. Only sporadically, in relatively isolated corners, do we find older types which have kept alive, though always more or less affected by the second, the "French" type, the best example being the Lithuanian *daina*. The subject can be treated exhaustively only in connection with folk music and folk dance.

The term *ballad* is really a misnomer: the original type denoted by the word *ballata* was a purely lyric song with dance rhythm. The European ballad (Spanish *romance*, Russian *bylina*) appears to have sprung up about 1100 A.D., alike in this to the "French" type of folk song, with which it shares many features. There are, in Europe, four main bodies of ballad themes: (1) the Latin cycle (France, Cataluña, part of Castile, Portugal, and northern Italy); (2) the Teutonic cycle (Britain, Germany, Netherlands, Scandinavia including the Faroe Islands and Iceland, and parts of Bohemia and Poland); (3) Castile; and (4) the Balkans and Russia. The Latin and Teutonic cycles are closely connected, and a number of Scandinavian ballad themes are found in France, particularly in Brittany and Normandy. Within the Teutonic cycle there seems to be a closer connection between the British Isles on the one hand and the Scandinavian countries on the other. Central and southern Italy stand outside the ballad development. (On the whole subject compare W. J. Entwistle, *European Balladry*, Oxford, 1939, and the article *BALLAD*).

*Charms, Nursery Rimes, Riddles* Charms are based on the universal, though quite erroneous, belief in the power of the spoken word, a belief which found a forceful expression in as late an author as the English poet Gower (Krappe, *RLC*, XII, 1932, pp. 821-23). This folklore type is therefore one of the oldest mankind has known. A debate has been going on between the school of A. Bastian and the Diffusionists as to whether charms rose spontaneously and independently everywhere, or whether they spread from a common diffusion center, generally identified with Egypt. The difficulty of the problem can best be gauged from the fact that the Old High German *Merseburg charm* has a striking analog in the *Atharvaveda* and thus very probably goes back to the as yet undivided Aryan people. But this would not necessarily refute the diffusionist claims, since the civilization of Egypt is considerably older still. In view of the universality of this type, polygenesis is virtually certain; but this does not preclude the diffusion of certain charms from a radiation center such as Egypt, the less so because more "learned" and hence more "effective" forms are pretty certain to have crowded out, time and again, more rudimentary and unsophisticated ones. (For

bibliography compare Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, 1930, p. 202.)

The subject of nursery rimes is as yet relatively unexplored: certain areas (Germany, Scotland, Scandinavia, Spain) are unusually well represented by good collections, while others (Russia and the Balkans) are blanks. Certain themes, such as *London Bridge*, are well known on the continent; the "June bug rhyme" (German *Maikäfer, fliege*, French *Hanneton, vole*) are known over a considerable part of the continent. They know linguistic frontiers as little as do other folklore types.

In the case of the riddle a rather large-looming bookish element must be reckoned with: quite a considerable number of these riddles have been preserved in Latin form, the work of medieval clerics. (Compare A. Aarne, *FFC*, 26-28, 1918.)

*Custom and belief* The distinctive feature of European culture as compared with the native cultures of the other continents is the profound and unparalleled social revolution which the continent has undergone since 1688, which led to the overthrow of a centuries-old feudalism and the end of which is not yet in sight. The study of custom and belief is therefore properly speaking a study of survivals. These may be roughly divided into two groups: (1) the purely indigenous items, i.e. such as go back to the neolithic age. They comprise the great mass of agricultural beliefs and practices which are, of course, as old as agriculture itself; (2) later adjuncts of a learned or bookish character, invariably of Mediterranean or Oriental origin, connected with certain relatively recent branches of agriculture such as bee-keeping, horticulture, the nurture of the silkworm, further, mining and metallurgy, popular medicine, star lore, etc. The line is not always easy to draw. If, for example, most of the famous Pythagorean "tabus" turn up again among the central and north European peasantry (F. Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis*, diss., Berlin, 1905; Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 3rd ed., p. 96), we may be quite sure that the reason must not be sought in any familiarity of the peasants with Pythagoras: it was the philosopher who drew on folklore. The same holds true for much that is found in Pliny's *Natural History*. But here the problem becomes more complex: Pliny was widely known throughout the Middle Ages, and the clerics are certain to have spread some of his lore among the people. This is particularly true for items of plant and animal lore. To an even larger extent the bestiaries, all derived, more or less indirectly, from the *Physiologus*, were responsible for the diffusion of a vast amount of animal lore utterly foreign to Europe. Peasants who had never seen a lion, not even in a zoo, knew a good deal (though most of it of doubtful authenticity) of the animal, and the unicorn was as familiar to them as if they could have seen it in a zoo.

Wholly learned, i.e. imported from the Semitic Orient, is the time-reckoning of historical times and the calendar. The ancient Europeans had no calendar properly speaking, and this primitive stage has been preserved, down to modern times, among the Finno-Ugric peoples (M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning*, Lund, 1920 [*Skrifter utgivna av humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*]). The same holds true, to a very large extent, of numerology, in particular the sexagesimal system of counting.

Of the non-bookish survivals, virtually every one of



them can be matched by items still forming part of the living belief and practice observed among the semi-civilized of the four non-European continents. This fact explains the inseparability of folklore and ethnography. By the same token it is clear that there is nothing peculiarly European about these items: they are universal in the true sense of the term.

*The Meaning of Folklore for European Culture* The emphasis laid, in the above account, on the "survival" character of European folklore may lead to the erroneous impression that the social revolution referred to has somehow relegated folklore to a subordinate position. The fact is that European literature, art, and music are alike unthinkable without this folklore base. Without laying undue stress on the fact that the whole of medieval letters from King Alfred to Chaucer and Shakespeare and from Pope Gregory the Great to Boccaccio, Molière, and La Fontaine is essentially folklore, let us remark that the same holds true, to a lesser degree, for modern writers and artists: Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy, Pushkin, Ibsen, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, and E. A. Poe (who was an American only by a freak accident); all have drawn on the vast body of European folklore. Schubert's work is largely based on folk melodies, as is that of Rimsky-Korsakov and Edvard Grieg. Even Richard Wagner appreciated the magic of the old folk themes such as the *Flying Dutchman*, *Lohengrin*, and *Tannhäuser*. Nor have the societies whose program called for the most radical changing of the old order failed in any way to appreciate the true function of folklore. Russia, since 1918, has shown more zeal than many another government in collecting the vast treasures of oral folklore within her borders, and the only criticism that can justly be addressed to her is her failure to make these materials accessible to the outside world.

ALEXANDER H. KRAFFE

European tales in North American Indian mythology Scores of European tales, or incidents from such, have become incorporated in the present-day mythology of the North American Indians. Among such tales are those of the Seven-Headed Dragon, John the Bear, Enchanted Horse, Little Poucet, The White Cat, Cinderella, the Treaty of the Oxhide Strip, and many others, as well as the Biblical tales of the flood, tower of Babel, Adam and Eve, and so forth. Sometimes these borrowed tales are told with little change or adaptation; in other instances they are so modified and so recast in native setting that they are scarcely recognizable as importations. References to European articles of dress and food, European-type dwellings and churches, the horse, automobile, and so forth, may be retained in the tales, or native articles substituted for them. Through Spanish and French raconteurs, the tribes of the northeastern United States and eastern Canada, of the western Plateau region, and of the southwest, learned many European tales quite early; also, early missionaries on the eastern Atlantic seaboard narrated Biblical tales which then spread rapidly among the tribes of the eastern United States. [zwv]

**Eurystheus** In Greek legend, the son of Sthenelus and Menippe; the taskmaster of Hercules in his twelve labors. Zeus having declared that the next child of the line of Perseus to be born on earth would receive the rulership of his fellows, meaning by this his son Her-

cules, Hera circumvented him by causing Alcmena to be delayed in her delivery, with the result that Eurystheus, a descendant of Perseus, became king of Tiryns. After the death of Hercules, Eurystheus was either slain by Hyllus or was captured and put to death on Alcmena's orders. Compare HERCULES.

**Evadne** (1) In Greek legend, the daughter of Iphis and wife of Capaneus. When her husband was killed at the siege of Thebes, Evadne threw herself on his funeral pyre: the act is unique in Greek legend, and somewhat doubtful, since the bodies of persons slain by lightning were not burned but buried where they fell.

(2) In Greek mythology, a daughter of Poseidon and mother by Apollo of Iamus whom she exposed out of shame. Compare ABANDONED CHILDREN; IAMUS.

**Evander** In Roman legend, a son of Hermes and a nymph of Arcadia, Themis or Nicostrate (Roman Carmenta or Tiburtis), who came from Arcadia some sixty years before the Trojan War and founded a colony at the foot of the Palatine hill: the name may mean "good man" or "strong man" and seems to be (*Evandros*) a translation of the Italian Faunus. The whole story of Evander may have resulted from an attempt to link the Roman Lupercalia, which Evander was said to have founded, with the Arcadian Lycea, a festival of Pan as the Lupercalia was of Faunus. Evander was a giver of mild laws, and he taught the arts of peace and social life, especially writing. He sided with Æneas against the Rutuli and the Latins.

**evil eye** (*mal de ojo* in Spanish) This belief is nearly universal among Middle American Indians. Some persons, unwittingly, may produce malevolent effects by looking fixedly at children, or by admiring them with too much enthusiasm, or by touching them. American ethnologists have found it sound practice not to show too much interest in small children, and above all, not to touch them until they (the ethnologists) are well known to the parents. Because of the similarity to European evil-eye beliefs it seems probable that this is an introduced European trait. See OVERLOOKING. [GMF]

**Excalibur or Caliburnus** King Arthur's sword: probably from Irish, *Caladbolg*, the famous sword of Fergus in the *Táin bó Cuailgne*, forged in fairyland. Geoffrey of Monmouth says that it was made in Avalon; Malory that the sword was given to Arthur by Vivian of the land of the fairy. The first mention of the sword in the stone motif in connection with Arthur occurs in Robert de Boron's *Merlin* (12th century). Arthur succeeds after other knights have failed in drawing the sword from the anvil (stone) and so establishing his right to the kingdom. The episode that occurs in the story when Arthur is wounded in his battle with Modred, of the sword thrown into the lake and received by a hand appearing above the water, seems to be an invention of the author of *Mort Artu*, where it first appears. [MEL]

**excrements swallowed** The cause of the death of Kukitai, the malfeasant of Serrano (Shoshonean) Indian mythology. Kukitai was so quarrelsome and obstructive, desiring men to have eyes in the back of their heads, for instance, webbed feet, etc., that Pakrokkitai, the creator, finally left this earth and went to dwell in the afterworld. Left to himself, Kukitai made so much trouble in the world that the inhabitants decided to get rid of

him. Frog did this by hiding in the ocean and swallowing Kukitat's excrements. This story is dominant in both Shoshonean and Yuman mythology, whether told of creator, culture hero, or obstructive brother, and embodies both the dying god concept and belief in the power obtained over another by possession or use of his voidings. See DUAL CREATORS.

**explanatory elements** Explanatory elements in the great corpus of American Indian mythology could probably be numbered by the thousands. Such elements are generally concerned with natural phenomena of every sort: the origin or shape of a lake, the location of a large boulder, the existence of a spring at a certain spot, the markings on the moon; or with the physical characteristics of animals and human beings: the black tip on the coyote's tail, the snub nose of the wildcat, the flat tail of the beaver, the shyness of the fox. These explanations are, however, incidental to the myths rather than integral parts of them, since they are not used consistently as part of particular tales, and are interchangeable in various versions of the same tale, or in different tales. All tribes insert explanatory elements into at least some of their tales, but the Plateau peoples make perhaps the most extensive use of them. Myths of the Cocur d'Alene and the Southern Okanagon, for example, are loaded with explanations for natural features of the landscape and the characteristics of animate and inanimate objects. The Jicarilla Apache and other Southwestern Apache groups insert explanatory elements into their myths, for abstract qualities such as jealousy and curiosity, for ceremonial usages, for social customs, for physical states such as sleepiness, and even for laughter. [EWV]

**exposure of famous persons in infancy** The exposure of the hero, culture hero, or god in infancy has come to be regarded as one of the identifying marks of the true hero of folktale, myth, and legend (along with supernatural conception, abnormal growth, etc.). Whether the infant is exposed for economic reasons, or reasons of illegitimacy, incestuous parentage, supernatural parentage, deformity, or to avoid the fulfilment of a prophecy, he is inevitably saved in some wonderful way, grows to beauty and heroic stature, attains wealth or power, and returns to take his rightful position in the world, to rescue or avenge someone, or fulfil a prophecy.

The Greek Pelias and Neleus, exposed twin sons of Tyro, were saved and suckled, one by a mare, the other by a bitch, and when grown rescued their mother from her cruel stepmother. Agisthus, child of incest, was exposed by his parents, suckled by a goat, and lived to carry on the feud of his father. The illegitimate Telephus survived exposure twice, first by his mother on

Mt. Parthenion, where he was suckled by a doe, and second being set adrift with her in a chest. The chest stranded in Asia Minor, and Telephus eventually became king of Mysia. The infant Perseus, son of Danae and Jupiter in the shower of gold, because of a prophecy that his mother would bear a son who would kill his grandfather, was set adrift with her in a boat. They were rescued and cared for by the king of the island of Seriphus. Later, after many adventures, Perseus killed his grandfather accidentally by a discus throw. Paris was exposed because of a dream of his mother, was suckled by a she-bear, and lived to abduct the fair Helen. The girl Atalanta was exposed because her father wanted a son, was found and nursed by a she-bear. Iamus, son of Evadne and Apollo, was exposed by his mother, nurtured by "two gray-eyed snakes," and was eventually found by his own grandfather.


The Hebrew Moses, set adrift in a rush basket, was found by Pharaoh's daughter and raised at the court of the king. The Japanese Hiruko, first-born of Izanagi and Izanami, was set adrift in a reed basket on the ocean because at the age of three he still could not walk. In later folklore he is identified with Ebisu, god of fishermen, and one of the gods of luck. See ANIMAL NURSE; BIRTH OF CORNAC; FATAL CHILDREN; TWINS.

**external soul** The concept (among primitive peoples and recurrent in folktale and folklore generally all over the world) that the soul can reside apart from the body, for safekeeping or other reasons. The more usual term is SEPARABLE SOUL. See NIRD SOUL; BUSH SOUL; LIFE TOKEN.

**eyebrows meeting** Although this is a sign of beauty in some communities, in others it is a sign that the person is a werewolf, vampire, or witch. The belief has been reported from south Russia, Greece, Bohemia, Germany, Denmark, Iceland, and India.

In England and China, the man whose eyebrows meet is lucky; the girl with meeting eyebrows, depending on the country she lives in, will have a happy marriage or none at all, or make a bad wife. [RBJ]

**Eye-juggler** Among the North American Indians, title of a tale of frequent occurrence in which the trickster is given the power to throw his eyes into the air and replace them; but he must not do this beyond a specified number of times. Being trickster, of course he throws them once too often and loses them; often he obtains animal eyes as substitutes. [EWJ]

 The motif of the man or animal who juggles with his eyes and then puts them back in their sockets, which is well known among North American Indians, was recorded only once in South America, among the Tautipang. The jaguar is induced by a crab to project his eyes. A fish swallows them. [AM]

## F

**Fá** (Yoruban *Iṣa*) In Dahomean thought, the personification of "the writings of Mawu" (the creator); hence, the personification of Fate. The term is also applied to the divining system employed by specialists of the Yoruba and adjacent peoples of West Africa, based on the permutations and combinations of double and single marks resulting from manipulating sixteen palm-kernels. Derived from the Yoruban center of Ife, it is the "official" form of divining, used as one of a large number of other types which are like those widely spread in West Africa. It requires many years of intensive training to learn the thousands of tales and verses associated with the various combinations of marks on which the answers to questions brought by clients for solution are based. These specialists, called *bokonor* by the Dahomeans, or *babalawos* by the Yoruba, are important figures in the religious, social, and economic life of these people, and played a great political role in pre-Conquest times. Because of its highly institutionalized character, the Fá cult has survived in simplified form in the New World chiefly among the Negroes of Brazil and Cuba. But other forms of divination are present everywhere. [MJH]

**fable** An animal tale with a moral; a short tale in which animals appear as characters, talking and acting like human beings, though usually keeping their animal traits, and having as its purpose the pointing of a moral. The fable consequently has two parts: the narrative which exemplifies the moral, and the statement of the moral often appended in the form of a proverb. The fable is a development of the animal tale, one of the earliest forms of the folktale. The animal tale in its general and earliest form is usually an explanatory story (why crows are black; why the rabbit has a short tail). The fable uses the animal tale not to explain animal characteristics, or behavior, but to inculcate a moral lesson for human beings, or to satirize the conduct of human beings. Consequently the fable is not a folk composition, but a product of sophisticated culture, though it may draw freely on folk material for its story element. And once composed a fable may be taken over by the folk and become stock oral tradition.

The oldest fables that have survived in any number are those of Greece and India; at present the best belief is that neither originated the type, but that it was Semitic in origin, spreading from the Semites east to India and west to Greece and Rome. The oldest collections existing today are those connected with the name of Æsop (fl. 600 B.C.). Æsop was a slave in Ionia, perhaps of Semitic ancestry. His fables from the beginning probably circulated orally, for there is no evidence of a written version before the 4th century (Demetrius of Phalerum). From this time many collections have been made with constant shift in the content as new fables have been added, especially from Oriental sources, and others discarded. The oldest Oriental collections are the *Panchatantra*. A portion of the *Panchatantra* in the

Middle Ages became the *Fables of Bidpai*, which from Persian through Arabic came to Latin and thence to the vernacular languages of Europe. In the Middle Ages the fable stories became a part of floating tradition, widely used in sermon stories and in the exempla books. The fable has its place in modern literature. In English Chaucer, Henryson, Lydgate, Dryden, and Gay have all successfully told the old stories. France has the greatest of all modern writers of fable in La Fontaine. Lessing, in Germany, is the author of an excellent collection of fables and also of a valuable monograph on the history and literary value of the fable.

Some of the most famous fables are: The Country Mouse and the City Mouse; Wren Elected as King of the Birds; Crane Pulls Bone from Wolf's Throat; Fox and the Grapes; Chanticleer and the Fox; Mouse Frees Lion by Gnawing Net.

The fable owes more to the animal tale than form and content. Its compression, pithiness, and dramatic nature must likewise be a carry-over from the earlier type. Characterization and character types in the fables are also frequently directly derived from the animal tale. For example, the animal tale had already established the fox as sly, the wolf as greedy, the lion as courageous and dignified. [MEL]

**Fables of Bidpai** The name under which the collection of beast fables from the *Panchatantra* became known in Europe. The collection was ascribed to Bidpai or Bidbah, a scholar at the court of an Indian prince who produced it in order to reform an evil king. The French *Fables de Pilpay* is a translation of the *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, the Arabic version of the Pahlavi *Panchatantra*.

**fabliau** A short narrative in verse of a humorous, satiric, or burlesque character, written in a gay and rollicking style. It flourished in France from the 12th to the 14th century. From France the type spread to other parts of Europe. Some few fabliaux, notably *Dame Siriz*, are found in English. Several of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* told by the "lewd sots" are fabliaux; some of the fabliau stories are caught up in the English ballads. The satire in the fabliaux is directed mainly against women, the clergy, and marriage. The fabliaux are usually products of sophisticated writers, basing their stories on contemporary life and manners; yet occasionally they rework stories drawn from folklore and floating legend. [MEL]

As a type of song the fabliaux were designed purely for entertainment. They dealt chiefly with the stock situations and characters of the marital triangle—the gullible husband, the scheming, faithless wife, and the popinjay lover. A typical story is that of *The Dog in the Closet*, of Oriental origin, in which the husband is gulled by the substitution of a dog for the lover locked in the closet. [TCB]

**Face of Glory** The lion face of Kirttimukha, which survived his self-consumption; worshipped in Hindu religion as a symbol of protective wrath.

**fado** The typical song of Portuguese cities, combining both folk and popular elements, dealing with love, unkind fate, nostalgia, despair, the careers of notorious men and women, and sung to the music of two guitars, one for rhythm and the other for melody and accompanying figures. The origin of the type is unknown, its relationship to the peasant folk song of Portugal unclear. Similarities are pointed out to songs of Moorish origin, to sailor songs, and to certain peasant songs sung on St. John's Eve. Earlier music types, the *lundum* and the *modinha*, both song and dance tunes, are cited as ancestors of the fado. The word fado was first used in Portugal in the 1830's, but was known earlier in Brazil, and the songs show some indications of African derivation, whether directly from the trading areas of the African coast or indirectly from Brazil. The fado singer makes use of certain mannerisms and variations of timbre not unlike those used in the blues—a rough, throaty tone, a free and flexible rhythm above the measured accompaniment, and an intimate, often emotional style. There are fados about fados, as there are blues about the blues. The form is a living one, adding new verses, new stories all the time, even though the tunes are old—older than any of the words. A favorite subject is the loves and scandals of Seveira, the most famous of the *fadistas* (fado singers). University students have adopted the songs and made of them a more lyric expression.

**fact hada** Literally, the appearance of a wild animal; the magic power or spell used by the ancient Irish Tuatha De Danann and the early druids to make themselves invisible. It was given by Manannán to the Tuatha De Danann after their defeat by the Milesians. There is a story included in the Old Irish Mythological cycle in which Eithne, a foster daughter of Angus, lost the fact hada. When one Eimhair insulted her, an angel suddenly became her guardian spirit, and after that she lost kinship with the Tuatha De Danann and the power of the fact hada, either to become invisible herself or to see others who were.

The mantle of this power later fell upon the early Irish Christian saints, and it is still mentioned as a living thing in the Gache West Highlands. Patrick used the power to turn himself and his companion, Benen, into wild deer on their way to Tara to spread the Christian faith. Enemies lay in wait to stop them, but all they saw pass was a deer with a fawn. Patrick's famous hymn, *The Deer's Cry*, sung to effect the safe passing was a survival of the old fact hada.

**Fafnir or Fafner** In Teutonic mythology, son of the dwarf Vingi, Hreidmar; brother of Otter and Regin. When Odin, Hrenir, and Loki paid their ransom for killing Otter, Fafnir killed his father for the gold, refusing to share it with Regin. He removed the treasure to Gnitaheld, but it gave him no joy, and he became a wingless dragon from brooding. Regin persuaded Sigurd to slay Fafnir, which he did by digging a trench, and thrusting his sword into the dragon's heart as it passed overhead. But when he learned that Regin intended to kill him, he killed Regin too, and kept the gold, thus

carrying on the curse of Andvari. In Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*, Mime and Alberich are the brothers, plotting Fafnir's death.

**Fair Annie** A ballad (Child #62), known in Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and German versions, as well as in English; the ballads may come from a Low German original, stemming from the same source as Marie de France's *Lai del Fresne* (*The Lay of the Ash-tree*), all of which tell essentially the same story. The ballad is also known in English as *Burd Helen*, *Lady Jane*, etc. In the Child A text, Fair Annie, the mother of his seven sons, is told by Lord Thomas that he will have another woman as his wife, for Fair Annie has no lands and his bride-to-be is rich. Fair Annie volunteers to be hostess at the reception and feast. She does so well that the new bride takes a liking to her. When the newlyweds retire, Annie lies on her lonely couch weeping, and the bride comes out to speak with her. The two discover that they are sisters; Annie is a long-ago-abducted lady and not a housekeeper as the bride thought her. The bride leaves for home a maiden.

**Fair Charlotte** The most popular title of the American ballad *YOUNG CHARLOTTE*.

**Fair Flower of Northumberland** An English-Scottish border ballad (Child #9), used by Thomas Deloney in his novel, *Jack of Newberie* (1597), and of which portions correspond to portions of other northern European ballads. The story is that of the ungrateful knight. This knight, freed from his prison by the daughter of his jailer, takes her with him through peril and hardship, promising to marry her when they are safe. But once he is assured of his freedom he abandons her, laughing in her face and telling her he already has a wife and family.

**Fair Helen of Kirkconnell** Title of a ballad collected in Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, included in Vol. II of the first edition of *Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1855), but dropped by Child in the third edition (one of 115 ballads so excluded) because he considered it a lyric without narrative content. The ballad is the lament of a lover for his Helen, who died to save him. Though he has hunted down his foe and "hacked him in pieces sma'," still he is unhappy and will be until he rejoins his Helen.

**Fair Janet** Title of a Scottish popular ballad (Child #61) in which Janet gives birth to her lover's child just preceding the marriage with an old French lord forced upon her by her father. Willie, the lover, hastens to carry his newborn son to his mother, who takes the child from his arms with love and speeds him back to comfort Janet. Janet is rushed into dressing for the wedding despite her pleas of illness and pain. Gowned in red she rides a white horse to the church, having chosen Willie to lead it through the town for her. At the celebration Janet refuses to dance with all who ask her, including the old French lord, until Willie asks "Bride, will ye dance wi me?/" "Aye, by my soth, and that I will/ Gin my back should break in three." Janet danced through the dance with her lover "but thrice" and fell dead at Willie's feet. The next day they were buried, one in Marie's Kirk, "The tither in Marie's quire./ Out of the tane there grew a birch,/ And the

tither a bonny brier." Child points to parallels of this ballad in Scandinavian, German, and Breton balladry.

*Fair Margaret and Sweet William* Title of an English and Scottish popular ballad (Child #74) in which William loves Margaret but marries another. Margaret sees from her window the bridal train en route to the church. "She went out from her bower alive/ But never so more came there." In the dead of night came "Margaret's grimly ghost/ And stood at William's feet." She asks him how he likes his bed and the new brown bride. "Better I like that fair lady/ That stands at my bed feet." In the morning William runs to Margaret's home, kisses the fair corpse in the winding sheet, and dies beside her. "Fair Margaret died for pure true love,/ Sweet William died for sorrow." They were buried in the chancels of the church, Margaret in the lower, William in the higher. "Out of her breast there sprung a rose/ And out of his a brier."

This was an extremely popular broadside ballad in England in the 17th century. It appears also in *Percy's Reliques* in the 18th century, and the famous lines about the grimly ghost were quoted in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*. It is the source of David Malet's more ornate *Margaret's Ghost* (c. 1724).

*fairy* A term loosely used to denote a type of supernatural being, usually invisible, sometimes benevolent and helpful, sometimes evil and dangerous, sometimes just mischievous and whimsical, dwelling on the earth in close contact with man. The word *fairy* from Late Latin *fata* from Latin *fatum* (fate) meant in Middle English 1) enchantment; 2) a land where enchanted beings dwelt; 3) the collective inhabitants of such a land: these latter should properly be called *fays* (compare French *fée*).

The creatures referred to as fays, fées, fairies in Romance languages and English are by no means confined to West European culture. Under one name or another they are found all over the world; they are more frequently met with in Europe and Asia, less frequently met with in America and Africa. The fairy concept seems to belong to a rather advanced stage of culture.

The fairy has the same general characteristics wherever he is found. He is usually diminutive, often very small but sometimes pygmylike. He can become invisible at will, often by putting on a magical cap. He usually lives underground in a burrow or under a hill, or in a heap of stones. Usually he is clothed in green; sometimes his skin and hair are green. White is also associated with fairies, and frequently solitary fairies are clothed in brown or gray. Fairies are rarely harmful; even when they abduct children they do not harm them. If fairies are mistreated, they retaliate by burning houses, despoiling crops. They delight in playing pranks: milking cows in the fields, soiling clothes on the line, appropriating food, curdling milk. But they are helpful too, for they often take food and money to the poor, give toys to children, work countermagic to break spells laid by witches.

Many theories have been advanced to account for the origin of the concept of the fairy. According to one, the fairy concept grows out of folk memories of the original inhabitants of a country conquered by the present people. Remnants of the conquered people would linger on in mountain and cave preying on their conquerors.

They would necessarily have to operate at night and in a furtive manner, all of which might lead to their being exaggerated into the strange and supernatural. A second theory holds that fairies are discarded gods or heroes reduced in stature and importance as an old set of gods gives way to a new. So Queen Medb, a heroine of Irish epic, in a later age becomes a queen of fairyland. A third theory holds that the fairy are a personification of the old primitive spirits of nature. Primitive man believed that every object was endowed with a spiritual nature as well as a physical. A tree spirit, according to this theory, in a later age would be anthropomorphized into a dryad, a water spirit into an undine, the spirit of a hill into the *side* dwelling in the *síd* or hill. A fourth theory accounts for fairies as spirits of the dead, or as the dead themselves, on the grounds that fairies are commonly found underground, often in a barrow, that they must rush back to their habitations at cockcrow (as must revenants and ghosts), that a mortal eating their food cannot return to the mortal world, that fairylands resemble the abode of the dead as pictured by many people, that to get to the abode of the fairies (and the dead) one must sometimes cross a river. With the probable exception of the first, these theories may explain varying aspects of the fairy and of fairyland. No one of them is sufficient to account for all.

Fairies may be divided into two large groups: 1) Those belonging to the fairy "race" or "nation" living in fairyland in an organized society of their own. Such groups are the people of the *side*, i.e. people of the hills, in Ireland, the dwarfs of the Germanic countries. 2) The individual fairies associated with a place, or occupation, or household, such as the undine, a fairy who lives in a spring or stream, or the leprechaun, who is a shoemaker.

Fairyland, populated in great numbers, is like the land of the dead. It is ruled over by a king and queen, but generally the queen is dominant. In fairyland there is no death, no age, no sickness, no ugliness. Time is, as it is to the dead, non-existent. A mortal in Ireland taken to fairyland passes 900 years thinking it but one night. Frequently the fairy come out of fairyland to wander the earth and mingle in the affairs of men. Their social organization is, of course, like that of man. They live in fairy houses, furnished lavishly with gold and silver. They eat great banquets of rich and delicious food. Much time is spent in music and dancing. Although there is no death in fairyland there is evidently birth, for stories abound of fairy children, of fairy-search for mortal women to nurse them, of abductions of mortal midwives to attend fairy births. The fairies have two domestic animals, the horse and the dog. Often they ride in procession on their white horses, whose manes are braided and hung with silver bells that tinkle as they move. And the fairy dogs run alongside. Fairyland and the life of the fairies is in general an untheological heaven.

The second group of fairies, made up of individuals, is much more varied in nature and behavior. One of the most important of these is the household familiar, such as the Billy Blin of the Scottish ballads. The household familiar (dwarf, kobold, nis, brownie, billy) attaches himself to a human household. He often sleeps on the hearth and comes and goes by way of the chim-

ney. He is generally helpful, though playful and mischievous. He reveals the binding spell and how to break it when the lady of the house cannot deliver her child; he protects the master against deception on the part of his wife; he makes butter come in the churn, and the brew to work, the dough to rise. He also often sweeps the floor, washes the dishes, and lays the fire. But he must be treated kindly, favored with a bowl or cup of milk set out on a stone, and the household must put up with his prankish ways. He is about the size of a year-old child, but often has the face of an old man with a long beard, and usually wears a jaunty little cap. He may well owe his origin to the old belief in ancestral gods.

Other fairies of the second type are associated with particular places. The salamander (fairy) lives in fire, the undine in water, the buccas in mines. Others are associated with trees, air, cairns, shoemaking, tinsmithing, blacksmithing. There is, as one would expect, much more variation in personality and action of the individual fairies. Stories about them are, consequently, varied, ranging from the poetic and dramatic like the story of *Undine* to the slapstick anecdotes of brownies and nixies.

Most fairylore and fairy story has to do with the relations of fairies to mortals. The common types are: 1) Fairies assist mortals; 2) Fairies harm mortals; 3) Fairies abduct mortals for special purposes; 4) Changelings; 5) Mortal visits to fairyland; 6) Fairy mistress or lover.

Among all people accounts abound of fairies assisting human beings in a wide variety of ways. We have seen above that the household familiar is a very helpful fellow in the house. But fairies also help in the field with planting, threshing, wood-cutting, and the like. A Jutland peasant, trying in vain to free his horse stuck in the mud, suddenly is surrounded by fairy folk who easily free the animal. In France a fairy rescues a lady whose jealous husband had imprisoned her. Often fairies give gifts of gold, of vessels that always remain full of food, or of grain, gifts of cheese that never diminishes no matter how much is eaten, or of beautiful finely woven gossamer cloth.

Stories likewise abound of fairies harming man. Constantly they appropriate growing crops: grain, peas, beans (often out of sheer prankishness they shell the beans on the vine leaving the pods intact). They milk animals in the field, ride horses at night in the pasture. In the house they blow out the candles, knock pans off the shelves, roll up the mats on the floor, send gusts of smoke down the chimney, prevent bread from rising. In the mines they pelt workmen with pebbles as they work. Sometimes the antics are just exuberance of spirits, but often they are by way of punishing a mortal for harm done to one of them, or for churlishness. To punish such a one the fairy fastens himself on the household and nothing can dislodge him. There are many stories like the German one in which a man decides to move to free himself from an obnoxious fairy only to discover as he is about to drive away that the little fellow had hidden himself in the churn and so was also blithely on his way to the new dwelling. (See BOGGART'S FLITTING.)

Fairies often abduct mortals, either conveying them bodily to fairyland or by bespelling them and luring

them there. Many believe that the fairies must pay a yearly tribute to the lords of hell by sending some of their number there each year. For this purpose they are thought to abduct mortals, especially children. Tam Lin, a mortal abducted by the fairies in the Scotch ballad, was to be so sacrificed but his sweetheart succeeded in rescuing him. This belief may be due to the legend that fairies are the pre-Adamite inhabitants of the earth or that they are fallen angels. (Compare too the common European story that fairies are the descendants of children of Adam and of Eve by malignant spirits before they cohabited with one another.) Women, too, are abducted, especially mothers with small children, for human milk is much prized by the fairy. Midwives are abducted temporarily to help the fairy mothers at time of childbirth. Sometimes they are blindfolded and led to the fairy realm and after their work is done led blindfolded away. Always they are handsomely rewarded.

There are many dramatic accounts of mortals visiting fairyland by accident or by invitation of the fairy folk. Thomas the Rymer went with the queen of the fairies over the river to fairyland and, abstaining from eating any food, he was able to return again to Hundt Bank. There exist many analogs to the Scotch story of the two boys who one night saw a light shining from a crevice in the rocks. On looking in they saw a large company of fairies dancing. One brother went in and joined the throng. When he had not returned in a year, his brother, placing a cross made of mountain ash in his shirt, went into the hill where he found his brother still dancing away. Protected by the charm he was able to bring his brother safely out; the brother thought that he had been dancing but a few minutes. Frequently found are accounts of mortals lured away by fairy music. Hearing the sweet, insistent music of the fairy musicians, they must follow it even against their wills often to fairyland itself. Occasionally a fairy invites a mortal to visit the land under the hill. A Germanic tale tells of a peasant who was so favored. During the tour of the fairy region, he noticed crocks overturned on the shelves. Asking why they were kept so, he was told that they imprisoned souls of drowned human beings. Usually a mortal going to fairyland had to have his eyes anointed by fairy ointment before he could see anything; occasionally his host forgot to remove the ointment before he returned and so forever after he could see the fairies wherever they might be.

The most dramatic and poetic of all fairy stories are the fairy-mistress or lover stories. Such stories of the union of a mortal and a fairy are part of the general story pattern of the love of a mortal and a supernatural being. These stories follow a fixed pattern: 1) A mortal loves a supernatural being; 2) the supernatural being consents to marry the mortal subject to one condition, for example, he must not see her at certain times; 3) he breaks the tabu and loses her; 4) he then tries to recover her and sometimes succeeds. A Germanic story tells of a young man who fell in love with a water fairy. She agreed to become his wife but told him that should he strike her, she would disappear forever. They lived very happily for many years until one day he threw a clod of earth at the horse and accidentally struck his wife. Instantly she disappeared never to be seen again. The German story of the *Knight*

of *Staufenburg*, the lais of *Launfal* and of *Graelent*, the story of *Oisín* and the queen of fairyland, *Melusina*, *Sir Orfeo* are a few of the finest of the fairy-mistress stories in European literature.

In the fairy-mistress stories we often meet the complication of the mortal wedded to a fairy, finally wishing to return to earth, being permitted to do so, only to discover that he had been in fairyland a long, long time and that as soon as he returned the weight of his years fell upon him. Such stories usually end with the hero becoming an old man, and disintegrating into a pile of dust. Western Europe saw in the classical *Orpheus* story a close analog to the fairy-lover theme and made that story over into the charming romance *Sir Orfeo* in which *Heurodys* is carried away by a fairy lover. *Sir Orfeo*, the mortal husband, disguised as a harper, penetrates into fairyland and succeeds in securing her return.

Many fairy stories and legends have to do with changelings. Newborn infants are often snatched away and fairy babies left in their places. Several explanations are given: one that the fairy folk want their children suckled by mortal women, another that they are seeking mortal children to sacrifice to the lords of hell. (Such stories are probably nothing other than explanatory stories to account for the abnormal appearance or abnormal behavior of the human child by saying that it was a changeling). Usually the fairy child sooner or later rejoins its own folk in fairyland. A typical tale is the mid-European story of the family who rushed out one night to the stable to see why the animals were making a disturbance. When they returned they found their baby gone and an ill-formed, big-headed, lustily howling brat in its place. The mother tried to care for the changeling but it scratched her and bit her breasts and caused so much confusion that finally the people of the house put it in the oven. Whereupon the fairy mother appeared, put down the mortal child, alive and well, and snatched up her own with the words: "I've treated your child better than you have treated mine." All sorts of methods were used to keep children from being abducted by the fairy. Certain objects, scissors, knives, or nails, plants like rowan and garlic, charms like the cross, the Bible, or holy water placed near the child were believed to be effective. A few stories tell of changelings growing up among mortals; usually they are deformed in some way, but always they are beautiful of face; often they are endowed with some extraordinary ability, such as being able to see in the dark or being able to make the strange, seductive fairy music.

The fairy concept in English comes as a blending of the Germanic dwarf-elf type and the Celtic people of the hills, the *síde*. The household familiar in English has a Germanic background; the idea of the communal fairies is Celtic. The fairy tradition in English literature really begins with the translation of the French romance of *Huon of Bordeaux* in late medieval times and with the fairy lore in the Arthurian stories. It was from the romance, however, that the concept of an organized fairy world came in with the introduction of Oberon (Germanic *Alberich*), *Cephalonia* of the Isles, and all the magic background of fairyland. From this tradition came the fairies of Spenser and Shakespeare.

MACEDWARD LEACH

**fairy food** The food of fairyland is usually described as exotic and delicious; wonderful feasts were held there; but the only human foods mentioned in the early descriptions were apples or wine. General is the belief that a mortal who partakes of the food of fairyland can never return to his earthly home. Even today in Celtic countries there are stories of children enticed into the fairy mounds who have been saved just in the nick of time from eating the dainties offered them, by a woman who followed them. But there are also contemporary Irish stories of certain people, who, having partaken of a bit of mouse-soup within the fairy hill, were forever after gifted with the power to see the fairies.

It is now generally conceded that fairies eat and drink much the same as human beings. They are known to eat berries and nuts, known to sow crops, engage in haymaking, plowing, harvesting, etc., known to beg, borrow, or steal milk, butter, flour, meal, corn, and whisky. A little food is often left out in the kitchen for them overnight, and sometimes a little tobacco. But the food must have no salt in it. Fairies hate salt. In Brittany a table is spread in the birthroom for the fairies who always attend a human birth. There are many well-known stories of a fairy woman coming to a human neighbor to borrow butter for a wedding or butter to heal a burned child. Whatever they borrow is always paid back. A refusal is also always paid back with malice and often fatal results.

Fairies are especially fond of milk. In Ireland the first drops of milk from a cow are let fall on the ground for the fairies. Any milk left undrunk outdoors, as by workers in the fields or people picnicking, is also poured on the ground for the fairies; and no milk accidentally spilled should ever be begrudged them. Fairies often milk the farmers' cows, and it is said that the one chosen to be milked by fairies is always free from disease. Some people even leave one cow of a herd unmilked for their use. Others, however, sometimes attribute the sudden death or gradual sickening of a cow to its being milked by the fairies. Fairies have been known to steal cows, or to make off with the best cow at a fair.

**fairy rings or circles** Dark green circles in the turf of meadow, lawn, or field, caused by a certain fungus (*Marasmius oreades*). Some say they are caused by a foal being born on the spot; but they are popularly believed to be the dancing-places of the fairies. Often they are surrounded by a ring of mushrooms. It is very wrong to interfere with such a place in any way, on pain of being struck blind or lame.

**fairy tale** When the writer in English attempts to translate the German *Märchen* or the Swedish *saga*, he has usually resorted to the term "fairy tale." In many ways this is an unfortunate word since not more than a small number of such stories have to do with fairies. As a matter of fact, most tales about fairies are actually traditions and relate real beliefs. Nevertheless, the term is well established and widely accepted.

A considerable number of the tales in Grimm's collection are fairy tales of this kind. Such stories as *Snow White*, *Cinderella*, *Cupid and Psyche*, and the *Black and White Bride* illustrate their characteristic qualities. These stories are usually located in a never-

never land where all kinds of supernatural events occur. The characters are usually not named, but are referred to as a certain "king and queen" and "the youngest daughter." Sometimes very common names such as Jack and Mary Ann may be used, but there is no thought of identifying the characters any further. The fairy tale is full of commonplace expressions and motifs which tend to be used in other tales and to be a part of the general style of the story-teller.

There is a difference in the style of fairy tales from country to country even when the same series of motifs is used. But these differences are much less striking than the common style used in tales of this kind everywhere.

Just where and how this peculiar fairy-tale style developed has never been determined. Something of it is found as far back as the Egyptian collection which comes to us from the thirteenth century before Christ, and reflections of this style are found in such literary reworkings of fairy tales as the *Apocryphal Book of Tobit* and the *Cupid and Psyche* of Apuleius. It has been suggested that this style is a part of the Indo-European heritage, but it is found in the tales of many non-European peoples, so that such a position is hard to establish.

Tales in many ways analogous to the European and Asiatic fairy tales are found among primitive peoples, and many of the Western fairy tales have been borrowed by other parts of the world. Comparative study of these tales, therefore, takes the investigator outside the orbit of the particular fairy-tale style and shows that the style is not a necessary part of the tradition.

The European fairy tales have been classified and the collections of them from many countries have been thoroughly listed. It is customary to include not only such fairy tales as several already mentioned, but also *anonymous anecdotes, and cumulative tales such as the House that Jack Built*. The animal tales are also a part of these classifications.

Students of the fairy tale have interested themselves in several aspects: (a) the origin and dissemination of particular tales (see HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHIC METHOD); (b) the style of fairy tales according to the country or state of society where they are told; and (c) the part that fairy tales play among the people where they are told.

In the past many writers have also interested themselves in such questions as what do fairy tales mean, and what is the relation of fairy tales and myths, but these questions seem so intangible that most modern scholars have ceased to attempt an answer.

STITH THOMPSON

**fairy wind** *The síde gaoile* or *gaot síde* of Irish folklore, or *scéidán síde*, the fairy blast: a sudden blast or gust of wind, or whirlwind, believed to be caused by the fairies. Sometimes it is said to be caused by the passing of the fairy host; sometimes they are said to be in it; sometimes it is just the stir caused by fairies at work. A little whirl of wind in the hayfield is often said to be the fairies helping with the work. When this happens the farmers believe it is a sign of good weather for the haying. Sometimes the sudden gust of fairy wind and a darkening of the sky accompanies the passing of a soul out of this world. The fairy wind is often greatly feared, for such winds sometimes cause

harm to people or cattle, such as injuries to the eye, making them fall, etc.; sometimes people say, "Oh, they are coming for me!" People seeking to dig up fairy treasure are often stopped by a terrific gale of wind. There is a famous story about a musician who learned to play the fairy music. Once when he was so bold as to play some of the tunes at a country dance, he was whisked away suddenly by a blast of fairy wind. It is well known that a fairy blast will lift the roof off a house when certain doors are opened, the opening of which is known to inconvenience the fairies.

**Faithful John** Title and hero of a well known European folktale (Grimm #6), the most familiar usage of the famous Eurasian faithful servitor motif (P361 ff.; Type 615). An old king on his death bed entrusts his young son to a tried and faithful servant, warning him not to let the prince enter a certain locked room or see the portrait therein, lest perils befall. The prince eventually does see the portrait, falls in love with the princess depicted, and despite warning and dissuasion determines to seek her. Faithful John arranges for the journey and embarks with the prince in a fine ship laden with golden objects. In the strange country he beguiles the princess on board with golden trinkets and, while she is admiring the treasure cargo, sets sail for home. The prince declares his love and the girl easily consents to be his bride.

As the ship sails home, Faithful John overhears three ravens discussing the perils to befall the prince: a horse which will fly away with him, a gorgeous (but poisoned) bridal robe, a snake to kill the bride in the bridal bed (or she will swoon and not recover unless three drops of blood are taken from her breast). Moreover, whoever learns these perils and tells them will be turned to stone from head to foot.

All happens as the birds predict: the beautiful horse meets the ship, but Faithful John kills it before the prince can mount; the gorgeous robe is offered, but Faithful John snatches and burns it. These two acts the young prince accepts with blind confidence, but when Faithful John bends over the princess in bed to kill the snake (or endeavors to take three drops of blood from her breast when she swoons) his act is misunderstood, and he is condemned to death for betraying his master. At the moment of execution Faithful John tells the whole story and is turned to stone. The broken-hearted King and Queen keep the statue in the palace for years, until one day they learn that the blood of their two children will restore the faithful servant. Gladly they sacrifice the children, and smear the statue with their blood; Faithful John comes to life, claps the two heads back on the children, who continue their play as if uninterrupted.

The faithful servitor motif is common all over Europe, and is thought to have migrated westward from India some 2000 years ago. It occurs in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* in the "Story of the Brāhman Viravara," who sacrificed his son to save the life of his king (P361.3). The motif occurs also in various European stories, including the tale of the devoted Henry who bound his heart with iron bands (F875) to keep it from breaking when his master was bewitched (see FROG PRINCE) and of the servant who sent his own child to the executioner to save the hero (K512.2.2). It is almost always tied up with the belief in the heal-



ing and life-giving powers of blood, and is closely related to the OLD DOG and TWO FRIENDS motifs. See PETRIFICATION; TWO BROTHERS.

**faixes** Literally, sashes: a Spanish religious dance of Malda, province of Lérida, performed in honor of San Macario on January 2. All the dancers (at least 24 in number) are married men. While executing various longways figures in front of the church, each holds a sash in his right hand. During the processional entry into the church they are joined by these sashes in a long line; during their exit they dip under them one by one. In the plaza they continue their figure dance. [GPK]

**Fakir and his Jar of Butter** One of the tales of the *Arabian Nights* (Burton ix: 40 f.) illustrating the air-castles motif (J2060 f.) or counting one's chickens before they are hatched (Type 1430). The fakir raises his staff in anger during the dream-story he is inventing and smashes the jar of butter that formed the foundation of his imaginary fortunes. The story is also told in "The Barber's Tale of his Fifth Brother" (*ibid.* i: 335 ff.) where the smashed material is glassware.

**fallen angels** Both Mohammedan and Hebraic tradition contain certain angels fallen from grace. The Mohammedan angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, were impatient with sinful man, so the Lord placed them on earth in human form for a time. The temptations were too much for them, and they succumbed and were banished from Heaven. They remained on earth and taught man witchcraft and astrology. In *Genesis* vi, 4, the sons of God (angels) lusted after the daughters of man and two hundred of them banded together on Mt. Hermon and descended to earth where they begat giants (demons). Some claim these demons were captured and chained in the bowels of the earth and God sent the Deluge to finish them. Others believe they are still loose in the world. Another story says that some of the angels, through pride, refused to pay honor to Adam who was wrought in the image of God, and were banished.

Much Christian dogma refuses to accept the inter-marriage of spirits (angels) and man, but it was often accepted in popular belief. While Hebraic tradition links fallen angels with their demonology, more common Christian belief links them with the fairies, elves, etc. During medieval times it was believed that the angels remained where they fell, some in the upper air, others in the lower-air, some on the earth, some in the water, or below the earth, and in caves and catacombs. Or they fell into the sky, the earth, the water, the woods, and Hell. Many claim fallen angels were not entirely evil. The angel Oliver was just in his judgments, and while the majority preferred Hell, some angels would do anything in their power to regain their places in Heaven. They are variously identified as Satan, Lucifer, Belial, the Devil, Semjâzâ, Azâzêl, Samael, and Mastêmâ.

**fall from tree toilet** The motif of a number of Apache Indian folktales (Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Jicarilla) typical of Apache humor and love of the practical joke. It consists merely of getting the dupe to venture too far out towards the end of a limb so that he falls to the ground. The Chiricahua story of how Goldfinch

gets rid of Coyote is typical. One day Coyote climbs a tree and finds Goldfinch sitting on her nest. He exclaims how beautiful the nest is, but where is the toilet? Goldfinch points out a little branch on the end of a long limb. When Coyote walks out there to see, the branch will not hold and he falls to the ground. Thus Goldfinch is rid of him.

**false beauty doctor** A world-wide folktale motif, well known in the Baltic countries, in Africa, in Indonesia, and especially common among North American Indians: closely related to the false curing and false strengthening incidents (Types 1134, 1136). The hero or heroine (sometimes the trickster) pretends to make the villain of the story (monster, giant, ogre, witch, etc.) or the dupe beautiful (K1013) or strong (K1012) with the result that the deceived one is injured or killed.

Typical is the North American Kutenai Indian story in which a young girl is about to be killed by a giant. The giant asks how he can become as beautiful as she is. She tells him that to become so he must be baked in an oven. He submits to the treatment and is roasted to death. In a Tsimshian Indian story Mink abducts a woman and takes her to live with him in his den. In the spring he sees the Indians on the river in their canoes and admires the white bone ornaments in their ears and noses. The woman encourages Mink to let her perforate his ears so that he too may wear the ornaments which signify high rank. She drives a spruce branch through his ears into the ground, and while he is thus helplessly pinned she kills him. In an Alaska Eskimo story a jealous wife "beautifies" the three girls whom her husband admires by thrusting their heads in boiling oil.

A Sia Indian folktale tells how Coyote admires the spots on Deer's fawns, and asks how she made her children so beautiful. Deer says she did it with cedar fire: every time a spark struck one of the children it made a spot. Coyote runs home, puts his children in a cave in front of which he builds a cedar fire. The children cry out with the heat, but Coyote tells them to wait a little, they will soon be beautiful. When the fire burns out he finds his children dead. See CHILD ABDUCTED BY CANNIBAL.

**False Faces** Eastern North American term for (a) Eastern Woodlands Indian carved wooden masks, (b) the performers who wore these masks in a ceremony the function of which was to protect against sickness. Among the Iroquois tribes a definite False Face Society existed; the Shawnee, Delaware, and possibly other Algonquian tribes gave False Face performances, but participants in such were not organized in a society. False Face performers were men who dressed in a bearskin suit, wore wooden masks, used a cane and carried tortoise-shell rattles. They did not speak, and were accompanied on their round of the houses in a village by the Shuck Faces—i.e. male clowns who wore masks made of braided corn husks. These clowns escorted the False Faces, and collected offerings of tobacco for them. The False Face performers, as part of their cleansing observances, smeared dung on their hands and stroked or shook hands with the inmates of the houses they visited. The appearance of False Faces and Shuck Faces in a village, or following a dance, while appreciated by adults as protection of the village against disease, terrified chil-

dren and dogs. The Iroquois, notable for their wooden masks of many varieties, carved their false-face masks from the living tree, roughing out the face and then chopping it in a block from the tree to finish it. Thus the tree was never killed. The masks themselves were oval-shaped with narrow slits for eye-holes. Only men who were ritually clean could perform in the False Face ceremony; if not "clean" at the time a performer would see fully clothed persons as nude. [zww]

**false or substituted bride** A very widespread folktale motif (K1911 ff.) in which a beautiful young bride-to-be is ousted by an ugly or treacherous impostor who foists herself off on the unsuspecting husband.

In some versions the servant girl who accompanies the bride gets rid of her en route to the wedding, throws her in a river or pushes her into a well (where she thrives in the care of an underworld queen until the right moment for vindication and retribution arrives). Sometimes a stepister, often with the connivance of the stepmother, ousts the bride of a prince or king, gets rid of her in some fashion (such as transforming her into an animal, throwing her into a river, or reducing her to menial station), and marries the king herself. Sometimes the substitution is not effected until the girl gives birth to her first child, when both are disposed of, and the ugly stepister takes on the beautiful wife's role, with no questions asked. The substitution is always eventually revealed, either by an animal, an old woman, frequently by a song, sometimes by the mother's repeated return to suckle her child, or to sleep with her husband. In all cases the true bride (and/or her child) comes into her own and the treacherous impostor is killed.

MacCulloch in his *Childhood of Fiction* cites a Basuto story in which a young girl, en route to her sister's village to become co-wife to her sister's husband, has been warned by her mother not to look back. She cannot resist the temptation, does look back, and sees a witch who effects an exchange of garments with her. When they arrive at the village the witch passes herself off as the girl and marries the husband. The girl is sent daily into the fields where she sings over and over the story of her betrayal and sorrow. An old woman, overhearing, brings the husband to listen. He kills the witch and marries the girl. The witch keeps returning to pester the girl, in the form of a pumpkin, a thistle, a pumpkin seed, etc. Finally the pumpkin seed bites the baby, the husband grinds it to bits, and burns it up.

In a Bushman story the wife of a certain chief is changed into a lioness by Hyena via the medium of poisoned ants' eggs. Hyena then goes into the house in the role of wife. Several times the younger sister takes the woman's child out into the reeds to be suckled by its mother, until at last the mother warns her not to bring the child again, because she feels the lion's nature becoming dominant. The Hyena impostor is recognized but escapes. In leaving, however, she steps in the fire and burns her foot. This is why Hyena limps today.

In a Jamaica Negro story the wife, who is traveling the world seeking a lost husband, reveals to a laundrywoman how to wash out the three indelible drops of blood from his shirt. The man has said that he will

marry the woman who can wash out the stains. The wife is the only one who knows how, or who knows the man's true name. The laundrywoman claims the marriage for washing out the blood. In the night the man hears his true wife singing in the next room, singing "Return to me" and singing the true, unknown name of her husband. The man "jumped right up and married the woman." See Beckwith, *Jamaica Anansi Stories*, *MAFLS* xvii, pp. 130, 266.

The false or substituted bride is one of the most widespread of all folktale motifs. There are Portuguese, Spanish, Greek, and Magyar versions, Indian, and Indonesian. It is a common motif all over Africa, found in Swahili, Kaffir, Fjort, Basuto, Bushman, and Zulu stories. One of the most famous of the false bride stories is the Norse *Bushy Bride*. There are also Lappish and North American Indian variants. It occurs in the *Ocean of Story*, in Basile's *Pentamerone*, and is the basic theme in Grimm's *Three Little Men in the Wood* (# 13), and *The White Bride and Black* (# 135).

**familiar** Specifically, an animal or bird associated with a witch or wizard as attendant, servant, or messenger; usually believed to embody a spirit (often a demon) and frequently also believed to be, especially in primitive cultures, the soul-animal or double of the witch or wizard. In general European belief, however, the familiar is *not* the witch or wizard, but servant and attendant pure and simple. (See SHAPE-SHIFTING).

In Elizabethan England it was popularly believed that demons, incarnate as certain animals, attended and served witches, and also that witches could and did metamorphose themselves into similar animal forms for depredations upon and persecutions of innocent persons. Inevitably whatever befell the witch-animal (injury or death) befell the witch. The black cat of the English and colonial witch is probably the most famous of popular familiars. In Europe and America dogs, hares, insects, toads, etc., are as commonplace in the role of familiar as cats. Flies as familiars are common in Lapp, Finnish, and Norse folklore. In the New Hebrides the sea snake will be the faithful familiar of one who has intercourse with it. Malay witches have familiars, incarnate as owl or badger, whose injury or death also results in like repercussions on the owner. Zulu sorcerers are said to have familiars (*umkovu*) which are reactivated corpses. To acquire one of these the sorcerer must dig up a dead body, run a hot needle up the forehead, and slit the tongue. The umkovu are sent on errands at night. They cause long grass to entangle the feet of night travelers, and "go about shrieking." If they call one's name, it is peril to answer, for this subjugates the answerer to their will and he becomes one of them. To see an umkovu presages death. Witches among the Basuto have familiars called *obe* in the shape of tremendous animals.

The familiar is also often conceived of as an attendant spirit instead of an animal. In Arabian folk belief, every magician or wizard has a *tabi* (literally, follower) who reveals to him hidden knowledge. Certain North American Indian medicine-men, in the midst of their mystical religious experiences, hear their familiar spirits speak with actual voice, giving warning or advice. The Malay pawangs, or medicine-men, have hereditary familiar spirits who continue from genera-

days while the dance was being held. Initiation into religious societies also often entailed fasting prior to, or during, the initiation ceremonies.

Fasting often meant abstaining from water as well as food. Continence was observed during fasting periods, and males when fasting often left their homes to escape any possible contamination from menstruating or pregnant women. Reasons assigned for fasting were: 1) to attain ritual cleanliness; this applies especially to fasting prior to or after war activities, religious ceremonies, hunting expeditions; 2) to render oneself pitiful in the eyes of the supernaturals, so that they will give the faster instruction, songs, and some of their own power.

Absolute fasting was in many cases practiced only by men; limited fasting, during which only small quantities of food and water were taken, was practiced by males and females alike; females usually observed such fasting at the time of menstruation, and both men and women observed it after the death of a spouse or child.

[EWY]

**fasting against a person** A legal procedure practiced in ancient Ireland whereby a person could compel a stronger, or a superior, person to grant a request, yield a point, pay a debt, etc. The petitioner would sit fasting at the house-door of the petitioned, and not eat until that which was required was granted or paid. Continued refusal on the part of the petitioned would bring upon his head guilt for the death by starvation of the petitioner. This kind of fasting was recognized as one of the legal "distresses" of ancient Ireland. Fasting against a person for these reasons was also a common practice in India. The long fasts of Gandhi to gain a point were the same thing. And the fasting of modern prisoners in their cells belongs to the same psychology.

Belief in fasting "upon" a person was strong in England as late as the 16th century. A certain Mabel Brigge was hired by another woman to fast upon a certain man, ostensibly to effect the return of stolen money, but actually to effect his death. Mabel was executed in 1538 for causing the death of a man by fasting. He stumbled and broke his neck before her fast was over. This kind of fasting was called the Black Fast and was believed in as a potent spell. It was abolished by the church before the end of the century.

**Fastnacht or Fasenacht** In the Germanic countries, the festival just preceding Lent; literally, Fast Eve or Lenten Eve: called *Fasching* in Bavaria and Austria. The festival is analogous to the Carnival of the Romance countries. Popularly in Germany, the term is believed to derive from *fasen, faseln*, to talk nonsense, and the featuring of the Fastnacht plays on this day more or less substantiates the claim. The Fastnacht plays developed out of the burlesque songs and antics of the masqueraders who followed the ancient Teutonic ship-wagon processions, greatly tempered in Christian times to churchly subjects. For a detailed description of the variations in the celebration of Fastnacht throughout the Black Forest, see "Fastnacht in the Black Forest," by Conrad Taeuber, *JAFI* 46: 69-76. See CARNIVAL.

**Fastnachtsbär** The Fastnacht Bear or Shrovetide Bear: a man or boy clothed in straw and wound with ropes, led from house to house with music on Fastnacht or Shrove Tuesday in parts of Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, etc. In some districts he wears a bear's mask or is clad

in skins to enhance the realism. He enters every dwelling and dances with all the girls and women of the household, and is given food, drink, and money. The money is spent later in the evening by him and his companions for ale and merrymaking. There exists a fairly general belief in central Europe that one must dance on Shrove Tuesday (Fastnacht) to insure fertility and growth of all the crops. In some districts the women pluck bits of straw from the Fastnachtsbär to put in their poultry nests and thus insure a plentiful supply of eggs. Compare OATS-GOAT.

**fatal children** Those children out of myth and legend of whom it was prophesied either before birth or at the hour of birth that they would kill or overthrow a grandparent, parent, or other relative, or some king. These children were always abandoned as infants to perish, were always saved (by an animal, a supernatural being, a herdsman, fisherman, forester, or other humble person, or by an itinerant king, a maternal-minded queen, etc.), grew up unknown, beautiful, strong, and brave, and always fulfilled the prophecy (which was usually unknown to themselves).

Among the famous fatal children of the world were the Greek *Œdipus*, of whom the oracle said that he would kill his father. He was disposed of, raised by a shepherd and later by a queen of Corinth, eventually returned to Thebes, and unknowingly killed his father, Laius. In Persian legend *Astages*, king of Media, dreamed that his daughter gave birth to a deluge which flooded Asia, and exposed the infant *Cyrus* at birth. *Cyrus* was found and cared for by a herdsman (or a bitch), and at the appointed time killed his grandfather, *Astages*. The ancient Irish *Lug*, of whom it was prophesied that he would kill his grandfather, did kill *Balor* at the battle of *Mag Tured*. *Deirdre*, who because of her beauty, was destined to cause the death of heroes, was secluded in a forest hide-out under the care of women, and became the most unwilling cause of the treacherous fight in which were slain the three sons of *Usnech*, the sons of *Fergus*, and great numbers of the Red Branch warriors of Ireland. See ABANDONED CHILDREN; EXPOSURE OF FAMOUS PERSONS IN INFANCY.

**fatal gifts** Gifts sent to enemies who accept them as though they came from friends. This device is so well known to criminologists of all ages and areas that a complete analysis of its place in folk thought would be monotonous and voluminous. Only a few examples can be mentioned. When *Hercules* and his wife *Deianira* were fording a stream, *Nessus* the Centaur offered to carry *Deianira* while *Hercules* walked. *Nessus* then attempted to abduct the woman but was fatally shot by a poisoned arrow from *Hercules'* bow. Before he died he urged *Deianira* to take some of his blood, which would be a charm to preserve *Hercules'* love. Later when *Hercules* became enamored of another woman, *Deianira* gave him a shirt steeped in the blood of *Nessus* which, as soon as it was warmed by *Hercules'* body, caused his death. Allegorization is seen in the story of one of *Vulcan's* revenges. In order to punish *Venus* for infidelity he made a robe dyed in crimes. All who wore it became wicked. *Jason*, having brought his wife *Medea*, the barbarian and sorceress, back to civilized Greece, fell in love with *Creusa*. *Medea* sent her successful rival a wedding robe which burned her to death. The poi-

soned rings of the Borgias were, according to popular tradition, always fatal. Other gifts do not kill immediately but bring their owners to a bad end. Such are the necklace of Harmonia, the collar of Arsinoe. Opals bring bad luck. Other gifts are benign as gifts, but fatal if sold. The fatal emerald from the forehead of the great Buddha is a favorite theme among readers of the pulp magazines. [RDJ]

**fatal imitation** A folktale motif (J2401) in which the imitation of some admirable or successful act ends in disaster for the imitator. There is the stupid ogre who stabs himself, for instance, in imitation of the hero who has merely stabbed a concealed bag of blood (G524). There is Aesop's fable (Jacobs #202) about the ass who tried to greet his master with the same jumping and fawning affection he had seen the dog bestow, only to be harshly beaten off (J2413.1). There is the story about the man who could not sell his cow until he said she was with calf, and wondered why the same plan did not work when he tried to marry off his daughter (J2427).

The motif is very common throughout African, Surinam, and United States Negro folktale. Typical are the South Carolina Sea Island stories in which Ber Rabbit, having seen Ber Rooster with only one foot and no head at night, yet walking on two legs and with a head as usual in the morning, asks him why this is. Ber Rooster explains that this is the way he rests. Ber Rabbit decides to try it, tells his wife to cut off his head and three legs, and of course is killed. See BUNGLING HOST; FALSE BEAUTY DOCTOR.

**fatalism** The feeling that some final pattern determines the occurrence of important human events. In the popular thought of all peoples the feeling tends to be vague. Theologians, fortune-tellers, astrologers in all parts of the world have given it a fictive reality under such terms as destiny, fate, or Fata, to be distinguished abstrusely from fortune, Fortuna, or luck, or karma. The body of knowledge represented by each of these terms has many subdivisions which are accepted or rejected according to the sociotheological traditions of the several communities. The special sciences themselves which involve the books of destiny, the laws of karma, and the conjunction of stellar or other influences at the moment, hour, or day of birth are the property of learned persons, whether clothed in the elaborate robes of the great universities or naked in Africa and the South Sea Islands. While these pursue their occult studies the peoples of the world will continue to believe that you won't die until your time comes, that bomb or arrow didn't have my name on it, I was warned not to take that boat, or it was fated that we should meet. [RDJ]

**fatal look** A death-dealing glance. The folklore of the fatal look needs to be distinguished from the folklore of the evil eye. Whereas the evil eye brings pain and misfortune with, at times, ultimate death and works over a period of time, the fatal look kills instantly. (Compare the colloquialism "If looks could kill.") A further distinction must be made between creatures like Medusa or a god, who when looked upon, cause death, and creatures who cause death by looking. Classic examples of this motif occur in Indian stories in which a man destroyed a tree with an angry look and restored it

with a kind one, or a beautiful maiden struck the king with a poisonous look from a distance. Isis, in Egypt, embracing the dead body of Osiris, killed a person who spied on her with a look. Snakes are thought to poison the air with their eyes and the snakes of Turkestan are reported by Arabs to have killed with a glance. These views were distributed in Europe through the Alexander Cycle. Shakespeare mentioned the "death darting eye of a cockatrice," which is a serpent hatched by a reptile from a cock's egg. Pliny and Heliodorus reported that a basilisk was a snake with a cock's head and a fatal glance. See ABANDONED CHILDREN. [RDJ]

**Belief in the evil eye**, comparable to the European beliefs, apparently did not exist among North American Indians in aboriginal times, nor has it gained much prevalence at present. However, in the mythology of many western North American tribes we do find mention of monsters or other creatures who can kill persons by looking at them. [EWV]

**Fata Morgana** The fairy Morgan: in Carolingian romance the lake-dwelling enchantress overcome by Orlando; lover of Ogier. See MORGAN LE FAY. The mirages in the Strait of Messina are attributed to her enchantments, and are named for her, Fata Morgana.

**Fates** The three Roman goddesses who determined the fate of every human: a development of the idea of the *fatum* or spoken word of Jupiter which could not be altered. The Fata Scribendi wrote the destiny of the child at birth: this may be a goddess or goddesses. Since the Fates performed their duties at birth, they were identified with the Parcae. See MOIRE; NORNS.

**Father Time** The personification of time: an old white-bearded man carrying a scythe and often an hourglass. The figure is probably a descendant of the classical depiction of Cronus (Saturn), also identified with time, who carried a sickle or reaping book. The scythe Father Time bears is the symbol of his power to destroy: all falls like the grain before him. The hourglass is the sign of the constant and unstoppable flow of the years. The wings sometimes seen on Father Time are emblematic of his rapidity. Father Time is the Old Year who passes on the burden to the baby New Year at the stroke of the new year's first minute. He sometimes is also Death, who cuts down those who die.

**fatigüé** Among Negroes of Trinidad, a term applied to songs and the method of singing of calypso style. To "sing on people" in a teasing or derisive way, as was done at carnivals in older times, was "to fatigüé."

**Fatima** (1) In the story of *Bluebeard*, the last of the wives, whose curiosity resulted in the uncovering of Bluebeard's crimes.

(2) In the story of Aladdin, the holy woman slain by the necromancer, brother of the magician, who, dressed in Fatima's clothes, insinuates himself into Aladdin's household. When he asks that an impossible task be performed, the jinni of the lamp discloses the masquerade to Aladdin, who thereupon kills the necromancer.

(3) The daughter of Mohammed (606?-632), one of the four "perfect women." Traditionally she is virginal, one of her titles being the "bright-blooming" or one who has never menstruated; she however actually bore three sons to Ali. Her grave is unknown, mysterious.

faun See FAUNUS; PAN; SATYR.

**Faunus** In Roman mythology, a woodland deity: one of the most ancient Italic deities, originally probably an agricultural and shepherd god, later identified with the Arcadian Pan and having many of Pan's characteristics. Faunus was an oracular god, sending his prophecies in the sounds of the forests and by dreams to those clothed in the skins of sacrificial lambs and sleeping in his precincts: he was in this aspect known as Fatuus. As the fertility god of shepherds and crops, Faunus was equated with Inuus and Lupercus, the latter identification being made because of the supposed similarity between the Lupercalia and the Lyceia and the identification of Evander and Faunus. There were two Faunalia each year, one on December 15 and one on February 13, at which goats were sacrificed, there were libations of wine and milk, and country games and customs were generally practiced. In legend, Faunus was an early Latin king, the son of Picus and father of Latinus by Marica, who brought to the Latins religion and the arts of agriculture. Numa was supposed to have caught him, as Midas captured Silenus, by getting him and Picus drunk with wine. Like Pan, Faunus had goat's feet and horns, and from his various manifestations became pluralized into the Fauni or fauns, which resemble greatly the Greek Satyrs as spirits of the country. There was also a female counterpart of Faunus, Fauna or Faula. He is also either father or husband of Bona Dea.

**Faust** The type of the medieval European magician and student of the black arts. The Doctor Faustus we know was undoubtedly drawn originally from the Dr. George—later Johannes—Faust who was born in Swabia about 1480 and died in Syaufen in 1538 or 1539. To the life story of this real Faust there became attached, by popular and literary accretion, stories of the time, often of much earlier origin, about the great traditional magicians—Albertus Magnus, Paracelsus, Simon Magus, and others. Faust thus became the most notorious of those charlatan magicians (*scholastici vagantes*) who traveled from town to town, fair to fair, court to court during the period of the Renaissance's greatest gullibility, and who despite their quackery displayed or stimulated that interest in pseudo-scientific studies which led to the growth of modern science.

As with all such magicians, Faust was thought to be in league with the Devil, who accompanied him, according to Melancthon, as a long-haired dog with red eyes. Faust having turned from the traditional studies of the scholar (medicine, law, philosophy, religion: in Marlowe) in search of something more satisfying to his ambition evoked the Devil by conjuration. In return for the promise of a period, usually 24 years, of free living, he signed a bond with his blood deeding his soul to Satan. This, the devil's pact, is a recurrent theme throughout the period of active belief in witchcraft and devilry. Faust did not, however, derive real satisfaction from this contract; several times he reached almost to honest repentance, but never quite accomplished it; and at the expiration of the term of the bond he was carried off reluctant to Hell. Among the exploits widely attributed to Faust during his career are the fetching of grapes in winter, the ride on an inanimate object (bundle of hay, beer barrel, etc.), the baiting while invisible of the Pope

and his cardinals, and the calling up of various shades of classical antiquity.

Popular belief in devils and the whole atmosphere of the Faust legend was quite real. During a performance of Marlowe's play in the early 17th century, an extra devil, not of the regular stage company and reeking of brimstone (which latter gave him away), was discovered on stage, seemingly called up by Edward Alleyn's incantations in the role of Faust. Tradition (dating from the late 17th century, but based on earlier, similar legend) maintains that Alleyn, the original Faustus of the Elizabethan stage, thereupon quit the acting profession for good and founded Dulwich College on the estate he had bought with money made from acting and managing.

The Faust legend in 400 years has grown in philosophical content and, though the change is principally a literary one, it has echoes in popular tradition. In such popular works as the *Historia von Dr. Johann Fausten*, the first book in which the Faust story is collected, published in Frankfurt a. M. in 1587, and its English version of 1592, Faust is almost wholly the charlatan wonder-worker. With Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (1589–1592), Faust becomes also the seeker after physical and intellectual satisfaction, who fails because his mortal pride is too inbred for him to recant his sins. In Goethe's two-part work (1808 and 1833) Faust the magician is almost entirely replaced by Faust the philosopher and student, and the dominant religious Protestant tone of the earlier story is superseded by one of searching cynicism. Even the "moral" of the story, earlier one of complete retribution for the pact with the Devil, is restated and turned about to the end that good and evil become relative rather than absolute. It is this "literary" Goethean Faust, as opposed to the popular creation, who is alluded to more often in the literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, e.g. Spengler's characterization of Western European civilization as "Faustian." The Gretchen episode of Goethe, absent in the earlier versions, used also by Gounod in his opera, has become, along with the pact with the Devil, the essence of the modern Faust story.

**féar gortaí** Literally, in Irish, hungry grass: a kind of mountain grass that causes extreme hunger in whoever treads on it. One should carry food—whoever expects to pass over a place where it grows. Even swallowing one oat grain will cure the famishment thus caused. There is a place near Omeath, Ireland, famous for a strong growth of this grass between two cairns. No one from the environs will go near it without bread in the pocket, for if one falls down on the *féar gortaí* he cannot rise until he eats. It is believed to grow where a dead body touches the ground; or some say it springs up where a meal has been eaten and no scrap or crumb left.

**fear of the abnormal** Any departure from the normal arouses the attention, causes apprehension, and, if not immediately and easily explainable, usually results in fear. Fear of the abnormal, including fear of the novel, the strange, the alien, the queer, the enormous, the monstrous, and the occult, accounts for many social and religious practices and folk customs.

The fear of anything beyond the normal range of day-by-day experience is characteristic of mankind. It

tends to diminish with civilization as objects or conditions formerly not understood, and therefore dreaded or worshipped, come within the scope of expanding scientific knowledge, but the fear lessens only gradually, and superstition, the common term for this fear of the unknown, usually remains.

Children at play resent and persecute the abnormal and the non-conforming child, just as a brood of white chickens will pick to death the lone black one. The newborn child exhibits his first fears at the unfamiliar face and the unexpected sound. He is apt to yell with fright at his own mother the first time he sees her with a hat on. And the nurse who feeds his inherent fears with a diet of bogey and ghost stories, together with primitive dread of hell and the devil, is unwittingly laying a foundation in the child's mind for what psychiatrists will later call phobias and common people "the horrors."

The folk mind automatically associates anything abnormal with the supernatural, from the birth of a child with the amnion (caul) covering its head to an eclipse of the moon, and from phosphorescence (will-o'-the-wisp) in the meadow to hunchbacks and albinos. Sorcerers and shamans capitalize on fear of the abnormal by encouraging and magnifying it. Misshapen demons, so common in old religious literature, are a device to utilize fear of the grotesque to scare the uneducated into being good. Until recently it was easy to persuade a community that disease in cows and pigs was the evil work of some poor old woman crippled with lordosis.

Because bodily deformities, disfigurements, and chronic skin diseases have in primitive societies often been attributed to malign supernatural agencies, persons thus impaired were prohibited from serving in the most sacred rites of religion. An interesting passage in *Leviticus* xxi, 16-24 confirms this:

"For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach [the altar]: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or anything superfluous, or a man that is brokenfooted, or brokenhanded, or crookbacked, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or be scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken...he shall not go in unto the vail, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries:..."

The fear of enormous and misshapen beings characterizes the folklore of the entire Mediterranean region, including the Hebrew Behemoth, Leviathan, and Rahab, the Babylonian Tiamat, the Phoenician Molech, the Aegean Minotaur, the Egyptian and Greek Sphinx (the Strangler), the animal-headed gods of Egypt and Phastos, the Armenian-Zoroastrian devs, drujes, jatuks, pairikas, hambatus, visaps, and nhangs, as well as the apocalyptic monstrosities of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the various Christian and Gnostic apocalypses.

Fear of monsters (*dysmorphophobia*) is found also in the old Teutonic legends of Brusi, and Grettir, the female fiend who ate eleven merchants, in the stories of Bunyip of the Australian tribes, of the apelike demons of Tibet, and the dog-tailed devil-men of Fiji.

The origin of belief in monsters has been traced to actual oral tradition from times when now extinct huge animals roamed the earth, to the finding of fossil bones of such enormous and queerly shaped beasts, to night terror dreams, to belief that sexual congress between

human beings and animals or demons or gods would produce monstrosities (for instance, the story in *Gen. vi, 4* about how "the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men" with gigantic consequences), to deformities assumed by warriors who used masks and horns to terrify their enemies, and to huge stone ruins of former civilizations. Most likely, however, vivid imaginations fed by dreams and shadows account for most such legends.

Quaint lore of a milder sort, but still evidencing fear of the abnormal, persists in the traditional reverence for the hunchbacks who, among the Bolivian Indians, are said to carry "titulos" (important documents) in their humps. People in many lands touch the hump for luck, and Savonarola believed that hunchbacks have higher than average intellects. Idiots, perhaps because they mutter unintelligible sounds, share this reputation for secret wisdom.

Abnormal mental manifestations such as trances, delirium, seerism, and clairvoyance likewise inspired fear and led to such drastic social retaliations as the Mosaic law in *Lev. xx, 27*, commanding the stoning to death of mediums and wizards, and the well-known law in *Ex. xxii, 18*, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." But related mental phenomena, such as prophecy and the gift of tongues (*glossolalia*), are quite inconsistently regarded at times as evidence of the presence of a good or holy spirit (*Acts of the Apostles, ii*).

The persistent and world-wide belief in the power of the evil eye is but another form of the fear of the abnormal. The death-dealing glance was supposedly possessed not only by the hunchbacked and cross-eyed but also by women who alternated abnormal beauty with monstrously horrible appearance, notably the Gorgons, Circe, and the Sirens, and the daughters of Mara in the Buddhist mythology. Quite logically the protection against the evil eye and the glance of death is almost universally the making of the sign of life, i.e. exposing the genitals, either by wearing amulets displaying the *fascinum* or by making the *fico* (fig) with the thumb between the first and second fingers. The Christian sign of the cross and the Jewish *mezuzah* are popularly believed to ward off the baleful effects of the evil eye.

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**fearsome critters** Fabulous and mythical animals, birds, reptiles, fish, and insects (more humorous than terrible) of the American frontier, wilderness, and backwoods, figuring in hoaxes and tall tales to prank tenderfeet, from which they have been attracted into the Paul Bunyan saga. "Apocryphal zoology" is a development of 1) the lore of fanciful traits of animals and erroneous nature observations belonging to "unnatural natural history" from Pliny, the *Physiologus*, and the Bestiaries, to myths of the sea serpent and hoop snake; 2) giant, hybrid, and fantastic monsters of mythology, and 3) fictitious and symbolic creatures of art and heraldry.

One of the earliest American contributions to this playful lore of impossible creatures is to be found in Rev. Samuel Peters' *General History of Connecticut*, 1781, with its descriptions of the whappernocker, the cuba, the dew-mink, and the humility. ("The humility is so called because it speaks the word humility, and seldom mounts high in the air...It...has an eye more piercing than the falcon, and the swiftness of an eagle;

hence it can never be shot for it sees the sparks of fire even before it enkindles the powder, and by the extreme rapidity of its flight gets out of reach in an instant.") Another early and widespread fearsome critter is the variously spelled guyascutus, of which two types may be distinguished: 1) the prock, sidehill dodger, or gwinter—an animal with legs on one side of its body shorter than those on the other in order to enable it to keep its balance while feeding on the side of a steep mountain; and 2) a hoax dating from pre-Civil War days, in which country people pay to see a carefully guarded specimen of a much-advertised monster, only to be routed when the manager rushes on stage and yells, "The guyascutus is loose!"

A list of fearsome critters includes: albotritch, argopelter, augerino, axhandle hound, ball-tailed cat, bed-cat, billdad, cactus cat, camp chipmunk, Central American whintossler, club-tailed glyptodont, Columbia River sand squink, come-at-a-body, cougar fish, ding-ball (ding-maul, plunkus), dismal sauger, dungaven-hooter, fibbertigibbet, flitterick, Funeral Mountain terrashot, gazerium, giddy (gillygalloo, whiffenpoof) fish, goofang, goofus bird, gumbeeroo, guyascutus (godaphro, gwinter, lunkus, sidehill dodger, gouger, or sauger, side-swiper, mountain stem-winder, prock, rackabore), hang-down, happy auger, harpy-hag, hidebehind, hodag, hugag, hymapom hog bear, jayhawk, kankagee, kickle (hickle) snifter, leprocaun, log gar, lucive (lucieve, *loup-cervier*), luferlang, milano bird, moskitto, mountain rabbit, mugwump, philamaloo (filla-ma-loo, phillyloo) bird, pigwigen, pinnacle grouse, ratchet owl, roperite, rum(p)tifusel, rubberado, sandhill perch, santer, screbonil, slide-rock bolter, sliver cat, snipe, snoligoster, snow snake, snow wasset, snydae, splinter cat, squonk, swamp auger, teakettler, tote-road shagawaw, tree-squeak, tripodero, upland trout, wampus cat, wapa-loosie, whangdoodle, whiffenpuff, whifflepoof(fle), whirl-igig fish, whirling wimpus, wiggle-whiffit, will-am-alone, windigo, and wunk.

Some fearsome critters are designed to scare green-horns or tourists (e.g. the agropelter, which throws chunks of wood at passing lumbermen). Others are merely preposterous (e.g. the rubberado or bouncing porcupine, which gives resiliency to anything eating its flesh). Still others are horrible examples of creatures adapted to their environment (e.g. the snow snake, a deadly, pink-eyed, white-bodied serpent invisible to its prey) or hostile to it (e.g. the augerino, a malevolent subterranean denizen of Colorado whose sole mission in life is to let water out of irrigation ditches).

The linguistic inventions of this animal mythology are a fascinating study in humorous nomenclature. (William T. Cox, *Fearsome Creatures of the Lumberwoods*, 1910; George Philip Krapp, *The English Language in America*, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 109–113; Charles Brown, *Paul Bunyan Natural History*, 1935; H. H. Tryon, *Fearsome Critters*, 1939; H. L. Mencken, *The American Language: Supplement I*, 1945, pp. 245–252. B. A. BOTKIN

**feasting** Feasts, ranging from the extremely simple feast of the first game killed by a youth, to the ostentatious, elaborate, and often wasteful potlatch feasts of North Pacific Coast noblemen, were given by the North American Indians as part of almost all gatherings, whether of a religious, social, political, or economic na-

ture. Often a feast concluded a major ceremony, as the Busk or Big House ceremonies, but family and minor ceremonies often consist largely of the feast itself, preceded by a formal or informal prayer. Except in rare instances women prepare the food for feasts; often, however, men serve it. At the present time many tribes attempt to use for their feasts native foods, such as Indian or squaw corn, and wild game (even if only squirrels, where once deer were used), although in daily life non-native foodstuffs are now used more than native ones. See FIRST-FRUIITS. [EWV]

**Feast of Age or Feast of Goibniu** One of the three gifts of Manannán to the Tuatha Dé Danann of Old Irish mythology after their defeat at the hands of the Milesians. When Manannán came to advise them, he sent them into the hills and mounds of Ireland to dwell forever and gave them three wonderful gifts: the *faeí fiada*, which gave them the power to become invisible, the Feast of Age at which Goibniu served his ale that kept old age from touching them, and the Pigs of Manannán, which served them for food and whose hordes were inexhaustible.

**Feast of Fools** A festival of the Middle Ages and earlier in Europe, in principle related to the Roman *Festa Stultorum* and *Saturnalia*, and occurring some time in the period about Christmas and New Year's, in which the classes of the lower clergy and officials each, on its own day, presided in burlesqued ceremonials: a type of clowning holiday in which, because it was a holiday and therefore out of the normal course of things, a reversal of normal procedures occurred. The Feast of Fools is the name applied most often to that festival occurring on January 14, although it has been identified with the Feast of the Ass on Christmas; January 1, the Circumcision, was the day the priests held sway, as for example the choirboys did on Innocent's Day.

The class to whom the day belonged nominated, in France and Italy, a bishop and archbishop of fools. These officers were "ordained" in a burlesqued ceremony and then presented to the people. During the course of the day, the participants in the revels masked (masks were in common use from 1200 to 1445), dressed in women's clothes, danced in the choir, sang obscene songs. At the altar they played dice, or ate puddings, cakes, and sausages there. They burned old shoes in the censers and censed the holy books and places with the vile smoke. Then, in carts, they went in procession through the streets, singing bawdy verses and indulging in obscene postures and gestures. This revelry eventually died out in the 16th century, after earlier ineffective prohibitions, in the general tightening of the Catholic Church in face of the Reformation.

Some have tried to associate the Feast of Fools with April Fools' Day as a vernal equinox celebration, but the change of the year's beginning from March or April to January occurred long after the Feast of Fools was observed. Compare also the Abbot of Unreason, the Lord of Misrule, and that group of entertaining major domos presiding over the late Autumn and early Winter festivals.

**Febold Feboldson** Mythical and synthetic inventor-hero of the Great Plains, in the person of "an indomitable Swedish pioneer who could surmount any difficulty."

In 1927 or 1928 Don Holmes, of the Gothenburg (Nebraska) *Times*, picked up the character from Wayne T. Carroll, a lumber dealer, who wrote a weekly newspaper column under the name of Watt Tell. Another Gothenburg resident and occasional contributor to the *Times*, Paul R. Beath, is responsible for giving Febold wider circulation and more or less definitive form. According to Beath (*Febold Feboldson, Tall Tales from the Great Plains*, Lincoln, 1918, p. viii), the only historical link in the cycle is Febold's great-nephew, Bergstrom Stromberg, probably based on Olof Bergstrom, a Swedish pioneer who is reputed to have founded Stromsburg and Gothenburg, Nebraska, and who was the hero of many local anecdotes and yarns. The emergence of the Febold cycle from local tradition and newspaper humor illustrates the process by which migratory tall tales and jests in the Paul Bunyan tradition become attached to individual heroes and adapted to regional conditions—in this case, those of the treeless prairie and the hardships and hazards of plains pioneering, such as "tornadoes, hostile Indians, drouths, extreme heat and cold, unsavory politicians, and floods." The result is a mingling of familiar tall tale motifs and creatures (e.g. monster mosquitoes that drill through an iron boiler only to have their stingers clinched inside, the health-giving prairie wind that revives a corpse on its way to the graveyard, cutting and selling frozen postholes, the mugwump bird, the hoop snake, the dismal sauger, the snollygoster, the hodag) with some new variations and inventions (e.g. hitching an eagle-bee to a plow and plowing a beeline for a boundary between Kansas and Nebraska and the saga of the Dirtyleg Indians).

[BAB]

**feces** Concern with excrement is evident in a great many North American Indian tales, and human excrement was used in certain ceremonies by Eastern Woodlands and Southwestern tribes. In trickster tales especially, trickster's excrements often advise him, or warn him of impending danger; in other tales trickster eats certain foods which physic him, or is suddenly frightened and voids. In a Penobscot tale of northeastern North America the culture hero, Gluskabe, does everything a powerful baby he is trying to win over does, but is defeated in his purpose when the baby eats his own excrement. The Southern Okanagan of Washington personalize feces, and in several Northeastern myths a fecal lake is mentioned. In ceremonies human excrement is handled and pretense at least is made of eating it by clowns in Southwestern Pueblo Indian dances. In the False Face and Shuck Face performances of the Eastern Woodlands the performers smeared human or animal excrement over their hands, and then stroked or shook hands with onlookers whom they were protecting from disease. A great many other specific references to excrement in myths, and instances of the actual use of excrement in ceremonies could be cited; the reaction to all of these by Indians themselves is that the mention or use of excrement makes for a humorous situation. [Ewv]

**female rain** In many Southwestern, Plains, and Eastern Woodlands North American Indian tribes, soft gentle rain is referred to metaphorically in tales and prayers as "female rain"; hard, pelting rain is spoken of as "male rain." [Ewv]

**Fenda Maria** Literally, Lady Maria: title and heroine of an African Negro (Angola) folktale. Fenda Maria desired greatly to unbewitch and marry the beautiful young Ngana (Lord) Vidiji Milanda, who lay sleeping on the bank of a river far away. To do this she had to walk eight days through the forest "where goes the child of Bird, the child of Man is not to be seen therein," and to waken him she must weep ten plus two jugs full of tears. When Fenda Maria had filled ten plus one jugs full of tears, she gave up one jugful in payment for a young slave girl who was being sold by some passers-by. She continued to weep, and when she had filled ten plus one and a half jugs, she told the slave to weep a little, because her eyes were tired and she must sleep. But she told the girl to call her as soon as the jug was nearly full, so that she might waken the beautiful young Vidiji Milanda. The girl disobeyed, however, filled the jug full, and when Vidiji Milanda awoke and said, "Embrace me, my wife," she did not deceive him. Fenda Maria thus became slave to her own slave, who thenceforth called herself Fenda Maria, and the real Fenda Maria was called Kamaria.

One day before setting out on a journey to Portugal, Vidiji Milanda asked all his slaves to name what presents they wanted him to bring them. Most of them wanted earrings or beads, but Kamaria asked for a self-lighting lamp, a self-sharpening razor, self-cutting scissors, and a truth-telling stone. Vidiji Milanda had to go to many places before he found all these strange gifts. But he did find them and brought them home to the slave-girl Kamaria.

In the night Kamaria struck her magic calabash on the floor, dressed herself in the rich garments that spilled out of it, told her story to these four remarkable gifts, and bade them destroy her if her tale was not the truth. The lamp lighted itself, the razor sharpened itself, the scissors cut, and the stone of truth pounded on the floor, but none of them harmed Kamaria. An old woman saw and overheard this performance for three nights. On the fourth she brought Vidiji Milanda secretly to watch. When he heard the story and saw the acts of truth, he cried out, "Embrace me, my wife." The pair then fainted away out of pure joy. The impostor was put in a barrel of tar which was set on fire. The little white bone that remained was used to make the white smear with which Fenda Maria and Vidiji Milanda smeared themselves. The smearing of the body with the burned flesh or bones of an enemy is a widespread African practice said to prevent the inimical ghost from taking vengeance. The Ki-mbundu text of this story with translation is in Heli Chatelain's *Folktales of Angola*, MAFLS i, pp. 29 ff. See ACT OF TRUTH; FALSE OR SUBSTITUTED BRIDE.

**Feng Shui** Chinese geomancy.

**fennel** An herb of the parsley family (*Feniculum vulgare*). Pliny lists it among the remedies discovered by the animals: the serpent eats it when he sheds his skin to renew his youth and to improve his eyesight. All parts of the plant are used to improve the sight, cure poison, reduce excess flesh, and to increase the milk supply of nursing mothers and wet-nurses. It was used in the rites of Adonis, and is a symbol for flattery. The leaves were used for crowning victors in games. "Sow fennel—sow trouble" is an old saying. See MAYWEED.



**Fenris or Fenris wolf** In Teutonic mythology, a huge wolf, son of Loki and Angur-boda whom the gods attempted to fetter. He easily broke two strong chains, but mistrusted the magic silken cord, Gleipnir. He insisted that Tyr place a hand in his mouth during the tying, and when he found himself securely bound, he bit the hand off. The cord will hold until Ragnarök, when he will join Loki, devour Odin, and in turn be rent asunder by Vidar.

**Fensalir or Fensal** In Teutonic mythology, the magnificent mansion of Frigga to which she invited all married couples who had led virtuous lives on earth to enjoy each others' company forever.

**Ferdiad** In Old Irish legend, friend and sworn brother of Cuchulain, beguiled by Medb to fight against Cuchulain in the War for the Brown Bull. The story of the reluctant three-day combat between the friends, the inevitable, gradual mounting of their anger, the final killing of Ferdiad by Cuchulain, and Cuchulain's immediate grief is one of the most moving and famous stories in the world.

**Fergus mac Roich** In Old Irish legend, a warrior of the Red Branch, one of the greatest heroes of Ulster in the reign of Conchobar, and one of the tutors of Cuchulain. He left the court of Conchobar and went into exile in Connacht because he could not countenance the treacherous killing of the three sons of Usnech. See DEIRDRE.

**fern** Any of the flowerless, seedless plants (class *Filicineæ*) reproducing by spores. In Germany a concoction of the male shield fern cures toothache. The root of this fern, dug when the sun is in the sign Leo and hidden in the room, will cause any sorcerers present to turn pale and leave the room. If dug at the full of the moon, steeped in water, and sprinkled on cattle it will keep them from bewitchment. Royal fern is soothing if laid on wounds, bruises, or rupture. They say in Cornwall that biting off the first fern seen in Spring will keep one free from toothache all year. In Northumberland it is unlucky to bring maidenhair fern into the house. In other parts of the country it is used for colds and lung complaints. The Mohegan Indians steep sweet fern in water and apply it to ivy poisoning and use a jelly from the root as a remedy for lung complaints. Moon fern is believed to be so magnetic that it will pull the shoes off the feet of horses and cattle. In the Vosges Mountains the ashes of ferns cut and burned on July 30 (feast of St. Abdon, patron of hygiene) kept away insects and unwanted guests. In Ireland they say St. Patrick put a curse on the fern, yet it is the emblem of fruitfulness, a substitute for tea, and is used as a remedy for burns and scalding. In Wales wearing a fern will cause one to lose his way and be followed by snakes. A fern growing in a tree is a cure for stomach-ache.

**fern seed** The reproductive spores of the fern, anciently called seeds, and the subject of varied and widespread magic lore. All beliefs regarding the magical properties of fern seed are rooted in sympathetic magic pure and simple. Those who believed that fern seeds were invisible also believed that fern seed would render anyone who carried or ate them. Those who be-

som only on Midsummer Eve, also believed that they would lead the finder or possessor to golden treasure. As late as 1870 the Lancashire peasantry believed that fern seed "gathered on the Holy Bible" would render invisible anyone courageous enough to swallow it. In Elizabethan England it had to be gathered on Midsummer Eve to be efficacious. Later anyone caught gathering it was suspected of witchcraft.

In Bohemian belief fern seed blooms only on Midsummer (St. John's) Eve with a golden bloom. If the finder will climb a mountain that night with the precious blossom in his hand, he will either find gold or have it revealed to him in a vision. Many Bohemians sprinkle fern seed in with their savings to keep the hoard from decreasing. In Russia also the golden flower must be picked at midnight on Midsummer Eve. Then if it is thrown into the air it will land over buried treasure.

A whole new variety of fern seed superstitions exists among the Georgia Negroes. Some believe that if you walk with it in your shoe the spirits will follow you; others sprinkle it about their homes to keep out ghosts.

**Fescennine** Pertaining to a kind of verse recited at Roman weddings in ancient times: said to have been originally a form of obscene, ridiculing verse of harvest festivals, and originating at Fescennia in Etruria. Licentious banter of this sort, never taken very seriously by those it is aimed at, is a common occurrence at festal occasions when inducing fertility is desired, and is a world-wide custom.

**Festivals of the Dead (Chinese)** Ceremonies (having many local variations) whose general function is to show the spirits that their descendants on earth still respect and venerate them, and to supply them with the necessities of life after death, i.e. food, clothes, servants, money. In China responsibility for the welfare of deceased ancestors is the responsibility of the oldest surviving male member of the family, who, as priest, is responsible for the observation of the domestic rites. Major ceremonies are performed in the Spring (Ch'ing Ming), on the 15th of the Seventh Moon, and on the first of the Tenth Moon. Because the dead are buried in the fields, these times, when the families "sweep the graves" and repair the tumuli, are occasions for picnics. In the Tenth Moon winter clothes are sent to the dead together with gifts of symbolic money. The Seventh Moon, the Feast of Hungry Ghosts, is the time when the Buddhist hells also open their gates and ghosts roam through the country. [RJP]

**fetch** In Irish and north of England folklore, the apparition of a living person; one's spirit-double, identical in appearance, even to details of dress. A fetch can be seen usually only by persons with second sight. It is most commonly seen, however, by a special friend or near relative just before or at the moment of death of the original. If it is seen in the morning it is thought to presage longevity for the original; its appearance at night means he is about to die or has just died. The fetch usually comes walking along easily and casually and disappears across the fields or through a gap in a hedge. If it seems to be agitated or distressed, a violent death is known to be in store for the original. One's fetch is even occasionally seen by oneself.

**fetch-candle or fetch-light** In Irish and north of England folklore, a supernatural light like the small flame of a candle seen moving along through the air at night: believed not only to presage the death of the one who sees it, but believed also to pass across his vision between his home and his grave. In some localities it is believed to be accompanying some ghostly funeral, and to be visible only as a death warning to the beholder or as sign of the death of someone he loves. In south Hampshire it is said to go out when the soul of the dying departs. Compare **CORSE CANDLE**.

**fetish, fetishism** These words are derived from the Portuguese *feitico*, "a thing made," which was applied by the early travelers of this nation to African charms, religious figures, and the like. They are indiscriminately and incorrectly employed by non-scientific writers to denote African religion. Strictly and properly speaking, however, fetish should be used only for a magic charm, and fetishism for the beliefs in magic associated with such charms. They are not to be employed in speaking of entire religious systems, nor of carved or other representations of power sources, such as deities or local spirits. [MJH]

**Fialar or Fjalar** In Teutonic mythology (1) The dwarf who, with Galar, killed the great teacher, Kvasir. They made a drink from his blood and honey which made anyone who drank it a poet.

(2) A cock who crows to announce Ragnarök. He also signifies fire; hence the Norse expression, "the red cock is crowing over the house," means that it is on fire. Sometimes the phrase is used to mean that the sun is rising.

**Fianna** The organized band of warriors of Fionn MacCumal, Irish chieftain of the 2nd and 3rd centuries: usually termed *Fianna Eireann*, the Fenians of Ireland.

**fidchell** An ancient Irish board game whose rules of play are uncertain: often called chess in translations, but on slim evidence. The *fidchell* board and pieces, often highly ornamented, are mentioned many times in Old Irish literature. Diarmuid, for example, throws berries from the quicken tree to indicate moves to Oisín. This enables Oisín to beat Fionn, who is the better player, and thus betrays Diarmuid's presence in the tree to Fionn.

**fiddlin' tunes** The traditional melodies played on the violin by folk musicians of the American frontier and still current in rural and isolated communities, in the hillbilly style, and in the folk dance revival. They are chiefly dance tunes, many of them derived from English, Scottish, and Irish airs, and include reels, jigs, hornpipes, hoedowns, jumps, quadrilles, etc. The repertoire is extensive and the titles are indicative of the background and speech of the people who danced to them. *Cripple Creek, Turkey in the Straw, Fire in the Mountain, Sugar in the Gourd, Hell among the Yearlings, Chicken Reel, Possum up a Gum Stump, Irish Washerwoman, Arkansas Traveler, Buffalo Gals*—these are among the favorites. The instruments on which they have been performed might be "store-bought," mail-order, or home-made. The players, some of whom have achieved amazing virtuosity, are largely self-taught and play only by ear, holding their fiddles in various posi-

tions of their own choice—in the lap, between the knees, against the upper arm, etc. Open strings are sometimes used as drones, producing a sound similar to the bagpipe, and continuous double-stopping is occasionally facilitated by whittling the bridge to a flatter shape. Though most of the tunes are in a major mode, the Dorian and Mixolydian occur with some frequency, and certain habits of raising or lowering the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale show a character of musical archaism.

**Field of Reeds** In Egyptian Osirian religion, the after-world below the western horizon. This region of perpetual springtime, ruled over by Osiris, was reached by the souls of the dead in a magical boat. Farming the fields was the principal work of the shades, and in the fields grew great harvests, the grain reaching high above the head. Compare **AALU**; **ELYSIUM**.

**field spirit** A spirit of vegetation, seen in grain fields when the wind blows through the stalks; personification of the growing crops: often referred to as *corn spirit*. Field spirits are conceived of in both animal and human form. The field spirit flees from one swathe to another before the mowers or reapers and is believed to be embodied or inherent in the last sheaf cut. He who cuts the last sheaf has captured the spirit. The sheaf then is shaped into a figure representing its inhabitant and presented to the owner of the field, who preserves it carefully until the next spring's planting. Typical of the field spirits of European peasant lore are the German *Bullkaters*, *Haferbocks*, *Kornwolves*, and *Rogerhunds*. See **CAILLEAC**; **ESTONIAN MYTHOLOGY**; **HARVEST DOLL**.

**Fifinella** A female of the Gremlin family who tickled fighter pilots and bombardiers just as their sights were lined up for a good run. Compare **DINGELLE**.

**fig** Because Mohammed swore by it, the fig, like the date, is sacred; it is intelligent, is but a step removed from the animal kingdom, and is called the fruit of Heaven. In England Palm Sunday was sometimes called *Fig Sunday* because of Jesus' desire to eat figs on the way from Bethany. Among the Hebrews the fig tree was associated with the vine as a symbol of peace and plenty. Among the Romans it was sacred and the milk of the wild fig tree was sacrificed to Juno Caprotina. The emperor was associated with Dionysus in the artificial fertilization of the fig tree. In central Africa the *Timbukus* build little huts for the spirits of their ancestors in the shade of these trees which are sacred. In Italy and parts of Africa, the fig tree is the spiritual husband of barren women. They are anointed with the milky sap and tied to the tree. The fig tree is sacred also to the Buddhists because the Gautama found wisdom under the pipul tree (*F. religiosa*). Among many peoples the fig tree is known as either the tree of life or of knowledge.

Either ripe or dried, the fig is a staple article of diet in many parts of the world. In Greece the non-intoxicating milky juice of the tree is given to babies, and is also widely used as a medicine. In Louisiana this milk is used to cure ringworm and to remove warts; among the Hindus it is given to relieve toothache. The Hindus use the bark for a tonic and as a cure for diabetes. In Franconia a dried fig is kept in the mouth to ease toothache, while in Styria and Swabia figs are

first cooked in milk for the same purpose. In Bavaria the same remedy is used for ulcerated gums. Heated and split open figs are placed on gumboils to draw them. Boiled in barley water they are used in pulmonary complaints. The juice of figs mixed with hog-grease is used to cure the bites of mad dogs. A sirup of the leaves or green fruit is used for hoarseness, coughs, and all diseases of the lungs and chest. A decoction of the leaves is a remedy for scrofula, running sores, and scabs.

In Timor a fig tree is planted at the time of the sealing of a blood covenant. It is dangerous to lie down in the shade of a fig tree as this is a favorite haunt of spirits. The fig leaves worn by Adam and Eve to cover their nakedness were used because they were the largest leaf growing in Palestine rather than for any symbolic reason. However, in legend, the fig tree, because it was the tree from which the pair ate was the only tree which would permit them to use its leaves to cover themselves. Louisiana Negroes say that if you fall out of a fig tree, you will never get well. They also believe that if fig trees are planted on land which has not been paid for, the land will never be paid for.

In folktale there are magic figs which cause a magic sleep (D981.5) or cause horns to grow on people (D1375.1.1.5). The rain of figs, like the rain of sausages or fishes (J1151.1.3) is the motif for the story in which an old woman convinces her son that it has actually rained figs, so that when he confesses in court that he killed a man on the night it rained figs, he is let off as a nitwit. An Estonian folktale explains that once the fig tree sheltered Jesus from the rain, and has been evergreen ever since (A2711.4).

(2) A gesture of contempt, known in Italy, France, Germany, Holland, England, etc., and consisting of placing the thumb between the index and middle fingers; biting the thumb is likewise often called "making a fig." The first of these gestures is held by some to be a sign-symbol of the vulva, and is used, as for example in Italy, as both an insulting gesture and a counter to the evil eye (a wish for good luck); one etymological theory holds that the expression originated in an Italian word meaning both the fruit and the pudendum muliebre, thus making of the gesture a punning symbol. The more common legend connected with the origin of the expression is however quite different, if less credible. In the 12th century, the Milanese revolted against Frederick Barbarossa, and expelled the empress, his wife, from their city mounted backwards on a mule. When Frederick retook Milan, he assembled its inhabitants and, under threat of instant execution if they refused, made each of them remove with his teeth a fig stuck in the rear end of a mule. According to this theory of its origin, the gesture began as a sign of contempt for the Milanese. See GESTURES.

**fighting of the friends** In west of Ireland folk belief, the battle, which takes place around the house where a person is dying, between his friends and his enemies among the dead. The enemies are variously the powers of evil, the fallen angels, or the fairies or síde, and are referred to as "they" or the Others. In Irish folklore, as elsewhere, the fairies and the dead are often indistinguishably confused. One's friends and relatives among the dead fight for him against those Others, and the

noise around the house is a great clamor, heard by everyone, but few people are gifted to see it. The battle is either to save the departed soul from the powers of evil, or to save it for this life against the Others who would steal it away.

Lady Augusta Gregory tells the story of a woman who lay ill. Every day for three days she told her child to bake a cake; three times the child baked the cake and three times it vanished. An old man came to the door; it was the child's grandfather (who was dead). He took the three cakes, he said, for he was watching the house for three nights and needed them. There was a terrible fight on the third night, he said, and "they" would have carried the mother away, except that he kept his shoulder to the door and prevented them. After that the mother got well. They say you should not grieve too much if some loved person dies ahead of you. It is a good thing to have some one out there fighting for you when your own hour comes.

This fighting of the friends at the hour of death is found also in the folklore of the Aran Islands.

**figona or higona** The San Cristoval (Melanesia) name for spirits in female snake form which, unlike the adaro, usually are not thought of as the ghosts of men. Figona do not always have form. Those residing in rocks, trees, and pools are never seen. The figona receiving real worship and sacrifice, however, always have a serpent incarnation but can take the form of a stone. The chief figona is Agunua who is "all of them." The Arosi name is hi'ona and that used on Florida Island is vigona. In Bauro the figona may be a ghost of the dead.

**filial piety** Filial piety, necessary to preserve order in the community, is the most generally praised of Chinese virtues. Innumerable exempla encourage Chinese in this virtue. For example, a son should cut off part of his body to nourish a starving parent. A daughter should nourish her feeble parents with milk from her breasts. Wife and children should starve rather than deprive parents of a bit of rice. One man had wooden images made of his deceased parents which he visited every day. One day the wife stuck a needle into them. When the filial son returned and found the images in tears, he divorced his wife. [RDJ]

**Fimbulwinter or Fimbal winter** In Teutonic mythology, the terrible period of cold preceding Ragnarök. There will be three seasons of winter without a break, followed by three more during which the crimes of man will increase.

**Findabair** In Old Irish legend, daughter of Medb and Ailill, queen and king of Connacht; beloved of Fraech. Her love and marriage with Fraech was thwarted by her father, who feared the enmity of rival kings. Findabair was extraordinarily beautiful, and was promised in marriage to every hero who would undertake to fight Cuchulain in the War for the Brown Bull. Some say she died of humiliation, and some say she died of heart-break, after Fraech was killed by Cuchulain.

**fingernails** The folklore of the fingernails covers beliefs and usages as varied as putting them in love charms, or prognosticating the number of one's friends or foes from the white spots on them, to their use in witchcraft and conjure.

In the British Isles and quite generally through the United States, it is said that a baby will become a thief if its nails are cut before it is a year old. For this reason mothers bite their babies' nails off, for the first time at least.

White spots on the thumb nail mean that you will receive a gift; on the forefinger they indicate the number of your friends, on the middle finger the number of your foes. White spots on the ring finger mean you will receive a letter or your lover is coming. White spots on the little finger mean a journey to go.

That cutting the fingernails strengthens eyesight is a common saying. If you cut them during a waning moon they will not grow back too fast. Cutting them on a Friday either cures or causes toothache. Southern U.S. Negroes say that to dream of cutting them portends a disappointment. To cut the nails on Monday brings news, on Tuesday, new shoes. Cutting them on Wednesday compels you to travel, on Thursday, more shoes or an illness. Cutting the fingernails on Friday brings you either money or a toothache. By cutting them on Saturday you will make sure of seeing your lover on Sunday. But if you cut them on Sunday, bad luck will follow you, you will get into a fight, or see blood before morning, and the Devil will get you in the end.

Fingernails comprise potent and compulsive ingredients of various southern United States Negro conjure tricks. Soak your nail parings in wine, for instance, and this wine served to the one you love will win a return of affection. A dead man's fingernails buried in a little bag under your enemy's doorstep will give him the ague until you take the bag away. The parings of a person's nails sprinkled in a path where he is sure to step over them will put that person in your power for either good or ill.

Many peoples in all parts of the world save the parings of fingernails and the clippings of hair lest they fall into the hands of enemies who can work witchcraft with them. The Seneca Indians are said to have thrown them over the cliffs for the Little People. The markings of the fingernails, the half moons at the base, shape, scars, etc., belong to the art of palmistry. The Indian erotologists report that fingernails should be without spots and lines, clean, bright, convex, hard, and unbroken. While making love, lovers use their fingernails to scratch designs on the bodies of their mistresses. These designs are placed on or near the breast, on the waist, or on the sexual parts. [RDJ]

**fingers** The folklore of the fingers varies from the rather well-known practice of keeping the fingers crossed while passing a graveyard to the reverence of finger bones as sacred relics and the complex practice of finger mutilation among many primitive peoples. Among the Benga of West Africa, for instance, the first joints of the fingers of dead ancestors are kept (along with the fingernails and a wisp of hair) in a little bag; new finger joints and nails are added as more members of a family die off, and the collection is handed down from generation to generation as sacred relics with which the souls of the dead are associated. Finger bones of chiefs and heroes are likewise preserved and venerated in village shrines in the Solomon Islands.

The practice of finger mutilation or amputation for religious or magical reasons, for sacrifice to or propitia-

tion of gods, for the cure, success, or other benefit to near relatives, or for some benefit to the one giving up the finger, or as a symbol of mourning is known among many primitive peoples. Finger mutilation or amputation as a sign of grief or as propitiation to the dead occurs at many mourning ceremonies. In the Fiji Islands, for instance, it is reported that the death of a certain chief called for the sacrifice of 100 fingers. A child's finger, or one joint thereof, was sometimes cut off for a father. Hottentot women are said to give up a finger joint for the death of a husband. In the Tonga Islands the people cut off a little-finger joint as a sacrifice to some deity or to effect the recovery of a sick relation. This practice for these reasons is also known in some of the Fiji Islands and on Futuna of the New Hebrides.

Sir J. G. Frazer in his *Folklore in the Old Testament* cites the testimony of several early scholars that among the Hottentots and Bushmen the little-finger joint of a newborn child is often sacrificed to prolong its life, especially if previous children of the parents have died. Some Australian coastal tribes are said to amputate the finger-joints of female infants and throw them into the sea so that the girls may become successful fisherwomen.

In European folklore, quite generally in the United States, and commonly among southern U.S. Negroes, to keep the fingers crossed while passing a graveyard protects one from whatever evil might otherwise befall. To keep the fingers crossed while lying is a child's trick. The idea is that to do so "crosses out" the wickedness of lying or protects the soul against the Devil's seizing it in the moment of sin. In England it is said that if you tie a string around your little finger when you go to town, you will receive a gift. Southern Negroes say that pointing your finger at a fruit tree will make the fruit fall to the ground. Locking the fingers together and pulling hard will not only stop an owl from hooting, but will stop your enemy from defecating. Never point at a grave. To do so will either cause your own death to hurry upon you, or the ghost will rise from the grave and chase you, or your finger will rot off. Holding up the hand with fingers spread, and crying "Fingers," or "Fins," is a call for temporary truce or surrender by a player in children's games.

Southern Negroes call the index finger the "dog finger" or the "conjure finger" and say that one must never touch a wound with it or something terrible will happen. This no doubt reflects an old general European belief that the index finger was poisonous and a wound touched with it would never heal. Other fairly general beliefs are that if your joints crack when your fingers are pulled, someone (you know who) dearly loves you. Also to point your finger at a whip-poor-will when you hear him call (a death omen) will counteract that omen. Two fingers spread and pointed up made the magic (i.e. morale-building) V for Victory in World War II.

In folktale and legend the fingers of saints give off light and fire (F552.2), children are sometimes nourished by their own fingers (T611.1), as was Abraham, and an unusual number of fingers (F552.1) is sometimes the mark of the extraordinary hero. Some old accounts of Cuchulain describe him as having seven fingers on each hand. See MNEMONICS.

Although the lore of fingers is properly part of the systematic doctrines of chiromants, fingers enter folklore in other ways. The astrologers describe the fingers as follows: thumb, Venus; index, Jove; middle, Saturn; ring, Sol; little, Mercury. Other names for the fingers are thuma; towcher, foreman, pointer, scite-finger; long-man, long finger; lech-man, medical finger, ring finger, gold finger, digitus annularis; little man, little finger, ear finger. The ring finger is thought to have a direct connection with the heart. If dipped in even a little poison the effect would be felt immediately. This is clearly associated with the folklore of the wedding ring. In India five whorls at the tips of five fingers mean that a man will become a princeling and ten whorls mean he will become a sovereign. Sir George Grierson has reported a general belief from eastern Hindustan that the Water of Life is in the little finger and if we knew how to get it we would become immortal. Grown people in all parts of the world like to play games with the fingers and toes of babies. "This little pig went to market" and "Master thumb is first to come" are well known examples. [xv]

**Finnbeara** King of the fairies of Connacht, Ireland. There are many current stories about him: that he cured a sick woman once, accepted food from her, but refused salt; that he repaid the smith who was not afraid to shoe his three-legged horse with a pound note delivered by a puff of wind. He brings good crops to the region by his presence in Cnoc Meada; but the people expect a lean year if Finnbeara is off somewhere else.

**Fionn (Fionn) or Fenian cycle** A body of Irish heroic and romantic tales, dealing with the exploits of Fionn MacCumhal, his warriors, called the Fianna, his son Oisín, and his grandson Oscar. Fionn was in the height of his fame and splendor during the 3rd century A.D. The tales exist in manuscripts dating from the 12th to the 17th century in Middle and Modern Irish; but a few of the texts occur in Old and early Middle Irish. The action takes place mostly in Leinster and Munster. Fionn's greatest rival, Goll Mac Morna, is usually identified with Connacht. The whole flavor of the material is one of splendid pagan valor and generosity—generosity both of hand and temper. The tales appear for the most part in characteristic ballad form, interspersed with a number in prose form, of which *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Gráinne* is famous.

The parentage of Fionn and his feud with Goll Mac Morna are set forth in an 11th century manuscript describing the battle of Cnucha. *The Boyhood Deeds of Fionn*, extolling the wisdom of Fionn as a young boy, perhaps dates from the 12th century but is most popularly presented in a 15th century text. *Oisín in the Land of Youth*, describing the visit of Fionn's son, Oisín, to the typical Celtic fairyland has captured the imagination of poets from Michael Comyn, whose 18th century version is the most common one presented, to William Butler Yeats's *Wanderings of Oisín*. The most famous of all the stories in the Finn Cycle is the long 8000-line story called *The Colloquy of the Old Men (Acallam na Senóréc)*. This is one of the earlier texts, composed about 1200 A.D., serving as a kind of frame story for a number of heroic tales and place-name explanations. It is the story of the meeting of Oisín and Caoilte, 150 years after the death of Fionn,

with St. Patrick, and the extolling of pagan versus Christian virtues and character.

**Finnish folklore** The Finnish people possess a great wealth of all kinds of folk literature. Fortunately, this was to a large extent recorded and published rather early. Since the middle of the 19th century the Finns have produced a series of distinguished scholars in the field of folklore, who have materially advanced the science of folklore, and their significance has extended far beyond the boundaries of their country. For the cultivation of the sentiment of nationality of the Finnish people their folk literature has been extraordinarily important, and their whole cultural life up to the present time has been permeated and nourished by their folk traditions.

*The First Steps* The first folklore book in Finland, a collection of proverbs, was published in the year 1702 by a clergyman, H. Florinus. The first magic song or rune, that for exorcising the bear, had already been published in 1675, and in the year 1733 five other such magic songs were issued by G. Maxenius. Twenty magic runes found in the records of the law courts of the 17th century were published by R. Hertzberg in 1889. H. G. Porthan (1739-1804) issued between 1766 and 1778 five volumes of his work *De Poesi Fennica*, in which he made a thorough study of the meter of the Finnish folk songs. Christian Ganander published in 1789 his *Mythologia Fennica*; it was also he who published the first two Finnish animal tales (1784) and the first collection of Finnish riddles (1783). Z. Topelius (1781-1831), on his trips about the country as physician, had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the untold wealth of folk songs in Österbotten. During his long illness he prepared and published a collection of folk songs in five parts (1822-1831) which contained 80 old and 20 new folk songs. This was the final result of many years of work and of the great help he had received from a host of friends.

*The Finnish Literary Society* Founded in the year 1831 by young teachers in the university, the Finnish Literary Society has carried out an extensive program: to spread the knowledge of the native country and its fortunes, to further the development of the Finnish tongue into a cultivated language, and to publish literature in the native speech for the use of both the educated class and the masses of the people. Although their activities had many sides—among other things they issued the translations of Shakespeare's plays—nevertheless it is well known that the principal reason for their foundation was to furnish help to Elias Lönnrot so that he might issue his collection of Finnish folklore. This society thus became the earliest folklore society in the world. The society published as early as 1836 an appeal to the country people, urging them to collect and to send in folklore materials. From year to year it gave scholarships to young students, sending them into all parts of the land to collect folklore, and in this respect achieved great success, especially during the years 1846 to 1849. The society received help from organized student groups and from Finnish nationalists. It became a center for the aspirations for a Finnish national culture. All important works in the fields of Finnish language, literature, and folklore have been prepared under the direction of this society from its

beginning down to the present day. In the year 1840 it began the editing of the Finnish scientific-philological journal, *Suomi*, which is still appearing. In the series of books, *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia* (Publications of the Finnish Literary Society), there have appeared up to the year 1946, 230 volumes among which are found a great many works on folklore. The most significant step made by the society was the publication of the national epic, *Kalevala*, which had been brought together by Lönnrot—1st ed., 1835, new and expanded edition, 1849. This work has had a tremendous influence on the development of Finnish culture. In the year 1850 the Tsarist Russian regime forbade any other books in the Finnish language to be published except those dealing purely with religion and farming. The society was not allowed to accept as members any students, artisans, or farmers. Women were also excluded. Fortunately the publication of folklore collections was permitted to proceed, and the society made use of this right. For example, from 1852 to 1866 they published in four volumes the folktales of the Finnish people, which had been collected by Eero Salmelainen.

In 1878 the society adopted a program worked out by E. Aspelin which had as its purpose the systematic collection of all kinds of folklore materials. In the same year (which also witnessed the founding of the English Folk-Lore Society) the society was given official recognition by the state and was granted yearly subventions. In addition, in the year 1884 a commission from the society was formed for the exclusive purpose of promoting folklore research. A large library was brought together for which Lönnrot alone contributed 2,500 volumes, and a beautiful building for the seat of the society was erected at the expense of the entire nation in 1890. Among those who have assisted with its work and have written down folklore material and presented it to the society, there are numbered many humble officials, teachers in the public schools, educated peasants, and artisans. Their recordings are frequently of very high value. To their efforts should be added the results of trained investigators, scholars supported by the society, and other students. The rich folklore collection of the society, which today numbers about one and a quarter million items, is the work of the entire people and is a sign of their national sentiment. The last great effort, which took place in 1935 on the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the *Kalevala*, brought into the society 133,000 new folklore records. Work continued, and the society keeps on preparing its books of instruction and questionnaires for the organization of the work of the large number of collaborators throughout the entire country.

The arrangement and the publication of the collected materials has proceeded very far. More than to anything else, attention has been given to the old runes. There now exists a completed work of 33 large volumes with about 85,000 variants under the title *Suomen kansan vanhat runot* (The Old Runes of the Finnish People), 1908-1945. The folk melodies were also published under the title *Suomen kansan sävelmiä*, five volumes, 1896-1945. A significant part of folk beliefs concerning hunting, fishing, farming, and raising live stock was published in a work entitled *Suomen kansan*

*muinaisia taikoja* (The Old Magic Practices of the Finns), I-II, 1891-1892, by M. Waronen; and III-IV, by A. V. Rantasalo, 1912-1934.

The still unpublished material in the society's collections has been copied carefully from the original onto sheets which have been classified according to subject-matter. The work has progressed; in the year 1947 the society possessed a collection of such sheets extending to 275,000 numbers. Among them were: mythical legends, 75,000; historical and local traditions, 20,000; etiological legends, 10,000; folk music, 20,000; customs, seasonal practices, and proverbs, 100,000. The folk melodies were formerly recorded on cylinders, but now are recorded on phonographic discs.

The material of the society has been made much more useful because of the many extensive catalogs which have been published, such as those of Aarne for folktales and traditions (1911-1920), of S. Haltsonen and E. A. Tunkelo for ethnographical descriptions (1938).

In addition to its collections the society possesses the copies of the extensive collection of Estonian folklore made by Hurt and Eisen, consisting of about 60,000 folklore items.

#### References:

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*The Great Collectors and Scholars That Finland became by the end of the 19th century in many respects the center of interest for folklorists of all parts of the world was not only because of its rich heritage of folklore tradition. By the middle of the 19th century, it was also achieving deserved fame for the thorough and stimulating work of its folklore scholars. For a century now investigators in an unbroken series have given leadership in studies of folklore, not only in Finland itself but also in the rest of the world. Whether all scholars agree or not with the conclusions of that school, no one can ignore the remarkable work of international cooperation and the rigorous techniques for folkloristic study which have come from the initiative and efforts of the so-called "Finnish School." Several of the men responsible for this remarkable development deserve special attention.*

*Lönnrot, Elias (1802-1884) The most important collector and publisher of Finnish folklore, Elias Lönnrot, was author and editor of the national epic, Kalevala (first edition 1835). As a student in medicine in the year 1827 he published his study, De Väinämöine priscorum Fennorum numine (the second half of which was lost by fire when the Academy of Turku was burned). Thus early he showed his interest in the material of the Kalevala. His first collecting trip to Karelia and Savolax was undertaken in 1828. As early as 1829 he began the issue of lyric folk songs in a*

collection called *Kantele*, and by 1831 four parts of this collection had appeared. When he published his dissertation on *The Magic Medicine of the Finns* in 1832 he was appointed physician for the community of Kajana. This was a piece of good fortune since the neighborhood was located at the boundary of the government of Archangel at the precise place where the finest and longest of the epic songs were still preserved. His collecting field trips were given financial support by the Finnish Literary Society, already discussed. He became the first secretary of the society.

In arranging his material he grouped the various epic songs in cycles about the chief heroes. By 1833 he had brought together such a cycle consisting of the runes about Väinämöinen (*Runokokous Väinämöisestä*) and containing 16 songs with about 5,000 lines. The next year this collection was expanded and given the name *Kalevala*. In 1835 the work was published by the Finnish Literary Society, but only in an edition of 500 copies. The next year he received from the society 1,000 rubles and made a long journey as far as Lapland. This time in addition to the runes, of which he had already recorded 2,100, he also collected some 5,000 proverbs, 1,200 riddles, and 50 folktales from the tradition of the people. After that he devoted himself to the arranging and editing of the material he had collected.

Soon there followed various extensive works on Finnish folklore: *Kanteletar* (1840), a collection of about 600 old lyric songs (of this a revised edition appeared posthumously in 1887); *The Proverbs of the Finns* (1842) with about 7,000 proverbs; *The Riddles of the Finns* (1844), consisting of 1,648 Finnish and 135 Estonian riddles; the new edition of 1851 was much expanded.

He now set himself to a very great task, to prepare a new edition of the *Kalevala* which would take advantage of all the newly collected material. He found, however, that it was necessary to undertake still further collections in the field. A young student, Daniel Europaeus, spent the entire years 1845-1848 traveling about for this purpose. He recorded some 2,800 variants of runes, most of them hitherto unknown. Lönnrot now began working on the final form of the *Kalevala*. The new edition was not only greater in extent, with 50 songs and 22,800 lines, but from the esthetic point of view was a fully rounded work, essentially a part of popular tradition but nevertheless shaped by a single hand, a work of the man who understood better than anyone else the spirit and creative art of his people. The new or present edition of the *Kalevala* appeared in 1849. It must be recognized that Lönnrot in many places improved the loose structure of the individual runes in unity, and also that in the general frame of the epic he inserted songs omitted by the people. He also brought in a number of interpolations from other songs, so as to make the structure of his poem more complete. Finally he arranged the runes in such an order as to bring out more clearly the inner unity of the epic. In all these respects, however, he was only acting in the same manner as the folk singer himself would do in the same circumstances. Lönnrot himself said, "Because I am sure that not one of the rune-singers could surpass me in the knowledge of the runes, I used my right to put together the songs as it seemed

best." Later the people themselves added some details in the same manner as Lönnrot had, a good indication of his proper feeling for Finnish folk poetry. According to the investigations of A. R. Niemi, only five to six percent of the lines of the *Kalevala* are not taken directly from the lips of the people. It is fortunate also that it can be seen that Lönnrot himself had not the slightest gift as a poet. If he had had, he would have exercised too great a personal influence on the structure of the *Kalevala*. As to his literary taste, it was largely the product of his classical education (on this point see J. Krohn in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, v. 18, pp. 67 ff.).

In 1853 he was appointed professor and from then on devoted himself to purely linguistic research. From 1862 to 1880 he worked on a great Finnish-Swedish dictionary. His last contribution to folklore was *The Magic Runes of the Finnish People* (1880).

Among his students Lönnrot produced an able group of young folklorists, among them Julius Krohn, next to be discussed. Seldom has any scholar been so valued and honored by his people as Lönnrot has been by the Finns.

*Reference:* Anttila, A., *Elias Lönnrot*, Helsinki, 1931.

*Krohn, Julius* (1835-1888) In 1862 Julius Krohn was appointed Docent for Finnish Language and Literature in the University of Helsinki. His fame rests upon his development of the historic-geographic method (see HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHIC METHOD) for the investigation for the songs of the *Kalevala*. He himself wrote in 1884 concerning the special character of his new method: "Before I reach any final conclusions, I arrange the various versions in chronological and geographical order; for I have discovered that it is only in this way that it is possible to distinguish between the original elements and those which have been added later." His son Kaarle remarks, "The fact that the geographic method of folklore investigation arose in Finland is a result of the unusual richness and variety of the materials of folk song, which is found here for the use of the investigator." Julius Krohn's principal works are *The Genetic Explanation of the Kalevala*, 2 vols. 1884-1885, and *Kalevalan toisinnot* (The Variants of the Kalevala), 1888, and after his death the following works, edited by his son Kaarle: *The History of Finnish Literature* (1897) and *Investigations concerning the Kanteletar* (1900-1902). The results of his investigation of the *Kalevala* were also introduced to German scholars in Veckenstedt's *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* v. II (1892) and Steinthal's *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* v. XVIII (1880). At the end he had come to the conclusion that the runes about origins contained legendary material, whereas the hero songs had a historical basis, although earlier both of these types had been considered to be truly mythical.

*Reference:* Krohn, Kaarle, *Die Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode*, Oslo, 1926, pp. 1-16.

*Krohn, Kaarle* (1863-1933) Kaarle Krohn was appointed in 1888 as Docent of Finnish and Comparative Folklore in the University of Helsinki. Thus sixty years ago the Finnish University became the first in the world to establish a chair of Folklore. While he was still a student in 1881, he collected folktales and later, from January, 1884, to July, 1885, with subvention from the Finnish Literary Society, he traveled to Olonez and

Wärmland and brought back with him some 18,000 folklore items, among which were about 8,000 folktales. It was also with the folktale that he began his scholarly productions: *Bär (Ifolf) und Fuchs, eine nordische Tiernärchenkette* (1889), and *Mann und Fuchs, drei vergleichende Märchenstudien* (1891). Later he developed and advanced the historic-geographic method of folklore investigation and published his final statement of this in *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode* (Oslo, 1926). In the latter part of his life he turned to the investigation of the *Kalevala*, and his principal work is *Kalevalastudien* (1924-28), *FFC* 53, 67, 71-2, 75-6. The results of this work are expressed in the following manner by Uno Harva: "The epic songs collected in the *Kalevala* refer to historical happenings; the figures which played a part were heroes of a past age; the geographical background is a landscape of southwestern Finland with its old population centers. The period of development of these old historical songs goes back into the dawn of Finnish history. Earlier Krohn had held for a mythical or legendary background of the songs, but now he was convinced of their historical nature." (*FFC* 112, p. 15 f.). Kaarle Krohn showed a lively interest in mythology, as evidenced by his *Skandinavisk mytologi* (Uppsala, 1922); his *Magische Ursprungsrunen der Finnen* (*FFC* 52, 1924); and his *Zur finnischen Mythologie* (*FFC* 104, 1932). Along with Axel Olrik he founded in 1907 the Folklore Fellows (Folkloristische Forscherbund, Fédération des Folkloristes, etc.), an international association generally known by the initials FF. The membership of the association consisted of members of folklore societies in various lands, and other folklore scholars who undertook the duty of aiding comparative folklorists throughout the world with the furnishing of material from their own countries which was difficult to obtain. Up to his death he was the editor in chief of the well known series *FF Communications*. Of this series he issued more than 100 numbers, and since his death the work has continued under the auspices of the Finnish Academy of Sciences and with the collaboration of scholars from the Old and New Worlds.

As an original scholar in the fields of the epic song and of the folktale, Kaarle Krohn deserves a very high place. His greatest contributions to folklore study came, however, from his extraordinary ability as an organizer and coordinator of the efforts of other scholars. During an entire generation he conducted an extensive program of study of the folktale and related subjects in which he secured the collaboration of scholars in all parts of the world. Helsinki became the Mecca for young folklorists, who went there to profit by weeks or months of association and stimulus which came from his sympathetic and ever kindly encouragement. By 1890 he had conceived of a large plan of international folklore research, which would be based upon as large a body of material as possible. Such a plan involved classification and cataloging of material from manuscripts, archives, and other sources, the perfection of a method of investigation, and the promotion of as many of these investigations as possible. Finally he hoped to make a synthesis of the results of these investigations. Fortunately, at the end of his life he completed his synthesis and published it as *Übersicht über einige Resultate der Märchenforschung* (*FFC* 96, 1931).

*Aarne, Antti* (1867-1925) Of Finnish folklorists it was Aarne who developed furthest the historic-geographic method of folktale investigation. The first works, *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen* (1908) and *Die Zaubergaben* (1911) received prompt recognition. In 1913 he enunciated the theoretical principles underlying this method in his *Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung* (*FFC* 13). He then began a series of detailed and thorough studies of individual folktales: *Die Tiere auf der Wanderschaft* (*FFC* 11, 1913); *Der tiersprachkundige Mann und seine neugierige Frau* (*FFC* 15, 1914); *Schwänke über schwerhörige Menschen* (*FFC* 20, 1914); *Der Mann aus dem Paradiese* (*FFC* 22, 1915); *Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegerson* (*FFC* 23, 1916); and *Die magische Flucht* (*FFC* 92, 1930). He also investigated two folk songs, *Das estnisch-ingermanländische Maie-Lied* (*FFC* 47) and *Das Lied von Angeln der Jungfrau Vallamos* (*FFC* 48). For these studies Aarne assembled an astonishing amount of material necessitating several extensive foreign trips so that he might visit the most important libraries and archives.

Earlier in his scholarly work he had observed that the proper investigation of a folktale, because of the wealth of material and the difficulty of assembling the necessary literature, was an extremely difficult undertaking. It was his ambition to overcome these difficulties for himself and also to be helpful in this respect to all other scholars. With the collaboration of several other scholars in his field he brought to a successful conclusion a very important idea. He constructed a *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (*FFC* 3, 1910) in which he classified all of the well-known folktales in European tradition and gave to each of these types a standard number by which it could always be exactly designated. This type-index proved to be a very great aid to all investigators of the tale, and later it was considerably expanded by Stith Thompson (*FFC* 74, 1928). By this system of type-index, Aarne catalogued all the Finnish folktales (*FFC* 5 and 33) and also the Estonian tales and legends (*FFC* 25). In 1912 he also issued a type-index of Finnish origin legends (*FFC* 8). Since 1910 a large number of folktale catalogs of various people have been issued with arrangement according to Aarne's system.

On the bibliographical side Aarne prepared in 1913 a very valuable *Übersicht der Märchenliteratur* (*FFC* 14).

Aarne was convinced that the folktale as such did not have any value as an aid toward the study of mythology or other subjects outside its own field. He insisted that the folktale could not be of any use for such studies until its own history had been determined through a comparative investigation. Aarne's monographic studies, according to the opinion of Kaarle Krohn (*FFC* 64, pp. 22 ff.) "have shown that the idea that the only permanent parts of a folktale were the separate motifs is an error, and these studies of Aarne have demonstrated that every single folktale has its particular plot and its own unified composition. . . . As far as many of the folktales are concerned he was the first who was able to show in detail that Benfey's theory of their origin in India was correct. But at the same time he showed that there are other tales belonging to the same general group which undoubtedly had their origin in western Europe during the Middle Ages.



He threw much light on the wandering of folktales from the Orient toward the West and on the development of local forms. He moved up the time of origin of the folktales from an indefinite antiquity to a definite historical period." Aarne also used the historic-geographic method for the investigation of riddles in his *Vergleichende Rätselforschungen* (FFC 26-8, 1918-20). In these pioneer riddle studies he was able to demonstrate an Oriental cultural influence extending into the Western countries.

Although Aarne never had good health and although it was not until 1922 that his financial situation improved, when he received his post as extraordinary Professor, and therefore spent much time and strength as a teacher in the lower schools, the amount of his scholarly accomplishments was incredible. The products of his research are outstanding through the remarkable richness of the material which he used, through the clarity of his presentation, and through the great care he took before arriving at conclusions.

*Reference:* Krohn, Kaarle, *Antti Aarne, FFC 64, 1926. Chief Aspects of Finnish Folklore: The Finnish runes* The folk poetry of the Finns is characterized by a great number of epic songs or runes (Finnish *runo*). The Finns used the latter word to include folk songs, heroic poetry, and popular ballads in the ancient Finnish meter. A differentiation is made between the heroic and the magic runes. The former tell about the deeds of legendary heroes, Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, Lemminkäinen, etc.; the latter are used for cures and other magic. Metrically the Finnish runes are trochaic tetrameter without strophic divisions. The rules for the construction of this verse are complicated and consist of much alliteration and parallelism. Something of the general spirit, though not of the detailed structure, is found in Longfellow's imitation of this verse form in his *Hiawatha*. In that poem he followed the general pattern not only of the Finnish meter but also of the general epic style.

*Heroic Poetry and the Kalevala* The famous Finnish heroic epic, the *Kalevala*, is the chief product of the folk poetry of the nation. The Finnish heroes have their own peculiar characteristics. Their fighting takes place not so much with swords as with words. Through the singing of magic runes the enemy is placed in all kinds of difficult situations and under enchantments. The latter in turn tries to free himself through his own knowledge of magic runes and to defeat his opponent. It is a conflict of singers and enchanters. The greatest singer of all is the old, wise Väinämöinen.

*The Cycle of Väinämöinen* A good idea of the nature of the Finnish epic poetry may be obtained from a short review of the songs about *Väinämöinen*. We know that at first Lönnrot intended to speak of his famous work as a collection of runes about Väinämöinen and only later changed the name to *Kalevala*, i.e. the home or country of the hero Kaleva. At any rate Väinämöinen is certainly the chief hero of the poem.

We first hear about the birth of Väinämöinen and the creation of the world from a broken egg which a duck has laid on the knee of Ilmatar, his mother. As a culture hero Väinämöinen fells trees and sows barley (Runes 1 and 2). On a journey Väinämöinen meets another hero, the Lappish singer and magician, Joukahainen. When their sledges meet in the narrow road,

they begin to quarrel and fight with each other, using their knowledge of the magic runes. Finally young Joukahainen is defeated by the old and wise Väinämöinen, and must promise his sister Aino in marriage to Väinämöinen (Rune 3). Väinämöinen meets Aino, the promised maiden, in the wood but he is unsuccessful in his courtship because the young girl rather than marry an old man drowns herself in the sea (Rune 4). Väinämöinen falls to bitter weeping and tries to fish her out of the sea. He catches a fish which is the transformed Aino, but he does not guess what it is and the escaped sea maiden laughs him to scorn. Väinämöinen grieves deeply but his mother from her tomb advises him to go to the Northland and find another daughter of the Suomi, more beautiful and more worthy than Aino (Rune 5).

Väinämöinen mounts a steed and begins his journey northward to Pohjola, but the evil Joukahainen prepares revenge. In spite of the warning of his mother, Joukahainen shoots at Väinämöinen and the third arrow strikes Väinämöinen's steed. Thereupon the hero falls upon the water and a mighty storm wind bears him far away from land, where he is compelled to swim six full years in the ocean (Rune 6). He swims only six days and nights through the waters of the deepest sea. Then there comes a giant bird from far off Pohjola which takes Väinämöinen on its back, and bears him to the distant shores of the Northland where he is left alone. The hero is badly injured and weeps for three days. Louhi, the mistress of Pohjola, recognizes that this is the weeping of a bearded hero. She goes to see Väinämöinen, inquires his name, takes the helpless hero in her boat, and rows to the dwellings of Pohjola. There she gives him warmth, shelter, and food, and he soon recovers.

Väinämöinen is eager to go home. Louhi asks him to forge for her the Sampo, the wonderful thing which produces plenty of all sorts of good things: this to be the reward for her help and hospitality. She also promises to give him her daughter. Väinämöinen answers that he himself cannot forge the Sampo but he will send Ilmarinen, who will forge it. Louhi then replies, "To him alone will I give my daughter." Thereupon Väinämöinen goes home (Rune 7).

The daughter of Pohjola sits upon the rainbow weaving webs of golden texture. On his journey home Väinämöinen sees the charming maiden and invites her to come into his snowsledge. The maiden answers that the life of a married woman is very hard. Väinämöinen now performs several difficult tasks imposed upon him by the maiden. The last of these is to make a ship from the splinters of a spindle. Attempting this work he lets the axe fall and cuts his knee. He now begins the magic incantations, such as those about the origin of iron, and thus attempts to stop the bleeding from his wound. His knowledge is insufficient and he must seek the aid of a magician (Runes 8 and 9). Väinämöinen begins to build a vessel. Samps Pellervoinen goes to find the proper wood for the vessel and chooses an oak tree. Now Väinämöinen begins to build his vessel by means of singing magic songs, but, alas, three words are wanting. Väinämöinen journeys to Tuonela (the home of the dead) in order to find the ancient wisdom, but he does not succeed and escapes from Tuonela only with great difficulty (Rune 15). A shepherd comes to

meet him and says that he can find the words of wisdom in the mouth of the wise giant, Antero Vipunen. Väinämöinen troubles and awakens the giant from the dead; the giant swallows him and finds the morsel the sweetest of all meals. The hero builds a boat through his magic knowledge and establishes a smithy, rows about, and forges inside the body of the giant. The hero says that he is ready to stop the torment if Vipunen will teach him the lost words of wisdom. Old Vipunen opens his store of knowledge and for three days sings the magic songs of wisdom about the origin of things.

Having accomplished his purpose, Väinämöinen leaves the great stomach of the giant and goes home. He finishes the magic-built vessel, and the voyage to Pohjola for the beautiful maiden of the rainbow can be started (Rune 17). On the return from Pohjola the pair come to a waterfall and the boat is caught fast on the back of a great pike. The fish is caught and the front part cooked and eaten. From the jaws of the pike Väinämöinen makes a "kantele," the popular harp-like Finnish instrument. Several of the party attempt in vain to play. Finally Väinämöinen plays on the kantele and all living beings of the earth, the air, and the water hasten to the spot to listen. All of these weep and Väinämöinen also weeps, his tears dropping into the sea and changing into beautiful blue pearls (Rune 41). In a struggle in the lake Väinämöinen loses his kantele and cannot find it. He makes a new one of birchwood and on this he plays and also delights all creatures (Rune 44).

The mistress of Pohjola sends terrible diseases. These Väinämöinen heals by his powerful incantations and magic unguents (Rune 45). The mistress of Pohjola sends a bear to destroy the herds of Kalevala. Väinämöinen kills the bear and a great feast is held (Rune 46). When the moon and the sun descend to listen to the playing, the mistress of Pohjola succeeds in capturing them, hides them in a mountain, and steals fire from the homes of Kalevala (Rune 47). Väinämöinen discovers by divination that the moon and the sun are hidden in the mountain of Pohjola and after heroic adventures he succeeds in releasing them from their prison (Rune 49).

The last rune, 50, gives us a well-built picture of the change from the era of paganism to the era of Christianity. The virgin Marjatta swallows a cranberry and gives birth to a boy. Väinämöinen comes to inquire into the matter and advises that the ill-omened boy should be put to death. But the child reproaches him for his unjust sentence. The boy is baptized as the king of Karelia. At this Väinämöinen is grievously offended and leaves the country, but first he declares that he will come again and will be useful to his people. He sails away in a copper boat to a sphere between earth and heaven, but he leaves behind him as a parting gift his kantele and his powerful songs.

*Construction of the Kalevala* Although the people like to bring together all kinds of characteristics and deeds around the figure of a beloved hero which originally were entirely foreign to his character, nevertheless they themselves do not construct a fully rounded and unified epic poem. The Finnish heroic songs are grouped around the old, wise Väinämöinen and the principal narrative subject is the stealing of the magic mill, the

"sampo." The hand of Lönnrot, however, was necessary to transform these single songs and their cycles into a *Kalevala*. According to the opinion of Kaarle Krohn, the songs of the *Kalevala* were composed in western Finland, where they were no longer to be found in the end of the last century, but were still preserved in Karelia and among the Orthodox Finns. Karelia and the neighborhood of the governments of Archangel and Olonez are to be considered as refuges in which the folk tradition was not formed, but rather has only been retained for a long time. Place names, among other things, indicate western Finland as the place of origin of the runes. Moreover, Kaarle Krohn came to the conclusion that the epic runes had been composed in historic times, that they reflect historic occurrences, reworked indeed according to the laws of the structure of the folk epic so that the historic reality remains hardly recognizable. He conjectures for example, that the journey of the Finnish hero to Pohjola after the sampo shows a reminiscence of the crusade of the Finns to the rich island of Gotland. See SAMPO.

As in all folk poetry, we find in the *Kalevala* many motifs which are also known among other people. Especially from three peoples have come many motifs of the Finnish runes: Scandinavians, Russians, and Lithuanians. The Scandinavian and Lithuanian influence took place in heathen times, but the Russian contribution did not begin before the 14th to 16th centuries and was intensified much later, around the year 1700. The Scandinavian current flowed through western Finland and Estonia, and then spread over the whole country. The Lithuanian influence is to be detected in Estonia, Ingmanland, and the whole of eastern Finland. The Russian influence penetrated into Ingmanland, into the eastern part of Karelia, and later into the governments of Olonez and Archangel.

Although the Finns have borrowed many motifs from their neighbors, and have repaid them with many of their own, it is noteworthy that the Finns have preserved these in much purer and more original form than the folk from whom they have received them. This fact is of great importance for comparative folklore and clears up many obscure points in Scandinavian, Russian, and Lithuanian mythology. Of course, there are also some purely Finnish myths, such as the creation of the world by a bird. The borrowed material likewise has been so reworked and elaborated by the Finns that what they have produced is essentially new.

*Magic runes* As shown in the studies of Lönnrot (1880) and Kaarle Krohn (1924) the Finnish magic runes were of two kinds. Runes of one of these types depend upon some particular situation or story taken from the Bible. These are the more recent of the two, and have been borrowed from Sweden. The other type of rune gives an account of the origin of sickness or of other things, such as fire, iron, etc., and is used to remove the appropriate evil. This second kind of magic rune is older and is of real Finnish origin. We do not find exact parallels to these anywhere else. The more highly developed magic runes which are mixed with elements taken from the epic songs are to be found in the eastern part of Finland. On the other hand, in the western part of the country magic runes are shorter and more primitive.

*Reference:* For a discussion in English see J. Aber-

cromby, "The Magic Songs of the Finns," *Folk-Lore*, I, 17-46, 331-48; II 31-49 (London, 1890-1891).

*Lyric Songs* Of less importance in the history of Finnish tradition than either the epic songs or the magic runes are the folk lyrics which appear in modern metrical form. Among these the marriage songs occupy an especially important place. A selection of lyric songs was early published by Lönnrot under the name, *Kantelatar* (1st ed. 1840; 2nd ed. 1887). A German translation of these were made by H. Paul, the translator of *Kalevala*.

The ballads (see Erich Kunze, *Finnische Volksballaden*, Jena, 1943) belong largely to international tradition. They are mostly borrowed from Sweden from the 17th century onward. Frequently, however, they have retained original traits which are no longer to be found among the Swedes. The ballad of the *Cruel Brother*, for example, displays a more natural and more original form than in England itself (Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, #13).

Among the original Finnish ballads appears the legend of St. Henry, who converted the Finns to Christianity. The ballad concerning the killing of Elina, one of the longest of the Finnish ballads, extending to more than 400 lines, is based on a historical circumstance. In eastern Finland we find a lengthy song concerning the Creator (*Luojan virsi*). The Orthodox Finns also possess laments which they use both for marriages and for funerals. These apparently were borrowed from the Russians.

*Folktales and Legends* The Finnish collectors of folklore have been more interested in the epic songs than in folktales and legends. Lönnrot recorded only about 80 folktales. The proper taking down of the tales demands a longer preparation on the part of the collector. It was not possible to make successful recordings of tales until Finnish shorthand had been properly developed. It was also true that folktales were not very much valued since it seemed clear that many of them were no more than free translations from the Russian.

As early as 1838-39 the Finnish Literary Society sent M. A. Castrén on an expedition especially to collect folktales. He hoped that he would find in the tales and legends of the people fragments of ancient myths in prose and that these fragments would clarify many obscure points in the songs of the *Kalevala*. He was soon disillusioned, since almost immediately he recognized the Russian influence and came to believe that there was nothing original to be found. Nevertheless, rather early four volumes of Finnish folktales were issued by E. Salmelainen (*Suomen kansan satuja ja tarinoita*, 1852, 1854, 1863, and 1866). This collection did not contain a single legend or tradition. Another collection of Finnish folktales, *Suomalaisia kansansatuja*, was edited by Kaarle Krohn and appeared in 1866 and 1893.

Important for the progress of collecting folktales in Finland was the expedition of Kaarle Krohn in the year 1884-85. By the use of shorthand he recorded over 8,000 folktales from the people and began his leadership in the scientific investigation of the popular tale. (For some details on this development see discussion of Kaarle Krohn and Antti Aarne in this article.)

The wealth and variety of Finnish folktales is due to the fact that in Finland two quite different cultural influences in the field of folklore came into contact, the

western European and the eastern European. The folktales from the West came from Scandinavia, those from the East from northern Russia. Both streams mingled and also received from the Finns their own characteristic modifications. Moreover, these Finnish folktales have retained many original traits which have long ago disappeared both in Scandinavia and in Russia. In the animal tales, which also appear sometimes in verse, and in the folktales concerning the stupid ogre the Western character is most important. On the other hand, in tales concerning kings and princesses the Eastern influence is predominant. Jests about stupid people and fools are very popular, and many communities use these for making sport of each other. In Österbotten they are particularly fond of telling tales about the foolishness of people from Savolax.

The collecting and publishing of mythical legends was long neglected. Not until 1935 was this area seriously cultivated. But now the Finnish Literary Society has important plans for future investigations. It has transcribed on cards some 75,000 legends and elaborated a classification for legends. This classification is divided into 15 headings and each heading into subdivisions. The work is in the hands of Lauri Simonsurri (see *Studia Fennica*, vol. V, pp. 103-25). As an example of his work, he has just published a collection of about 900 legends, *Mytillisia tarinoita* (Mythical Legends, Helsinki, 1947).

A good monograph concerning house demons of the Finns is the work of the well-known folklorist, Martti Haavio, *Suomalaiset kodinhaltijat* (Finnish Household Fairies), Porvoo, 1942.

Important for the comparative investigation of legends are those collected from the Swedes who are living in Finland, and published as *Finlands svenska folkdiktning* (1931).

It is interesting to note that the Finnish saints' legends which they received from western Europe have now found refuge among the Karelians. The Finns who became Protestant no longer retain an interest in these legends, but the Orthodox Karelians still keep telling and enjoying them. Oriental legends have also found their way to the borders of Finland (see Haavio, "Über orientalische Legenden und Mythen in Grenz-Karelien und Aunus," *Studia Fennica*, vol. II, 1-53, Helsinki, 1936).

#### References:

Schreck, E., *Finnische Märchen*, Weimar, 1887.  
Löwis of Menar, A. von, *Finnische und Estnische Volksmärchen*. Jena, 1922.

*Proverbs and Riddles* Proverbs, which the Finnish people are very fond of using in daily life, were the earliest form of folklore to receive the attention of the educated classes. The first collection, by H. Florinus, appeared in the year 1701 and was the earliest of all books on folklore in the Finnish language. This was followed after many years by the collections of Judén (1816), Gottlund (1832), and Lönnrot (1842). Even later ones have been issued by E. Aspelin and W. Forsman. Proverbs have likewise been composed in the old Finnish meters and often they have two or more parallel stanzas. In respect to their content, they differ markedly, according to the period of their composition. They express very clearly the ideas and character of the Finnish

R. Indreko, *Origin and Area of Settlement of the Finno-Ugrian Peoples*. Heidelberg, 1948.

K. F. Karjalainen, *Die Religion der Jugravölker*, 3 vols. Helsinki, 1921-27. FFC 41, 44, 63. [JB]

**fiofio** A concept of Surinam Negro belief: an insect engendered by surface friendliness, exchange of gifts, etc., between persons, one or both of whom harbor unspoken enmity or resentment. Fiofio causes illness and eventual death, at least death of the soul, of those who veil their enmity in a show of friendship. An open fight is recommended as a healthful thing. Salvation from the sure death caused by fiofio can be attained with the help of a diviner, who ascertains the hidden cause of the resentment. Then a public ceremony called *puru mofo* (literally, withdraw from the mouth) is performed to purify the minds of those involved and to remove the resentment. (See Herskovits, *Suriname Folklore*, pp. 42, 53, 745; *Man and His Works*, pp. 59-60).

**Fionn MacCumail** Hero of the Finn or Fenian cycle of Old Irish legend and romance, a chieftain of the 3rd century; leader of the Fianna, and like them noted for enormous stature, extraordinary strength and skill. Fionn himself was famed for generosity and wisdom. Fionn's story begins with his birth and secret nurturing in the forest and his boyhood wonder deeds (once he threw a huge stone over a house, ran through the house and caught it on his finger as it fell). He was named by the poet Finegas in whose service wisdom filled him from eating the salmon that fed on the nuts of the nine hazels of wisdom. He organized the Fianna for the High King at Tara, fought great battles, and had many adventures of the hunt, encounters with giants and hags, and experienced and overcame various enchantments. His first love was Sadb, who was transformed into a deer; their child, Oisín, was discovered in the forest by the dog, Bran.

The story of Fionn's pursuit of his friend and kinsman, Diarmuid, and Gráinne, his promised wife, the final overtaking, and Diarmuid's death in the forest because in the end Fionn could not bring himself to carry water to Diarmuid is one of the most moving and humanizing of the stories about Fionn. The Fianna were finally overcome in the battle of Gabra, in which Oscar, Fionn's grandson, was killed. Fionn never wept tears in his life except for the death of Oscar, and for Bran. Fionn is said to be sleeping now in a cave in the hills of Ireland, surrounded by his big men. When next the Fenian chant is heard, they will all rise again. See BRAN (2); OISÍN.

**fir** In ancient Greece the fir was sacred to Artemis; a branch tipped with cones and twined with ivy was carried by some of the Dionysian revelers in her honor. Some say the Trojan Horse was built of silver fir. And this wood was used for symbolic reasons in the ceiling of Solomon's temple. The staff of Bacchus was tipped with a fir cone. Legend says that Attis (Atys) was turned into a fir tree by Cybele as he was about to commit suicide. She sat mourning under the tree until Zeus promised that the tree should be evergreen. The Phrygian myths claim that Attis was metamorphosed by Cybele while dying of a wound inflicted by Zeus's boar, or by a Phrygian king in combat. There are indications that the silver fir is as old a birth tree as the palm, especially in the north of Europe. The *ailm* of the Old Irish tree

alphabet would seem to have been a silver fir, rather than the elm, which it became at a later date. This tree whose day was the first of the new year (the extra day of the winter solstice) was female, the tree of birth, sister to *Idho*, the yew of death. There is an Anglo-Roman altar dedicated to the Mothers which has a representation of the fir on it.

Among the Votjaks of Finland the fir tree is sacred and certain branches are regarded as family gods to which sacrifices are made. These people place a fir branch on a shelf in the house and offer sacrifices of bread, meat, and drink. When a house is being built, a small fir tree is set up under the house and a cloth spread before it on which sacrifices are laid out. After a funeral the Finnish Votjaks beat each other with fir branches while returning from the cemetery, to deter the spirits from following them home.

Among the Ostyaks of Siberia, the fir tree is represented by a fir pole to which sacrifices are made. Fir boughs are also used as flagellants at Christmas among many Northern peoples. One of the probable reasons for the popularity of the fir as a Christmas tree is its association with the winter solstice as well as its evergreen nature. Fir or beech logs are most commonly used for Yule logs. Among the Germans it is unlucky to have an odd number of candles on the Christmas tree and among most peoples it is necessary to remove the tree before Twelfth Night or Epiphany. Decorations must also be removed from the church before Candlemas, or misfortune will follow; any leaf or twig remaining in a pew signifies the death of one of the occupants. Death of the master or mistress will follow where a fir tree has been struck by lightning. Pliny looked on the fir as a funeral tree. In Bavaria, poachers seek out a fir tree before dawn on St. John's morn and eat the seeds of a cone growing straight up to make themselves invisible.

In Germany the fir tree is said to cure gout. In some parts a knot is tied in one of the branches; in others the patient goes to a fir tree after sundown on three successive Fridays and, by reciting a magic rime, transfers his gout to the tree, which will wither and die. Turpentine or balsam from the leaves and tips is used for scurvy and troubles of the lungs and breast. Fir balsam is used on wounds and ulcers, and in Newfoundland, for chapped hands. The inside bark is beaten to a pulp and used as a poultice on boils. The Chippewa Indians use it to cure headache.

**Firbolg** Literally, men of the bags, from Irish *fir*, men, and *bolg*, bag; a mythical, pre-Celtic people of Ireland, defeated first by the Formorians and later run out by the Tuatha Dé Danann. They settled in Greece, were enslaved and made to carry earth from the valleys to the bare hills, made leather bags to carry it in, later made boats out of the bags, and escaped to Ireland. After their defeat at the battle of Mag Tured they took refuge in the islands of Aran, Islay, Man, and Rathlin.

**fire** Fire, one of the "elements" of the ancients, has been called the greatest invention of mankind. There are some who would question the "invention" of fire, claiming that man must have obtained fire from natural conflagrations, from forest or prairie fires, from volcanic eruptions, from lightning-fired trees. But the coincidence of the first evidences of both flint-shaping and

fire-taming is to great to be ignored, and a relationship between the two must be supposed. Man, primitive or late, would obviously notice the resemblance of the flint sparks to the sparks given off by burning logs or to lightning flashes. And then control of this element, as of other things in the world about him, would become man's accomplished goal in a relatively short time.

The mythology of the origin of fire, however, gives no clue to this. From the constant occurrence of wood-friction to produce fire in the myths and in ritual, it might be supposed that this was the original method. Throughout the world, from South America to Australia, Africa to Europe, Asia to North America, the myths indicate that the original fire of mankind, stolen usually from the gods or from some other previous owner, was hidden in the trees or in a specific tree, and that ever since man has had to rub this wood to produce fire. The general Polynesian myth, for example, is typified in the Maori myth of Maui, who went to his grandmother, Mahuika, the goddess of fire, to obtain it. She produced so much fire, from her fingers and toes, that everything began to burn. The rain put out the fires, but still it remained in some of the trees, from which mankind ever since has been able to get fire. The Tembe of Brazil tell how an old man stole the fire from the vultures and put it in the trees. Sometimes, as among the Basongo-Meno of the Congo and some of the Kiwai in New Guinea, there exists a tradition that fire was discovered by accident, while drilling or sawing.

Two other motifs appear in the fire mythology often enough to be of interest. Among certain North American Indian tribes, fire is stolen and passed from animal to animal in a relay that finally outraces the owner of the fire. In the Pacific, e.g. the Wagawaga of New Guinea's Milne Bay area, the owner of fire is an old woman who keeps the flame in her vagina, producing it as she needs it, and hiding it from everyone else. The same concept occurs in the fire myth of the Tarumas of southeast British Guiana. The chain of reasoning that transfers the fire from the slot in the wood rubbed vigorously with a stick to the female genitals is a natural anthropomorphism, and the parallelism is as obvious as in the other etiological tale of the fire in the trees.

It is not surprising either to discover that in Europe the oak and its associated mistletoe are involved in the fire mythology, oak being a hard wood suitable for fire-making. Though later mythology makes Hephæstus-Vulcan the guardian of the fires of the earth, the myth of the culture hero Prometheus indicates that Zeus, god of heaven and of the oak, was the possessor of the first fire. Prometheus stole this fire in a stalk of fennel (*en narthei krypsas*: Apollodorus) and was punished for his deed by being chained while a vulture ate eternally at his liver. Diodorus Siculus says that Prometheus invented the fire-sticks, an accomplishment elsewhere attributed to Hermes. It is also curious to note that the gods of the smithy-fires, Hephæstus, Wayland, etc., are crippled, Hephæstus for example as the result of a fall from heaven. Perhaps these were originally the fire-bringers, the thieves who took the fire of the sun and brought it to earth. Perhaps they were chased by a bolt of lightning from the sky god, like that of the Andaman Creator who, angered by a bird, threw a burning log at

it and missed, the log falling to earth and bringing fire.

The fire gods are not only gods of the sun fire, lightning, earth (volcanic) fire. There are gods of the hearth fire, of the sacred altar fire, of the forest fire and the wildfire of the prairies. Hestia, Apollo, Helios, Loki, Lug; the list of fire gods might be made interminable, through almost every pantheon in the world.

Fire's use in magic is likewise widespread. Basically, fire is the purifying element (see the fires of Hell, for example), and throughout magical practice and religious usage, fire is ritually used to cleanse persons and animals and things. The Beltane and Midsummer fires of Europe have their purifying uses; need fires are built specifically to burn clean threatened animals and men. Among the Huichol Indians, the men and women, to purify themselves during expeditions to collect the cactus of the god of fire, tied knots in strings, a knot for each lover, and burned the string in a fire, thus purifying themselves. A Tartar khan of the Middle Ages received visitors or gifts only after they had passed between two fires. Demeter burned the mortality from Demophoon in a fire; and similarly the dross is burned from all substances by fires on altars or in alchemists' laboratories.

Among the Armenians, when a member of the family sets up his own household, he takes fire from the old home with which to build his new fire. So among the ancient Greeks: a colony's fire was lighted with fire taken from the public hearth of the mother city. The sacred hearth fires of the homes of Greece and Rome were paralleled by a community hearth fire. The undying fire of Rome was guarded by the Vestal Virgins; and even to this day eternal fires are kept burning to the sacred patriotic dead. The Olympic games of 1948 in London officially began with the lighting of the torch by fire brought from Olympia, Greece, by overland runners and warship. The symbolism of the torch passed "from falling hands" to other stronger hands is familiar. Fire thus becomes a mark of the continuing of civilization, passed on from generation to generation, the living element going on magically though its fuel is eaten up.

This phoenixlike character of fire, reborn anew from its recurring ashes, makes it one of the most mysterious of all substances. Fire glows within jewels of Indian folktales; it dances puzzlingly as the sign of spirits or gods over marshes and from the masts of ships; it glows in the wake of boats in tropic seas; it burns blue in the presence of spirits; it vomits from the mouth of the fire-drake; it burns the bush which is not consumed. The sun burns plants to a crisp, and it brings life; lightning destroys a huge tree in a flash. In Australia and New Britain, among the Telugus and the Arabs, a heavy downpour may be stopped by quenching a fire with water. The sun is swallowed during an eclipse: the Sencis of Peru shot burning arrows into the sky to chase the devouring animal away. The Ojibways of North America also shot arrows at the eclipsed sun, but their arrows were meant to rekindle the fire.

Brynhild slept within a ring of fire until some hero braved the flames to awaken her. The mistletoe protected homes against fire, especially against lightning, and it had the power of putting out fire. Destruction of towns in war was not complete until fire was applied

and the buildings burned to the ground: God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah with fire.

Everywhere in the world, when sacred fire is needed, it is made fresh and not taken from existing fires; often the old fires must all have been extinguished before the new fire is built. Nevertheless, as Crawley points out, primitive man seldom makes fire; usually there is some fire nearby from which he can obtain a brand.

It is perhaps in folklore that the myriad uses of, and beliefs about, fire are best illustrated. The hog's snout is rounded and incomplete because God had to go to a fire and interrupt the work of creation (A2286.1.1); passing through fire is used as a chastity test (H412.4) and as a suitor's task (H331.1.5); animals breathe fire (B742) or put out the executioner's fire and save the hero (B526.1). There are mountains, valleys, cities, castles, thrones, trees of fire in Arabian and Hindu tales. In a Sicilian story a swan maiden transforms herself into fire in an attempt to escape capture (D285). Just as Gawain's strength waxed and waned with the height of the sun in the heavens, so in a Spanish folktale the princess becomes more or less mad with the height of the fire (D2065.4), or she becomes sicker as the fire blazes and gets well when it goes out (D2064.2). In Malayan and Indonesian folklore, fire shows that a beautiful woman is present (D1061.1), as in the Philippine story where Ini-init discovered from afar the presence of Aponibolinayen in his house because it appeared to be blazing. The many motifs listed in the *Motif-Index* under "fire" serve to emphasize that man's civilization is based on a fire-complex that pervades practically every aspect of his life.

Among American Indian tribes of the eastern United States fire is referred to as "Our Grandfather, Fire." The smoke is believed, by such tribes as the Shawnee, Fox, and other Central Algonquians, to carry the words of prayers up to the supreme deity. Before offering prayers small quantities of tobacco are sprinkled on the fire and the tobacco also ascends in the smoke as an offering to the deity, thus serving to validate the prayer.

How fire was first acquired is accounted for in the mythology of almost every North American Indian tribe. In the western part of the continent fire is usually said to have been stolen, often by an animal or a number of animals; it is said to have been hidden under the thief's wing, or in the tip of his tail, and transported thus, or passed on from one animal to another in a relay race. Other beliefs about fire are that a perpetual fire burns beneath the man-made mounds in the southern United States. The Natchez, a southern tribe, are said to have built their mounds in order to maintain a perpetual fire on them. Many new fire rites are held by tribes in the agricultural areas of native North America. [ewv]

In the mythology of most South American tribes, man owes the possession of fire to some culture hero or to some benevolent animal, who stole it from some other animal or from some monster who refused to part with it. Generally the first attempts to steal the fire were unsuccessful until the hero used some clever stratagem. The acquirer of the fire then gave it to mankind or enclosed it in the wood from which Indians make their fire drill.

Some Tupi Guarani Indians say that one of the divine Twins stole fire from the vultures, after having lured these elusive birds by pretending to be a rotting corpse. A frog who swallowed some embers is the fire-giver of the Guarayu and Chane Indians. In the Chaco, a small rodent is either the jealous master of the fire or the hero who took it away from Jaguar. This feline is often described as the original owner of fire. In some Guiana tribes fire is said to have been produced by an old woman whenever she spat or defecated. The mythical Twins induced her to relinquish it. [AM]

**fire drake** A type of dragon found usually in Germanic and Celtic folklore. It lives in a cave, where it guards a great treasure. It protects itself by exhaling fire. Beowulf's final and fatal exploit was the killing of a fire drake. [MEL]


**fire gods** Chinese folklore about fire shows wide regional variations. Ceremonies in Canton on the 22nd of the Sixth Moon were once very elaborate with processions, temporary altars, public prayers. On the Spring festival of Pure Brightness (Ch'ing Ming) ceremonial fires were once rekindled in the courtyard of the Imperial Palace. The Ministry of Fire is composed of a President and five stellar divinities. Chou Yang, a legendary emperor, taught his people to use fire to drive out snakes and wild animals, to keep enemies at a distance, and to forge metals. Huo Shêng, a priest who changed himself into a giant during one of the legendary battles near the beginning of the Chou Dynasty, was also a flame-thrower. Many devices were used to insure houses and shops against fire. Wood-prints of men and women in the act of intercourse pasted on the kitchen wall will prevent fire. One rationalization is that the fire god, being prudish, will avoid houses where such acts are in progress. Another rationalization is that because the yin and yang are at those times in balance, fire, a powerful yang element, cannot gain the ascendancy. Because the householder cannot be assured that the harmonizing act is being perpetually performed, pictures are used. [RBJ]

**first and last buried** In many places it is believed that there is a penalty imposed upon the spirit of the first corpse interred in a new graveyard. It is reported from the Hesse and Westphalia districts of Germany that such a spirit is condemned to wander about eternally, never finding rest. In parts of England and Scotland it is held that the Devil will claim the first body buried in a new cemetery. This belief has been so strongly held that it has proved difficult to get graveyards started. In Scotland the problem was solved in one instance by interring the body of an unidentified tramp, and in Devon the spell was circumvented by the burial of a servant who was a stranger to the district.


In parts of Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany the belief prevails that the last buried in any cemetery must take no rest, guarding all the graves until the next one comes. From County Cork was reported the belief that the last buried has the task of carrying water to wet the lips of souls in purgatory. This may reflect the story in *Luke* xvi, 19-31 where the rich man in hell begs Abraham to send the recently deceased Lazarus "that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue." [CFR]

**first foot** Superstitions connected with the symbolism of the first foot to cross the threshold on New Year's (sometimes Christmas or other days) are known to peoples from China to Ireland and belong to the cycle of beliefs, still imperfectly understood, connected with the significance of emerging from one state of existence into another. Thus in northern England it is unlucky to leave the house on the first day of the New Year until someone has come in. The first foot of the New Year to enter one's house brings either good or bad luck. In Scotland the first person to enter a house on New Year's Day got a kiss from the person who opened the door. In Yorkshire the first foot on Christmas Day was given money, gingerbread, or cheese. Although customs in China differ, the Chinese are in agreement that the first person to enter brings either good or bad luck. In many parts of the world girls perform ceremonies at odd times with the thought that the first person to enter the house or the room, or to be met at church, will show them something about their future husbands: tall, short, wealthy, poor, etc. [RBJ]

**first-fruits** Specifically, the first of an agricultural crop or vintage, but generally including the firstlings of domestic animals or of animals of the hunt or of fish in a catch; by extension, the feast or ceremony at which the first-fruits were eaten or sacrificed. The concepts underlying first-fruits ceremonies are principally two: 1) The part is representative of the whole; and 2) danger is inherent in new things. Because of this danger, from spirits dwelling in the grain, from the jealous dead, from the gods to whom all belongs, etc., some propitiatory gesture must be made. Therefore, before partaking, the tabu must be removed by giving up a fair share to the gods or spirits, or by indicating to them, by a ceremonial approach, that the food is a necessity and that their gift to man will not be wasted. First-fruits ceremonies thus are of two kinds, sometimes combined: sacrifice or feast. The sacrifice may be by burning, or by offering on an altar, by making formal presentation to the chief or priest, or as a token, offering the spirit of the food to the spirit. Feasts may be approached by a fasting period, by the taking of purgatives, by the use of new fire, etc. Frazer maintained that first-fruit ceremonies were communions, the partaking of the body of the god, a provocative but unnecessary hypothesis.

 Ceremonial preparation and eating of the first fruit or vegetable products gathered, or in the case of some West Coast tribes of the first salmon killed, is a widespread rite among North American Indians. In western North America several tribes prepared the first acorns gathered as a mush which everyone in the tribe tasted; after this was done, all could gather acorns and use them. The same was done for the first salmon, which was prepared and eaten by a priest among certain Northwest California and Oregon tribes. In the Eastern Woodlands strawberries and other wild berries were gathered and eaten after a dance festival; afterwards all persons could gather and eat the various kinds of berries. Corn, among the eastern agricultural tribes, was treated in much the same way. The Green Corn dance, so widespread in the Eastern Woodlands and Southeast, was probably essentially a first-fruits rite. Compare BUSK.

[EWW]

 In Mexico and other parts of Middle America, quite common is the custom of offering first-fruits to deities before partaking. The Huichol of Mexico have one of the most elaborate ceremonies. Both the new corn and the people must be purified and "baptized" before the corn can be eaten. This is done by each family or group of families in front of a home altar on which is placed an image or picture of the Virgin Mary. The Tarahumara have a similar celebration. Several families join together for an all-night fiesta at which they place roasting ears on a family altar, roast them ceremonially, smoke the maize with copal, and then eat it. Among the Popoluca of Veracruz a man and his wife go to the cornfield before sunrise, burn copal incense, cut seven roasting ears, return home and make tamales, and eat them at midnight of the same day. Only then can maize be eaten from that harvest in a profane manner. [GMF]

**first is best** A motif especially prominent in the chain tale in which the action completes a circle to return to its starting point. In a tale in the *Ocean of Story*, an ascetic transforms a mouse into a maiden. When she grows up he wishes to marry her to a great husband. So he calls the sun, but the cloud can hide the sun. And the wind can drive the cloud, and the mountain can resist the wind, and the mouse can dig holes in the mountain. Therefore, the ascetic changes the girl back into a mouse and gives her to the male mouse. This form must not be confused with the chain tale in which the action begins over and over endlessly when the starting point is again reached; in this type of the tale, the action is completed when the first of the characters reappears on the scene. See CIRCULAR TALE.

**fish** Conflicts and confusions in the reports about the fish-lore of various peoples point to the need of a new examination of this and other beliefs in terms of the ethnic atmosphere in which they occur. The Syrians are said to have regarded fish as holy and not to be eaten. The Bechuana and Bantu do not eat fish. In parts of India fish are said to be the favorite food of ghosts. Cornish fairies hate the smell of fish. Fish are oracles in Wales, tabu as food among some African tribes, forbidden to pregnant women in Serbia, and recommended in the Talmud. The Tasmanians do not eat fish that have scales.

Attempts to establish the existence of a fish cult in the eastern Mediterranean are inconclusive although the Syrian form of the Semitic goddess Derceto was a fish, and her dying and resurrecting son Tammuz (or Adonis) was associated with the fish, though again the data is inconclusive. The fish early became a Christian symbol: Christ fed the multitude with five loaves and two fishes (Mark vi, 38), and He made His disciples "fishers of men" (Matt. iv, 19). The Greek word for fish is *ichthos*, and the symbol may have been adopted as a pun on the words *Iesos Christos Theou Uios Soter*, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, a confessional formula. The Carib view that fish are always young and that men who lived on fish never grew old, together with local legends in many parts of the world about 100-year old fish in temple and other pools are suggestive.

Communities dependent on fish as articles of diet or commerce have special ceremonies. Many western Europeans spit on the hook to ensure a catch. In the south of

France the priest blesses the sea in a ceremony which in one or another form is found in other places. In Alaska the first fish of the season is specially honored. During the fishing season the Queen Charlotte Islanders banish one man of the tribe to the mountains. He may not light a fire or communicate with other members of the tribe. In New Caledonia the fishing season is opened by sacrifices to ancestors. When the men enter the water the women put out all but one of the fires, perform a dance and maintain silence until the men return. Fish totems have been reported from South Africa, Alaska, and North America. The Ottawa Indians believed that the souls of the dead entered fishes.

The orphaned Cinderella in a very early Chinese version of that tale is helped by a fish in much the same way as the northern European girl is helped by a tree growing from her mother's grave and the Anglo-French heroine is helped by a fairy godmother: all probably mother-surrogates. In Greenland the eating of certain fish is said to have made women and even men pregnant. Virgins in Brazil, Samoa, and India have been fertilized by gifts of fishes. If the husband of a childless woman ate a fish from the "Children's Sea" on the south coast of Java he would have offspring. Shape-shifters in the form of fishes have given fabulous gifts to fishermen for setting them free. See ATARGATIS. [RDJ]

**fish dance** A mimetic dance suggesting the motions of a fish. Menominee and Yuchi Indian fish dancers wave their arms like fins, the former with a dragging forward step simulating the tail. The Iroquois fish dance or *gedjoenp* contains no mimetic gestures. The passing and repassing of partners is claimed to resemble the path of fish in the water, but the resemblance is vague. Only the Yuchi retain any vestige of ceremonial propitiation and thanksgiving to the spirits of this source of food supply. [GPK]

**Fisher King** In Chrestien de Troyes' *Perceval* and in later Grail stories, the lord of the Grail castle; possessor of the Grail, the bleeding lance, and the silver plate. Wounded by a spear thrust through his thighs, his only solace was in fishing. He can be healed only through the help of the Grail-seeker and when he is healed the waste land which surrounds his castle will become productive again. In Robert de Boron's *Joseph*, Bron is referred to as the Rich Fisher, though there is no account of his fishing literally as there is in *Perceval*. Nor does he possess a bleeding lance or a plate; he is simply the custodian of the Grail. The epithet fisher applied to him may derive from Christ's statement, "I shall make ye fishers of men." [MEL]

**Five Brothers** In Puget Sound mythology, a Snohomish story of five brothers, four of whom were tricked by the vengeful fifth into following an artificial seal far out through the straits and north through the open sea. It was foggy and the brothers were lost. They drifted to a land where the people were very tiny but powerful men. The brothers grew hungry; they had nothing to eat, so they stole halibut from the canoe of one of the dwarfs while he was diving for more. But the little man discovered the theft and the thieves and was so powerful that he easily threw them into his canoe and took them home. The mouths of these people were so small that they ate only the maggots from the halibut which they allowed to rot. So they permitted the four

Snohomish brothers to camp beside them and cook the halibut for themselves.

On the fifth day occurred the famous battle between the dwarfs and the ducks and cranes who came to attack them annually. The ducks and cranes killed the dwarfs in great numbers. The Snohomish defended the little people, and after they had killed many of the birds one observant duck said, "These are real Indians. Let's get away from here." So the ducks and cranes flew away, and the Snohomish revived the dwarfs by extracting the sharp-pointed feathers which the birds had shot into them.

That evening the dwarfs did not like the idea of the Snohomish eating the dead ducks, so they sent them away. On the way home the four brothers became so tired that they changed themselves into killer-whales in order to travel faster. They did not really want to be killer-whales, but in this condition they found that food was plentiful and travel easy. They returned home, took revenge on the fifth brother who had gotten them into all this, by leading him astray after red salmon-berries until he died. Then they went out to sea and became killer-whales forever.

There are four known versions of this story, all starting with the wooden seal and the compulsory voyage into northern waters of either four or two brothers. All but one deal with the battle with the ducks. In a Puyallup-Klallam version, the brothers are captured by an Eskimo for stealing his fish and taken to Alaska. Ducks descend upon and kill the Eskimos. The brothers rescue them by pulling out the feather-spears and are therefore set free.

**Five Gods of the House** In Chinese folk belief, the five shén, or spirits of specific objects, who preside in every household. They are popularly known as Mên (or Mên Shên), gods of the door who keep watch and ward against evil spirits; Hu, god of the windows; Ching Chu'an, boy-spirit of the well; Chung Liu, god of the eaves; and Tsao Chün, lord of the kitchen stove, who presides over and observes the welfare and conduct of the whole house. See KITCHEN GODS. [RDJ]

**flagellation** Ceremonial whipping, whether symbolic or real, used to drive out evil spirits, to test the endurance of the celebrant during puberty or manhood ceremonies, or for the sexual stimulation of either the persons whipping or the persons being whipped. At times all three factors are potent. The lamas of Mongolia, Tibet, and North China, and priests and monks elsewhere, wear masks and engage in symbolic whippings in their devil dances. American Indians used whipping to test the endurance of their adolescent males. Stoicism during whipping is part of the lore of small boys in all parts of the world. Actual flagellation for the purpose of attaining salvation became epidemic in Europe in the 10th and 14th centuries and was associated with the willingness to endure pain for or at the hands of the beloved object. The sexual psychopaths have been subjects of a large body of literature about schoolmasters or schoolmistresses. Flagellation as part of social and religious orgies has been reported in numerous connections and needs further study in folklore. [RDJ]

**flamen** (plural *flamens* or *flamines*) In ancient Roman religion, one of a group of twelve to fifteen priests each



serving a specific god. The flamen Dialis (Jupiter), flamen Martialis (Mars), flamen Quirinalis (Quirinus) were Majores, and always patricians; the others were Minores chosen from the plebeians. The flamen Dialis was one of the great officials of the state and had many restrictions and privileges attending the office. He married once, could not be divorced, and had to resign if his wife died. He could not touch horse, flour, dog, she-goat, beans, raw meat. He was prohibited from making oaths, wearing any but plain rings, having knots anywhere in his clothing. In public he always had to wear the apex, a special conical headdress wrapped with a strip of white wool; so forceful was this regulation that if the apex fell off during a sacrifice the flamen resigned his office.

**flamenco** An intensely erotic song and couple or solo dance of Andalusian Gypsies. The word *flamenco* may mean a Spanish soldier returned from Flanders, a vagabond on a par with Gypsies, or it may mean the flame-colored flamingo bird which lives in swamplands of southern Europe, northern Africa, and India. Neither interpretation is entirely plausible. The dance, the *cuadro flamenco*, contrasts with the ceremonial rounds and gay folk contras of northern Spain in its sensuous intoxication of gesture and counterrhythms of music, footbeats, castanets, and hand-clapping. Dancer and spectators are a unit, performers emerging from the crowd spontaneously and amid cheering. The *cante flamenco*, like the *cante jondo* (deep song), with guitar, wails in Oriental minor tonalities. Music and dance have local variants: Rondeñas, Malagueñas, Murcianas, Granadinas, Preteneras, Bulerías, Farrucas, Fandangillos, Alegrías, Sevillanas, and others. All of them blend virtuoso footwork with undulating arm and torso motion, Oriental in their sinuousness. [grk]

**flax** An annual plant (genus *Linum*) with stems about two feet high and blue flowers, and an inner bark which yields the flax of commerce. The mucilaginous seeds are called flaxseed or linseed. In Teutonic countries Holda is said to have introduced flax. It was in common use during the time of Charlemagne, who gave a subsidy to every farmer planting a certain area in flax. Linen cloth was so highly prized that even the angels of the Old Testament were clothed in it. Among the Hebrews it was unlawful to mix linen with other materials in cloth.

Many rites were performed to make the flax grow long and plentiful: jumping over Midsummer's Night fires, ringing church bells on Ascension Day, and running about in the fields on Senseless Thursday (the last Thursday of Carnival). In Yorkshire a man should sit on the bag three times and then face to the east before sowing to ensure a good crop. A few stolen seeds mixed in the bag was believed to help. In Bohemia, while flax belongs to Holda on six days, it belongs to the Devil on Saturday. Dire consequences befell those who had anything to do with it on Saturday, whether picking a flower or weaving cloth. In Estonia there is a household spirit, flax mother, who lives in the linen press and looks after flax. Witches cannot stand the sight of the flowers which are therefore often grown in door yards to prevent their approach. They were also tied to the horns of cattle for the same reason. But the witches used the seeds in their brews and would make a pact

with a farmer not to molest him for a year in return for a handful of the seeds gathered in the dark of the moon.

From the belief that it represents vigorous growth and life, flax was often used in medicine. In Bavaria sickly children were placed in the fields and flaxseed sprinkled over them so that they too would thrive. In Brandenburg persons afflicted with giddiness were advised to run naked three times around the flax field. This made the flax giddy, thus the patient was cured. The idea of flax absorbing ills was also known in Italy. A man who had a headache from working in the hot sun placed a ball of linen tow on a yellow plate and balanced this on his head. The pain, mistaking the plate for the sun, passed upwards and became caught in the tow which was immediately burned. In Ireland three pieces of tow applied to the skin will cure a stitch in the side. Flaxseed tea is very generally used as a cure for rheumatism and as a purgative. Flaxseed poultices are still recognized as beneficial for inflammation. For toothache, the Swabians sleep on a pillow of flaxseed. In Bohemia a girl wishing to become beautiful dances in flax leaves when she is exactly seventeen years old, unless her birthday falls on a Saturday when the flax belongs to the Devil.

**flea** According to Danish legend the flea was sent to pester mankind as a punishment for laziness. A Flemish tale claims they were created to give women work. However this may be, they have been living on the blood of mankind for many thousands of years in spite of the best efforts of alchemists, scientists, and exterminators. The ancient Egyptians, in the *Book of Cleopatra*, recommended anointing someone, presumably a slave, with ass's milk and all the fleas in the house would gather on him. This method is used in a modified form today in the United States where a sheep is brought into the house for the same purpose. A soldier from Mississippi told of using a goat in this manner, but his father objected, and made him sell the goat. However, after two days the goat had fulfilled its purpose and he remarked that fleas must have been bringing a good price, as he made three dollars on the transaction. Another ancient remedy appeared in the *Geoponica*, the only formal treatise on Greek agriculture. It advised a person in a flea-infested locality to cry, "ouch! ouch!" and the fleas would not bite. This is no longer effective. The use described in the old animal tale of the fox who backed slowly into the water with a piece of moss in his mouth, sounds more effective. All the fleas walked down his nose onto the moss; then he opened his mouth and said, "ahhh," while the fleas floated down the river. Pliny avers that if, on hearing the first cuckoo of spring, you gather up the earth under your right foot and sprinkle it in the bed and around the house, you will not be troubled with fleas all year. In England they recommend airing the bed before Easter. In other parts of England it is believed that fleas return from winter quarters on the first of March, and if the windows are kept closed and the doorstep swept on that day, you are rid of them for the year. Those who neglect this precaution may rid themselves of fleas by jumping over the Midsummer's Night fire. In the United States, splinters from a tree struck by lightning will drive them out of the house. When snow falls in May, if a little is melted in the fireplace, or if a dirty

dish cloth is burned when you hear the first thunder in March, the fleas will be driven out of the house. The Irish drive fleas out with spearmint or foxglove. Southern U.S. Negroes use chinaberry leaves to get rid of them. In England it is believed that when fleas thirst for blood, it is a sign of rain. In Silesia it is considered good luck to be bitten on the hand, since there is a chance that the flea will go elsewhere, which is not the case if the flea is inside the shirt. In Germany and Austria to be bitten on the hand is a sign that you will be kissed. It is quite general belief that fleas desert one who is about to die. [JWH]

**Fleeing Pancake** Title and motif (Z31.3.1) of a general European cumulative tale, especially popular in Scandinavia. In America it is a popular nursery story under the title of the GINGERBREAD BOY.

**Flight of the Chiefs** The name of the ancient kingdom where lived the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Bua province, Vanua Levu, Fiji: a legendary realm during whose existence a Fijian Golden Age held sway. Then, the inhabitants knew everything; they even played the card games that their descendants later learned from the white men; they were able to talk with the ancestral spirits, so good, so accurate were their religious and social usages. But at last Flight of the Chiefs broke up over the ambition of its chiefs, and the various villages with their selfish jealousies grew up. Tip of the Single Feather was the great hero of Flight of the Chiefs, invincible, huge, the son of The Eldest, who was chief of the kingdom. Many great men lived in those days, warriors and magicians: Curve of the Whale Tooth, a great warrior; Fog of the Path, who could bring up a fog to muddle enemies; and other such mighty men.

*The Flight of the Chiefs* is the title given by B.H. Quain to his collection of Fijian epic poetry, tales, and stories collected in the 1930's at The Place of Pandanus (Namuavoivoi) in Bua province. These traditional poems were composed by Velema, an old man who had heard the stories from his predecessors and who had the gift of composing. These poems, traditional though they are, are recomposed, from what the poet remembers, in each generation. He was a magician, whose war club and ax, passed down through his mother's family, gave him the ability to make these *Sere Dina*, true songs. From Solomoni, less gifted and not as highly regarded as an artist as Velema by his fellow Fijians, Quain obtained some of the epic tales, prose recitals of material originally heard by Solomoni as poetry. And whereas Velema obtained much of his information from the ancestors, Solomoni could not commune with them. The study gives an insight into the transmission of traditional lore in a non-literary society.

**flint** An opaque quartz, flint was widely used during the Stone Age because the manner in which it chips made it possible to secure a sharper, more permanent edge on the various implements needed by primitive man in his daily tasks. It was one of the first items of commerce. Conversion from the age of stone to the age of metal was a gradual process, accomplished at different times by different peoples. We have been able to observe it in recent times in the case of many of the

tribes of the North American Indians. Even after stone implements ceased to be used in everyday life, they were often preserved in ceremonials because of tabus associated with metals, especially because iron is believed to be abhorrent to various classes of spirits, and because of the general inflexibility of religious practices. For instance, flint knives were used by the Jews for circumcision long after they were not in general use.

Throughout Europe, Asia, Polynesia, in fact in almost all parts of the world where their use had been forgotten, the flint arrowheads and axes turned up by the farmer's plow are considered to have fallen from the sky, are often thought to be thunderbolts, and are called thunderstones. It was not until travelers returned from far places where these implements were in actual use that their origin was known. Even then these travelers' tales received little popular credence. In Scandinavia thunderstones were frequently worshipped as family gods who kept off spells and witchcraft. Beer was poured over them as an offering and they were sometimes anointed with butter. In Switzerland the owner of a thunderstone whirled it, on the end of a thong, three times round his head, and throws it at the door of his dwelling at the approach of a storm to prevent lightning from striking the house. In Italy they are hung around children's necks to protect them from illness and to ward off the evil eye. In Roman times they were sewn inside dog-collars along with a little piece of coral to keep the dogs from going mad. In Sweden they are protection from elves. In the French Alps they protect sheep, while elsewhere in France they ease childbirth. In Burma they are used as a cure and preventative for appendicitis. In Japan they cure boils and ulcers. In Malay and Sumatra they are used to sharpen the kris, are considered very lucky objects, and are credited with being touchstones for gold. Among the Slavs they cure warts on man and beast, and during Passion Week they have the property to reveal hidden treasure.

In the British Isles, however, some idea of their original use is retained and they are often referred to as elf-shot, fairy-shot, or elf-arrows, and are said to have been shot by the fairies at a person or animal to bewitch them. On the other hand, they are thought, for the most part, to protect the possessor from these little people. The presence of flint instruments found in British cinerary urns of the Roman era is explained by two theories: 1) they were used by the mourners to lacerate themselves; 2) flints (like all fire-producing stones) are potent magic for preventing the return of the dead. In Ireland flint stones are soaked in water to make a medicine which is good for man or beast. Mounted in silver they are worn as protection against elf-shot. They are sometimes called adder stone, which is probably as much a corruption of arrow stone as from the resemblance to a serpent's tongue. In North Carolina and Alabama there is a belief that flint stones placed in the fire will keep hawks from molesting the chickens, a belief which probably stems from the European idea that elf-shot protect domestic animals. In Brazil flint is used as a divining stone for gold, treasure, and water.

The flint was an object of veneration by most American Indian tribes. According to the Pawnee origin

myth, stone weapons and implements were given to man by the Morning Star. Among the Quiché of Guatemala, there is a myth that a flint fell from the sky and broke into 1,600 pieces, each of which became a god. Tohil, the god who gave them fire, is still represented as a flint. This myth provides a parallel to the almost universal belief in the thunderstone, and reminds us that Jupiter was once worshipped in the form of a flint stone. The Cherokee shaman invokes the flint when he is about to scarify a patient prior to applying his medicine. Among the Pueblos we have the Flint Societies which, while in most tribes, was primarily concerned with weather and witchcraft, sometimes had to do with war and medicine.

**Flood** The term commonly used for the Biblical deluge (*Gen.* vi-ix): subject of a great body of etiological and humorous folklore. The duration of the rain that caused the Flood was 40 days and 40 nights. Forty is generally used among the peoples of the Near East to indicate some fairly considerable round number. Compare for example the 40 years of wandering in the wilderness, the Koranic statement that a man reaches his maturity at 40, the Persian name "forty-foot" for the animal called by us the centipede, etc. Mt. Ararat in Armenia is the supposed final resting place of the ark; recently, expeditions have been planned to discover its remains on the mountain's slopes. The story of the Flood ends with the beautiful etiological myth of the rainbow: it is God's reminder to Himself of His covenant with living things that no further destruction of all life by water is to occur. Typical motifs attached to the Flood story are the escape from the deluge in the ark (A1021), the saving of the animals in pairs (A1021.1), the griffons balking at entering the ark and now extinct (A2232.4), bird scouts sent out to ascertain the receding of the waters (A1021.2), the ark finally coming to rest on a mountain (A1022). Other folklore incidents include the Devil's entrance into the ark in the form of a mouse, his gnawing a hole in the bottom of the ark, and the lion's sneezing forth a cat to devour the mouse (A1811.2), or Noah's inadvertent curse letting the Devil in (C125.1), or the Devil getting in by walking in the shadow of Noah's wife (G303.23.1). The snake on board stops a leak with his tail (A2145.2), or the dog stops the leak with his nose, causing dogs' noses to be foreverafter cold and wet, or Noah's wife stops the leak with her elbow, thus causing women's elbows to be forever cold. Or, Noah himself, when the leak grew still larger, sat on the leak, which explains why a man always stands with his back to the fire. Noah tried to exclude flies from the ark, but admitted them as a lesser evil than the Devil who threatened to come on board if the flies did not (A2031.2). Many local legends all over the world explain exceptionally rocky places as the spots where Noah dumped his ballast. See DELUGE; NOAH.

**flute** One of the earliest and most widely used of all musical instruments, especially significant in fertility, courtship, and funeral ceremonies; a wind instrument consisting of a tube or pipe in which a column of air vibrates to produce sound when the player blows across the thin edge of a hole at the end or side. This acoustic principle distinguishes flutes from other instruments classified as pipes (oboes, clarinets, etc., which

have vibrating reeds). All, however, by association with their shape and in their use, have a similar symbolism and similar magical properties. Dating from paleolithic times, the earliest flutes were made of bone and had only one tone. The addition of finger holes for playing a melody appears in neolithic flutes.

The flute family includes numerous forms, differentiated by position and construction of the mouth-hole, by method of playing, and by shape. Vertical, or end-blown, flutes have the mouth-hole at the end. Transverse or cross flutes have a side mouth-hole and the upper end is closed. In many flutes of the Orient, South America, Africa, etc., the mouth-hole is notched to a sharper edge. Whistle flutes have the mouth-hole partly blocked to form a very narrow passage through which air is blown over the edge of another hole at the side to set up the necessary vibration. Variations from the common tubular shape include globular flutes (often elaborated into bird, fish, flower, human, and animal forms), an ax-shaped flute used by the Chaké of the northeastern Andes, which has a lateral air duct at right angles to the pipe, and a sausage-shaped instrument found among the Maori and in Peru. A series of one-note flutes played in combination and either tied or molded together constitutes the instrument known as the pan-pipes. Other combinations are double flutes, as used in northern India and among some American Indians, and triple flutes found in Tibet, as well as frequent pairings of separate instruments for certain ceremonies. Such pairs are commonly thought of as male and female wherever they are found—in Melanesia, among the Bantu in Africa, the Sierra Nevada tribes of South America, etc. Variations from the ordinary method of playing include blowing from the nostrils instead of the mouth (nose flutes); using only one hand for the flute while playing another instrument with the other, as with the pipe or galoubet (one-handed flute); and hanging the instrument for the wind to sound (Æolian flute), as is done in parts of Melanesia.

In primitive societies the flute, because of the characteristic tubular shape of the bone, reed, bamboo cane, etc., from which it is so often made, has a phallic symbolism and magic influence over procreation, fertility, and the renewal of life. Hence it is played at initiation and circumcision ceremonies, accompanies dances of courtship and fertility, sounds at funerals and sacrifices, and serenades reluctant maidens. It is also sometimes buried with the dead as a charm for new life, worn or carried as an amulet, and played, as by the shaman of the Chaco Indians, for curing purposes.

The Bukana and Jabim tribes of northern New Guinea use the flute along with the bull-roarer in connection with circumcision. Boys make flutes of two kinds, called husband and wife, which are played during the rites and for a period of about three months of seclusion afterwards. Women may neither see nor hear the instruments. The ceremony is a dramatization of death and rebirth, the novices supposedly being swallowed and disgorged by a mythical monster. Among the Monumbo people the name of the flute (*murup*) is also borne by a mythical forest monster and by a mask used in the rites of initiation, and the sound of the flute is identified with the monster's cry. The flutes are

closely to animals in the globular type known almost all over the world. Probably this shape developed originally from coconut shells or other hard fruit shells and was later imitated in clay and modeled like birds and animals whose call resembled the flute notes. These shapes undoubtedly added some of the magical attributes of the various creatures to those of the flute itself. However, even in ancient times such instruments became toys, and today their offspring, a warbling canary with a whistle in its mouth, a water container under its feet, and a mouthpiece in the tail, can often be bought at dime stores and carnivals.

The ancient globular flute of China, the *hsüan*, was said to have been molded on eggs and was equated in the cosmic scheme of equivalents with the southeast direction, the summer-to-autumn season, the earth, and the clay of which it was made.

In general, the material of flutes is less important symbolically than the shape, but the use of some type of bone in flutes on every continent carries with it the phallic implications of the bone—whether it be bird, deer, llama, pig's foot, or human arm or leg. Human bones have been used in New Zealand, in Guiana, in Venezuela, and elsewhere. The victims were generally slain enemies or sacrificed slaves, and the use of a part of their bodies endows the instrument and the player with a part of their strength, virility, or influence. The Ruthenians were said to have used a human leg-bone to make a flute that had the power to reduce all within earshot to somnolence.

Flutes of almost every type have been played with the breath of the nostrils, rather than the mouth, since prehistoric times in various parts of India, Indonesia, Borneo, Polynesia, Melanesia, by the Bechuana in Africa, the Botocudo and Caingang in South America, and even in Europe. An accidental discovery of the method has been suggested for Hindu wearers of the nose-ring, which, if broken, might emit a whistle. Another theory of origin is that it would be tabu for a Brahmin to touch with his lips the instrument made by a low-caste man. Sachs cites the widespread belief that the breath of the nostrils contains the soul and the practices of guarding such breath and utilizing it for magical purposes. (The exclamation, "Gesundheit," when a person sneezes, is a survival of such ideas.) Therefore the powers of the flute may be increased by the particular magic of this breath.

In Europe, where the pipe, the flageolet, the recorder, and other types of vertical flute have been popular in various periods both for folk and art music, the cross flute has been used in much more limited ways. The folk music of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, etc., where Gipsy transmission and influence has been particularly strong, is often played on the cross flute, and Switzerland and Austria have a tradition of cross flute playing, but otherwise it has appeared chiefly as a military instrument. The fife, from the end of the Crusades to the present, has been paired with the drum for marching.

In America, some folk musicians still play the fife, in the Pennsylvania hills, for example, where its lively tunes are similar to those played by country fiddlers.

As an instrument for the solitary musician, the flute is particularly loved by Indians of South and Central America. Among the Colombia Indians, every man

plays the flute, which he makes of cane, and carries with him as he wanders over the hills, playing mournful airs. The Coras of Mexico, also, all make and play flutes, especially for the annual festivities of Holy Week. See ATHENA.

THERESA C. BRAKELEY

**Flying Dutchman** The best known of the phantom ships. Similar ships are known in several parts of the world, and the rash oath theme appears not only in these ship tales but in such literary versions of the story of the eternally doomed as Austin's *Peter Rugg*. The *Flying Dutchman* is the name commonly given to the ghostly ship seen in bad weather off the Cape of Good Hope, Africa. The ship is seen beating against the wind, trying to round the Cape; is often hailed, and sometimes boarded. The captain of the ship, a stubborn man, vowed that he would round the Cape during a heavy storm, or be damned (E511.1.3; compare C41: tabu, offending water spirit). Other versions of the legend make the captain guilty of cruelty, or have him thus damned because of a pact with the Devil (E511.1.2 and E511.1.3). Traditionally also, the crew is a crew of dead men, who stand to their tasks unmoving, and will not answer questioning (E511.2.1). (Compare Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner*.)

The Baltic has its phantom ship, the *Carmilhan*; the legend connected with it is very like the *Flying Dutchman's*. There is a phantom ship of the Gulf of Finland, mentioned by Frazer in the *Golden Bough*, a Finnish ship, undoubtedly, because it overhauls other ships with sails full set in the teeth of the wind, and notoriously the Finns are wizards. Compare PHANTOM SHIP.

**Fólla** In Old Irish mythology, one of the three queens of the Tuatha Dé Danann encountered by the Milesians during their advance into Ireland, whose name is used as a poetic name for Ireland. See BANBA.

**Foggy, Foggy Dew** A plaintive song known to English, Irish, and American singers, telling of the one romantic misstep of a weaver, who began and ended as a bachelor, with a blue-eyed son to help him at his trade and to remind him of the pretty maid he protected from the "foggy, foggy dew." The haunting tune is claimed as an Irish harp melody, the weaver has been identified as both English and Scottish, but the song now knows no nationality, being a favorite wherever English folk songs are sung.

**Folia** (French *Folies d'Espagne*) An ancient Italian *basso ostinato* melody descended from a large group of such tunes associated with the 14th century *bassadanza*, but applied from the mid-16th century to the frenzied fertility dance, the *folia*, and set to verses. The connection of dance and tune is obscure and controversial, involving the fusing elements of a dissolving courtly tradition and a rising popular movement.

**folia** Literally, madness: a Portuguese carnival fertility dance which became a couple dance in Spain, France, and Italy. In its original form it owed its name to the insane din, furious tempo, and lunatic actions of the large crowd of participants. Some carried masked boys on their shoulders; others, dressed as women, whirled and played castanets—clearly a vestige of ancient transvestite fertility symbolism. In Spain the *folia* was danced as a solo or couple dance with casta-

nets, to the accompaniment of flutes. The movements had become graceful and changeable, alternately pensive and impassioned, always sensuous. The music, in triple time, has a characteristic *basso ostinato*, or ground bass. The French social dance and stage dance by that name are distorted versions. [GPK]

**folk etymology** or **popular etymology** Plausible but usually incorrect analysis by untrained folk of a word whose meaning, or spelling, or sound is not clear, resulting in the transformation of the word into one more intelligible. French *surloin* (*sur*, above) becomes by folk-etymology *sirloin*. Old English *angnail* (*ang*, painful) becomes *hangnail*. *Sweetard* (*ard*, a suffix, meaning having the qualities of) becomes *sweetheart*. Old French *assets*, singular in number, is taken into English as a plural and a new singular *asset* coined. There exists a tendency today to turn *asparagus* into *sparrow grass* and to use *gingerly* as if it meant smartly. [MEL]

**folklore** Folklore comprises traditional creations of peoples, primitive and civilized. These are achieved by using sounds and words in metric form and prose, and include also folk beliefs or superstitions, customs and performances, dances and plays. Moreover, folklore is not a science about a folk, but the traditional folk-science and folk-poetry. JONAS BALYS

Whenever a lullaby is sung to a child; whenever a ditty, a riddle, a tongue-twister, or a counting-out rime is used in the nursery or at school;

Whenever sayings, proverbs, fables, noodle-stories, folktales, reminiscences of the fireside are retold;

Whenever, out of habit or inclination, the folk indulge in songs and dances, in ancient games, in merry-making, to mark the passing of the year or the usual festivities;

Whenever a mother shows her daughter how to sew, knit, spin, weave, embroider, make a coverlet, braid a sash, bake an old-fashioned pie;

Whenever a farmer on the ancestral plot trains his son in the ways long familiar, or shows him how to read the moon and the winds to forecast the weather at sowing or harvest time;

Whenever a village craftsman—carpenter, carver, shoemaker, cooper, blacksmith, builder of wooden ships—trains his apprentice in the use of tools, shows him how to cut a mortise and peg in a tenon, how to raise a frame house or a barn, how to string a snowshoe, how to carve a shovel, how to shoe a horse or shear a sheep;

Whenever in many callings the knowledge, experience, wisdom, skill, the habits and practices of the past are handed down by example or spoken word, by the older to the new generations, without reference to book, print, or schoolteacher;

Then we have folklore in its own perennial domain, at work as ever, alive and shifting, always apt to grasp and assimilate new elements on its way. It is old-fashioned, gray- or white-headed perhaps, fast receding from its former strongholds under the impact of modern progress and industry; it is the born opponent of the serial number, the stamped product, and the patented standard.

Men of learning have in the last century or so gathered, classified, and studied a vast body of materials appertaining to folk tradition. They are called folklorists. According to their aptitudes and preferences

they have specialized in various aspects of their chosen field, some in folktales or folk songs, others in handicrafts, others in dances and games, still others in beliefs and customs. Their tendency so far has been to restrict rather than to let their research expand all the way to its natural scope.

Much still remains to be undertaken in the study of our folk arts and crafts. And even our working definition of folklore itself should be broadened to embrace the forms of habitation, carving, statuary, metal work—iron, pewter, brass, silver, gold—weaving customs, and ancient domestic arts. Even written documents and materials from our archives may belong as much to folklore as to history, for instance, those bearing on the activities of the old guilds, on the pursuits of workshops, and on the traditional schools of manual training. And the door remains wide open to the comparative study of the folklore harvest taken as a whole and in its branches, for it all forms part of the culture of man from the remote past to the present.

MARIUS BARBEAU

In anthropological usage, the term folklore has come to mean myths, legends, folktales, proverbs, riddles, verse, and a variety of other forms of artistic expression whose medium is the spoken word. Thus, folklore can be defined as verbal art. Anthropologists recognize that an important group of individuals known as folklorists are interested in customs, beliefs, arts and crafts, dress, house types, and food recipes; but in their own studies of the aboriginal peoples of various parts of the world, these diverse items are treated under the accepted headings of material culture, graphic and plastic arts, technology and economics, social and political organization, and religion, and all are subsumed under the general term culture. There is, however, an important part of culture which does not fall under any of these convenient headings, and which is classed separately as folklore. Folklore in all its forms, thus defined, is obviously related to literature, which is written; but folklore may never be written even in a literate society, and it may exist in societies which have no form of writing. Like literature, folklore is an art form related to music, the dance, and the graphic and plastic arts, but different in the medium of expression which is employed.

WILLIAM R. BASCOM

In a purely oral culture everything is folklore. In modern society what distinguishes folklore from the rest of culture is the preponderance of the handed-down over the learned element and the prepotency that the popular imagination derives from and gives to custom and tradition. The transference of oral tradition to writing and print does not destroy its validity as folklore but rather, while freezing or fixing its form, helps to keep it alive and to diffuse it among those to whom it is not native or fundamental. For the folk memory forgets as much as it retains and restricts and corrupts as much as it transmits and improves. In the reciprocity of oral and written tradition and the flux of cultural change and exchange, revival plays as important a part as survival, popularization is as essential as scholarship, and the final responsibility rests upon the accumulative and collective taste and judgment of the many rather than the few. In this process of creative remembrance, which is tantamount to the genius of a people, the

great collections of folk literature are the product of the collaboration of countless folk singers, folksayers, collectors, scholars, religious teachers, and professional artists and interpreters of the arts with the inarticulate folk—Sandburg's "laboring many"; of the "scholar's learning about the folk" with the folk's own learning.

Within the realm of the handed-down, several classes and levels of folklore and folk idiom may be distinguished, and each species or individual item must be judged in relation to its history and function in its own social and cultural setting, since folklore originates and spreads in many different ways and forms. The great bulk and central core of folklore consists not so much in folk songs and stories (although these are more obvious in their appeal as colorful and characteristic) as in the customs and beliefs attending the "periods of emotional stress in the life of an individual in relation to the group—birth, graduation, coming of age, marriage, burial" (Martha Warren Beckwith, *Folklore in America*, 1931, p. 5), which the educated and sophisticated share with the uneducated and naive. Another considerable and important phase of folklore is made up of the mass delusions and hallucinations of myths, especially in the presence of the "wonders of the invisible world," and the apocrypha of hero-worship, with its legends of doubtful exploits of historical personages and "untrustworthy traditions of doubtful events." Both aspects of folk fantasy have their popular counterpart in the prejudices, stereotypes, irrational beliefs, and day-dreams inspired or encouraged by commercial and academic forms of mass communication and mass organization of thought.

As folklore approaches the level of the literate and literary, it tends to become more elaborate and self-conscious in expression, to shape about itself a formal tradition with prestige value, and to become absorbed into the main stream of culture. As it approaches the level of the illiterate and subliterate, folklore constitutes a basic part of our oral culture, in the proverbial folk-say and accumulated mother wit of generations that bind man to man and people to people with traditional phrases and symbols. Folklore thus takes root in the "humble influences of place and kinship," of shared experience and wisdom, and has its flower and fruition in those works of art in which the individual artist succeeds in identifying himself with a folk tradition and giving it universal form and significance. On both levels—folk culture or folk art—folklore derives its integrity and survival value from a direct response to and participation in group experience, and the fusion of the individual and the common sense. B. A. BOTKIN

Folklore, or popular knowledge, is the accumulated store of what mankind has experienced, learned, and practiced across the ages as popular and traditional knowledge, as distinguished from so-called scientific knowledge. The distinction between the two is not always definite. The materials of folklore are for the most part the materials of social anthropology that have been collected from the barbarous and "uncivilized" regions of the world, as well as from the rural and illiterate peoples of the "civilized" countries. These materials have been obtained from the anthropological data of history or have been collected by anthropologists and folklorists in modern times. Specifically, folklore consists of the beliefs, customs, superstitions,

proverbs, riddles, songs, myths, legends, tales, ritualistic ceremonies, magic, witchcraft, and all other manifestations and practices of primitive and illiterate peoples and of the "common" people of civilized society. Folklore has very deep roots and its traces are ever present even among peoples that have reached a high state of culture. Folklore may be said to be a true and direct expression of the mind of "primitive" man.

The science of folklore is that branch of human knowledge that collects, classifies, and studies in a scientific manner the materials of folklore in order to interpret the life and culture of peoples across the ages. It is one of the social sciences that studies and interprets the history of civilization. Folklore perpetuates the patterns of culture, and through its study we can often explain the motifs and the meaning of culture. The science of folklore, therefore, contributes in a great measure to the history and interpretation of human life.

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

A survey of materials published as folklore indicates that the subject is pretty much what one wants to make of it. I favor a conservative definition. Without attempting a formal statement, to me the term "folklore" is most meaningful when applied to the unwritten literary manifestations of all peoples, literate or otherwise. Stories, certainly, whether myths, legends, folktales, or anecdotes, are of primary importance. I would also add riddles, rimes, proverbs, folk songs, as well as folk beliefs and superstitions of almost all kinds. Regardless of how they are presented, these materials are folklore. Beyond this point one finds materials which may be treated in folkloristic fashion—games, cat's-cradle, ceremonies, witchcraft, to illustrate—but which in themselves do not, as I see it, necessarily constitute folklore. Outside the central literary core, folklore is best defined in terms of treatment rather than in terms of inherent nature.

GEORGE M. FOSTER

Folklore is that part of a people's culture which is preserved, consciously or unconsciously, in beliefs and practices, customs and observances of general currency; in myths, legends, and tales of common acceptance; and in arts and crafts which express the temper and genius of a group rather than of an individual. Because it is a repository of popular traditions and an integral element of the popular "climate," folklore serves as a constant source and frame of reference for more formal literature and art; but it is distinct therefrom in that it is essentially of the people, by the people, and for the people.

THEODOR H. GASTER

Folklore might be defined—not as applying to certain branches of lore rather than others, nor to certain kinds of people rather than others—but in terms of the ways in which it is acquired, used, and transmitted.

It is true that certain subjects (like ballad) are more associated in our minds with folklore than others, but there is nothing in the basic meaning of lore which suggests that any subject is excluded.

It is also true that certain cultures or groups have a more prevailing folklore than others. But every group and every member of it is a compound of elements that are folk and not folk; it is the proportion that varies. With sufficient search one could no doubt discover an atomic scientist who would refuse to walk under a ladder. With sufficient acquaintance we detect unique qualities in highly typical examples of folk products.

Folklore then may crop up in any subject, any group or individual, any time, any place. It might be thought of as comprising that information, those skills, concepts, products, etc., which one acquires almost inevitably by *virtue of the circumstances to which he is born*. It is not so much deliberately sought (like learning) as absorbed. It is not deliberately invented; rather it develops. It is present in the environment, is accepted, used, transformed, transmitted, or forgotten, without arbitrary impetus from individual minds. There may be deliberate efforts to combat it, as in the Westernization trends in China, or to revive and preserve it, but these are extraneous to *what it is*.

What was once a branch of learning, like astrology, may become folklore. What was once folklore, like the swastika motif, may be taken over and used or exploited in a non-folk manner. An individual work of art, like the Statue of Liberty, may become a group symbol, or a group symbol, like an African mask, may go into the painting of Picasso. These things are folklore, so long as they are acquired, used, and transmitted *in the manner of folklore*. When they cease to be, or before they are, used in that way they are not.

The nature of its development prevents the setting of any rigid limits to folklore. It is most clearcut where the group is most a unit, with cohesion and continuity. Anything which tends to break down the cohesion of a group—communications, diversity of knowledge, specialization, etc.—tends to scatter its folklore. But we are not justified in thinking, because it then becomes more elusive, that it ceases to exist or evolve. Nor can we think of groups simply in the traditional racial or geographic terms; they may be based on occupation, age, sex, economics, education, interest, etc., and in a complicated society new groupings are constantly presenting themselves.

The "group characteristics" which result from the accumulated nature of folklore, and by which we attempt to recognize and label it, are not to be thought of as opposed to individuality. Folklore is something which the individual has in common with his fellows, just as all have eyes and hands and speech. It is not contrary to himself as an individual but a part of his equipment. It makes possible—perhaps it might be defined as that which constitutes—his rapport with his particular segment of mankind.

M. HARMON

Originally the study of cultural curiosities, and held to be the survivals of an earlier period in the history of "civilized" literate peoples, folklore has come more and more to denote the study of the unwritten literature of any group, whether having writing or being without it. This development followed naturally upon the refinement of ethnographic method, which yielded continuously deeper insights into the nature and functioning of human culture, and revealed the defects of the older comparative approach, on which the concept of cultural survival was based. It became clear that the customs of living "primitive" folk could not properly be equated with those of the actual historic predecessors of Western European nations. In other words, "primitive man," wherever found, is not a contemporary ancestor. In Europe, recognition of this fact resulted in the development of the study of peasant cultures and other manifestations of earlier custom as a

discipline separate from folklore. This newer orientation, by defining more critically its field and approach, has freed folklorists for the study of popular literary forms, among peoples everywhere, whether they have a written language or not. This analysis is to be carried on, moreover, not only in the study of plot and incident, or to recover the place of origin and original form of the tales, but also to the end that these popular forms be considered in terms of the criteria, concepts, and problems of any living literature.

MELVILLE J. HERKOVITS

Folklore in the specific sense, which is the usual one in the United States, embraces those literary and intellectual phases of culture which are perpetuated primarily by oral tradition: myths, tales, folk song, and other forms of oral traditional literature; folk speech and dialect as the medium of these materials; folk music and folk dancing because of their intimate relation to folk song; also customs, beliefs, and "folk science." Folklore thus exists in the city as well as in the countryside, and within groups that cut across such a division, but by preference it has been that of the countryside.

A wider meaning, of "folk life," more familiar in Europe and Latin America, covers the entire culture of a "folk" group, usually a rural group whose mode of life is rather different from that of its urban counterpart. Such a wide expansion of meaning, stemming from a special "folk" concept, has not been applied in the study of "primitive" or preliterate societies where the anthropologist's background in social science and linguistics appears indispensable for the study of native cultures as a whole, and also for a fruitful evaluation of the function and history of oral folklore.

The division of interest and of labor, suggested by these distinctions, has followed the different inclinations and methods of the student of culture and of society—whether anthropologist, rural sociologist, or social psychologist—and of the folklorist as a literary scholar. No doubt both can only gain by greater familiarity with each other's methods, points of view, knowledge, and insights.

GEORGE HERZOG

Folklore is a branch of cultural ethnology. The data of folklore are the myths, legends, traditions, narratives, superstitions, religions, rituals, customs, dances, and explanations of nature and man, acceptable to individual ethnic groups in each part of the world at any historical moment. Because these are all structures of the human imagination and frequently operate most powerfully when the groups or the individuals who constitute them are experiencing moments of crisis, the data of folklore are immediate and potent evidence of the nature of man when man is defining his fears and aspirations and searching for a security which always eludes him. Folklorists whose business it is to study folklore frequently become infected and find that instead of studying folklore they are in fact making it.

The methods of the study of folklore are: 1) collection of the data as they actually occur without, if possible, the intrusion of the folklorist's own mythopoeia, a primitive impulse which creates folklore; 2) a comparison of the data to determine what are the similarities and differences of these phenomena in the several ethnic groups; 3) an examination of the beliefs implicit in the data; 4) of the social and psychological impulses

which produce them, and 5) the functions folklore performs for the individuals and the social groups through which they operate.

Though persons concerned with folklore in our present period of Occidental culture are known as folklorists, they have been called at other times mountebanks, priests, poets, mystics, medicine-men, scholars. A general purpose of all these people whether they are producing an epic poem or editing the Pentateuch or an encyclopedia of folklore is to put their data together in such a way that they will make sense. The sorts of sense folklorists attempt to derive are various: Many are determined to prove that their social group is superior to others because their superstitions being generally accepted by their group are sound doctrine, whereas superstitions not accepted by the "we-group" are wicked, or at best quaint, heterodox. In this way and many others, the pleasure we get for example from the repetition of "family jokes," the folklore of each group tends to strengthen the group and to bring a sense of security and therefore superiority to the members of it.

Modern times have brought a new apology for an old impulse. The "scientific" folklorists search frenetically for origins and fill their pages with discussions of "original" dawn myths, stellar myths, totemism, diffusionism, and other pretentious explanations of an incomplete logic. Instead of having only one meaning, each fact in folklore has many meanings, even for the people of the group who most fanatically accept it. Until this semantic complexity has been grasped and a suitable grammar of discourse has been constructed to accommodate it, folklorists will continue to toy with the skirts of a great mystery. In the meantime the humanists, undismayed by a terminology which implies but does not present a scientific approach, will continue to meditate on the sorts of gaiety and terror which the peoples of all times and places record in the human structures known as folklore.

R. D. JAMESON

Folklore is the science of traditional popular beliefs, tales, superstitions, rimes, all dealing preeminently with the supernatural, and picturization of these beliefs in festive customs, games, mime, song, dance. It is essentially a communal product, handed down from generation to generation, and committed to writing by trained investigators.

The domains of folklore arouse debate. Its narrowest definition confines it to the shadowy remnants of ancient religious rites still incorporated in the lives of illiterates and rustics. More broadly it includes secular legends and songs, tales segmented from fact, superstitions of recent origin, and fragments persisting among sophisticated urban residents.

Folklore is distinguished from mythological tale by attenuation of religious significance, from fairy tale by the still extant (however vague) faith in veracity and efficacy. Likewise, by the current loss of function, folk dance and folk music are distinguished from ritual forms by their anonymous heritage and from revival and individual composition by folk style.

GERTRUDE P. KURATH

Folklore is the generic term to designate the customs, beliefs, traditions, tales, magical practices, proverbs, songs, etc.; in short the accumulated knowledge of a homogeneous unsophisticated people, tied together

not only by common physical bonds, but also by emotional ones which color their every expression, giving it unity and individual distinction. All aspects of folklore, probably originally the product of individuals, are taken by the folk and put through a process of re-creation, which through constant variation and repetition become a group product.

MACEDWARD LEACH

The term *folklore* as used today is ambiguous. The context in which it appears reveals whether the user is referring to all the unwritten narratives of primitive people and thereby drawing a line between the literature of primitive and civilized peoples; or to a poorly defined category of stories vaguely distinguished from mythology (an equally ambiguous term) by being of less serious content and significance to their primitive narrators. A connotation which adds to the confusion is a hang-over from the earlier European use of the word *folklore* to cover peasant customs, beliefs, and narratives—the anthropology of peasants.

KATHARINE LUOMALA

The entire body of ancient popular beliefs, customs, and traditions, which have survived among the less educated elements of civilized societies until today. It thus includes fairy tales, myths, and legends, superstitions, festival rites, traditional games, folk songs, popular sayings, arts, crafts, folk dances, and the like.

JOHN L. MISH

Folklore is a lively fossil which refuses to die. It is a precipitate of the scientific and cultural lag of centuries and millennia of human experience.

In early times change was slower and less frequent, so earlier customs and beliefs had longer to form and to become deeply entrenched in the racial unconscious. These primitive patterns and mandalas, ripened and mellowed like hand-rubbed woods, have persisted beneath the hasty veneers of later civilizations, to surprise us with their beauty when we chance to uncover them. Beauty they have because they were formed slowly close to nature herself, and reflect her symmetry and simplicity. So, in a sense, folklore is how we used to do it and wish we could now. Hence, folklore is always the delight of children because it is the poetic wisdom of the childhood of the race. It is also the pleasure of the old who are wise enough to renew their youth by rebaptism in the eternal simplicities in completing the circle of life.

There is also, beside the juvenile, a strong feminine element in folklore, because its origin antedates the emergence of reason and belongs in the instinctive and intuitional areas. It is irrational and highly imaginative: much of it truly is termed "old wives' tales." Women have always been the savers and conservators of beliefs, rites, superstitions, rituals, and customs.

So folklore develops as the traditional, and usually oral, explanation of the origins and early history of man, as distinct from history, which is the factual record in writing.

The word folklore is used both for the body of tradition and the science of studying it. Folklore is the survival within a people's later stages of culture of the beliefs, stories, customs, rites and other techniques of adjustment to the world and the supernatural, which were used in previous stages, but the word also designates the scientific study of those survivals by later more



sophisticated persons whose own adjustment patterns make the survivals seem quaint, irrational, and superstitious, but also sometimes fascinating and nostalgically desirable. The experienced folklorist is never patronizing toward primitive patterns of life-adjustment.

CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

✍ It is usual to define folklore either literally as the lore of the folk or, more descriptively, in terms of an oral literary tradition. The first of these is a good broad definition including belief, superstition, and religious practice, as well as myths and tales. But it suffers from the difficulty which arises whenever any attempt is made to define "the folk." It is doubtful that the uneducated or illiterate can be considered apart from other persons, and the hypothesis which establishes the existence of such a folk identity would be almost impossible to validate. Modern interest in folk music and folk dancing has done much, however, toward perpetuating this definition. The second definition relies upon a distinction between an oral and a truly literary tradition represented in such productions as novels, poetry, and holy books. Many folklore analyses have been dependent upon oral materials gathered in societies with a written literary tradition, but a definition resting upon this contrast between the oral and the written fails utterly to meet conditions found among American Indian and other societies formerly without the art of writing.

In order to avoid the pitfalls into which either of these types of definition carry us, it seems wisest to define folklore simply as the study of verbal materials in all their varieties. Technical linguistics, music, the dance, and the graphic and pictorial arts would thus become closely related but essentially separate fields of investigation.

A brief discussion of the three schools of folklore active at the present time will help to illustrate the kinds of problem to which the folklorist devotes himself.

1) The Indic school has been most strongly influenced by the studies of Maurice Bloomfield. The members of this school began as Sanskrit scholars. They are both linguists and humanists. Their study of Sanskrit sources led directly to consideration of folklore, and some of our most valuable examinations of the continuity of motifs in time and space, and of shifts in meaning of phrase and incident, have come from these men. In addition, their work with native Indian scholars taught an appreciation of oral materials not usually to be found in the approach of the historian. Though relatively few in number and little known by the average folklorist, their work is extremely important to our understanding of folklore.

2) The anthropological school has worked largely, to date, in the American Indian field and owes its major emphases to Franz Boas. Its members are social scientists and are interested as much in linguistics as are the scholars of the Indic school. They, too, have insisted that if language materials are to be fully understood they must be most accurately recorded and most minutely studied. There is no substitute for texts and linguistic analyses. Faced, however, with the American Indian situation the emphasis has somewhat shifted. Whereas the Indic school worked in a continuous tradition of written language, the Americanist had to deal

with unwritten and unrecorded languages which were not only mutually unintelligible but also belonged to entirely different language stocks. Other cultural aspects differed as markedly, and the Americanist was forced to a consideration of basic differences. Upon his recognition of such cultural difference, he developed an approach which has since been fruitfully applied in other world areas as well. His attention has been directed toward an intensive analysis of culture patterns existing contemporaneously in the world today. Folklore has served as an excellent tool in this analysis; it has been used to investigate, and to illustrate, differences more intimate than formal and more psychological than linguistic. In recent years, although the anthropological school has not lost sight of changes occurring in folklore over space and time, it has tended to examine bodies of folklore with an eye for their uniqueness.

3) The Aarne-Thompson school of folklore differs from the other two in that its methods have derived primarily from a study of European folktales. It works in a purely humanistic atmosphere, and is impressed by the existence of an oral tradition which stands apart from the written or sophisticated like a parallel growth. Members of this school have been particularly interested in the collection and classification of folklore materials and have emphasized the importance of obtaining numerous variants of a tale. Their influence has been widely felt in both the United States and abroad, and has today in the United States become associated with the field of intercultural relations. MARIAN W. SMITH

✍ Folklore consists of materials that are handed on traditionally from generation to generation without a reliable ascription to an inventor or author. Although proverbs, ballads, and other items of folklore are often credited to a particular person, this is itself a stylistic peculiarity of the genre, and the individual's claims are ordinarily dubious in the extreme. If they are capable of proof, we find that the material has suffered alteration or adaptation in the process of transmission. This "communal recreation" proceeds characteristically according to associative rather than logical ways of thinking. The materials handed on traditionally may be physical objects, ideas, or words. The folklore of physical objects includes the shapes and uses of tools, costumes, and the forms of villages and houses. The folklore of gestures and games occupies a position intermediate between the folklore of physical objects and the folklore of ideas. Typical ideas transmitted as folklore are manifested in the customs associated with birth, marriage, and death, with the lesser events of life, with remedies for illnesses and wounds, with agriculture, the trades, and the professions, and with religious life, notably with Christmas, Easter, and other holy days or saints' days. Verbal folklore includes words considered for their own sake and words occurring as connected discourse. Typical words that the folklorist studies without special regard for their use in connected discourse are place names, personal names (both family and Christian names), and nicknames. Folklore in the form of connected discourse includes tales of various kinds (märchen, jests, legends, cumulative tales, exempla, fables, etiological tales), ballads, lyric folk song, children's songs, charms, proverbs, and riddles. The study of folklore consists in the collection, classification, and

interpretation of these traditional materials. Classification involves interpretation to some extent. Interpretation seeks to discover the origin, meaning, use, and history of these materials, to state and explain their dissemination, and to describe their stylistic peculiarities.

ARCHER TAYLOR

Although the word folklore is more than a century old, no exact agreement has ever been reached as to its meaning. The common idea present in all folklore is that of tradition, something handed down from one person to another and preserved either by memory or practice rather than written record. It involves the dances, songs, tales, legends, and traditions, the beliefs and superstitions, and the proverbial sayings of peoples everywhere. It also includes studies of customs, of traditional agricultural and domestic practices, types of buildings and utensils, and traditional aspects of social organization; but for these latter aspects there seems to be a general agreement to consider them, when found in a primitive or preliterate society, as a part of ethnology rather than folklore. This latter division of labor is largely a matter of convenience and is not universally accepted. At least among literate peoples all the subjects mentioned above are considered as folklore, since all of them are truly traditional.

STITH THOMPSON

Among American-trained anthropologists concerned with the cultures of preliterate peoples, the term folklore customarily has been used to refer to the various genres of orally transmitted prose and verse forms existent in primitive groups. Such forms include myths and tales, jests and anecdotes, dramas and dramatic dialogues, prayers and formulas, speeches, puns, riddles, proverbs, and song and chant texts.

This limitation of the term to designate one part only of any preliterate culture contrasts sharply with the customary usage of the same term by students of Euro-American, European, and other folk and peasant cultures. In folk cultures a large part, but only a part, of the total culture is transmitted orally; all such orally transmitted material is generally regarded by humanists as folklore. In this extended sense, then, folklore encompasses not only all traditional prose and verse material, but all traditionally learned arts and handicrafts and a vast body of social and religious beliefs and customs, subsumed by the anthropologists under the general term ethnography.

The educated layman's usage of the word folklore lies between the anthropologist's and the humanist's. This or that fact or theory, transmitted orally or in popular sources, as well as traditional prose and verse material, is folklore. Instead of using the outmoded term superstition, the layman is now more apt to refer to a folkloristic belief.

There is at present a noticeable tendency among cultural anthropologists to use unwritten literature, or primitive literature, or literary forms, to designate material which, even a decade ago, would have been called folklore. With more and more attention being paid by humanists to the study of the traditional in folk cultures, it may well be that the new terms for the anthropologists' relatively restricted materials will gain currency, and ethnography continue in use by anthropologists as practically synonymous with the humanists' use of the term folklore.

ERMINIE W. VOEGELIN

Folklore is that art form, comprising various types of stories, proverbs, sayings, spells, songs, incantations, and other formulas, which employs spoken language as its medium.

RICHARD A. WATERMAN

**Folklore and mythology** The term folklore was coined in 1816 by the English antiquarian William John Thoms to take the place of the awkward term popular antiquities. The word has since been adopted by virtually all continental European languages. As currently used, it has two acceptations, viz. 1) the mass of the unrecorded traditions of the people as they appear in popular (i.e. non-literary) fiction, custom and belief, magic, and ritual, and 2) the science which proposes to study these materials.

The science of folklore is an historical science, historical because it seeks to throw light on man's past; a science because it endeavors to attain this goal, not by speculation or deduction from some *a priori* principle, but by the inductive method used in all scientific research.

The scope of folklore is to reconstruct the spiritual history of man, not as represented by the outstanding works of poets, artists, and thinkers, but as exemplified by the more or less inarticulate voices of the "folk." In this task it draws on documents which are partly historical, i.e. culled from chroniclers, poets, law codes, etc., whenever they reflect folkways as opposed to literary, artistic, and learned modes of thought, and partly oral, i.e. collected, roughly, within the last century and a half by professional or semiprofessional folklorists. In the evaluation and interpretation of these documents our science largely avails itself of the comparative method.

The term folklore and the definition given above clearly imply the coexistence of two traditions, a literary and artistic one on the one hand, a folk or popular tradition on the other. This condition is fulfilled only among societies of a certain cultural level. Semicivilized people (savages, barbarians) lack the former of the two. In their case it is therefore inadmissible to speak of folklore. The collection and interpretation of their traditions, which are by definition oral, is the task of the sciences of ethnography and ethnology (anthropology) respectively. Since the comparative method must by definition largely draw on ethnographic data, it follows that folklore and ethnology (anthropology) are virtually inseparable.

An analogous connection exists between folklore and ethnology (anthropology) on the one hand and prehistory (archeology) on the other. Since all civilizations are known to have arisen in prehistoric times out of conditions of savagery and barbarism, the documents brought to light by prehistoric science are in many instances elucidated by beliefs and customs which have lingered on among the folk or are still believed in and practiced by semicivilized people. The fire drill is perhaps the most outstanding example of the survival of a primitive mode of fire-making in folk-ritual.

The science of folklore is eminently valuable in the interpretation of historical documents, chiefly those bearing on the ancient Orient, which include, of course, the *Old Testament*.

The science of folklore is no less valuable in the interpretation of historical documents forming part of the

classical literatures. Many customs and rites described by Homer, Vergil, Theocritus, etc., are elucidated by analogous customs and rites still practiced by the European peasantry. (Compare W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1915; E. Saenger, *Folklore im altgermanischen Unterricht*, I. Teil: *Homer*, Berlin, 1923.) For the same reason folklore is an auxiliary in textual criticism and text interpretation, whence its usefulness to the various philologies (Classical, Semitic, Vedic, Teutonic, Celtic, etc.).

Certain branches of folklore have repeatedly been acclaimed as the forerunners of the modern natural sciences, both pure and applied. This has been notably true for magic, viewed in this light by Sir James G. Frazer. The justification of this claim however is rather doubtful. On the other hand, folk medicine or popular medicine is unquestionably a direct forerunner of medical science. While most of the assumptions underlying folk medicine are based on unproven *a priori* hypotheses, and while it frequently sees causal connections where there are none, many house remedies, forming part of the popular pharmacopoeia, are ultimately derived from sound observations and, in some cases, from the results of experimentations, however rudimentary. Nor should it be forgotten that scientific, like popular, medicine is still largely empiric.

In many cases folklore materials, chiefly in the field of the local legend, receive significant illustrations from observations in the realm of psychical research and abnormal psychology, two fields the exploration of which is still in its infancy. This is notably true of various forms of divination, dreams, second sight, second hearing, levitation, telepathy, and similar phenomena.

Even more intimate is the connection of folklore and religion, more particularly the so-called natural, i.e. non-dogmatic, non-revealed, and usually but imperfectly organized, religions of the semicivilized and of classical antiquity, but to a certain extent also the great monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism). This connection may be of either one of two kinds: 1) A religious system, grown out of a set of popular beliefs (folklore materials), gradually sloughed them off, relegating them to the realm of superstition, retaining only its philosophical and, chiefly, ethical content. This is essentially true of Protestantism and the more puritanical sects of Islam, e.g. the Wahabites. 2) A religion, in its origin purely ethical (such as Pauline Christianity) may subsequently absorb a vast amount of folklore material, so as to end up, for example, in medieval Catholicism. In virtually all known religions a constant strife has been known to be going on between those desirous of reducing the folklore element to the very minimum, considering it incompatible with their concept of true religion, and those others claiming that, while a religion thus purged of the popular element may serve well enough the needs of select spirits, the educated, it will never satisfy the people.

In the non-revealed, non-dogmatic religions of the semicivilized and of classical antiquity the folklore materials referred to usually take the form of myths. A myth (from Greek *mythos*, word, speech) is an explanatory or etiological (from Greek *aitia*, cause) tale trying to account for all sorts of phenomena (now explained by

modern science), and, since the agents held responsible for these phenomena are believed to be certain Powers (gods or demons), connected with these Powers. The total of these myths constitutes a mythology. Thus we have a Hellenic, a Semitic, an Iranian, say even an Oceanic mythology. Since these phenomena are not necessarily predicated upon a polytheistic religion, monotheism, too, may have its myths: the Old Testament is full of them. (Compare Sir James G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, London, 1914; E. Gunkel, *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, Tübingen, 1921.) The various mythologies therefore constitute a very important branch of folklore. Since in particular the Hellenic mythology pervades literary works of classical antiquity, a first-hand acquaintance with the classical literatures is an indispensable condition for the student of folklore.

While it is true, as stated above, that all civilized peoples have two traditions, the popular and the literary or learned, it must not be supposed that the one are flowing side by side, as it were in water-tight pipes. The very opposite is true: there is a constant intermingling, and exchanges go on all the time, folkloric materials being absorbed by poets and artists, while learned materials, book lore, penetrate to the masses, undergoing various changes and modifications in the process.

This fact has given rise to a controversy of some importance. One school, led by Hans Naumann, proclaims that the people properly speaking never create anything but can only re-create, adopting and modifying materials discarded by their betters. Thus the folk costumes and folk dances of the European peasants are in the main old-fashioned costumes worn by nobles and burghers centuries previously, and society dances once danced by knights and ladies. (Compare H. Naumann, *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur*, Jena, 1921.) The other school, founded by J. G. Herder and the Brothers Grimm, had claimed that the creative people form the basis, making possible the individualistic art of poets and creative artists.

In the extreme form given it by Naumann the theory is manifestly absurd. On that score, semicivilized classless societies (e.g. most of the Indian tribes of the eastern and central United States and Canada) would be devoid of traditions, a supposition far from true; but it must be admitted that societies with more or less developed class system (e.g. the European, Polynesian, and that of the tribes of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia) can boast of a considerably richer lore. The presence of social strata would thus seem to enrich the spiritual heritage of a given community, while social equalitarianism is apt to lead to a leveling down and to the production of uniform types.

A class system invariably involves a give and take. Thus the feudal society of southern France merely developed the lyric poetry flourishing among the peasants from pre-Roman times into artistic productions, thus creating the troubadour lyric. These types (*pastorale, pastiche, sérénade, chansons de la mal mariée*, etc.) went in turn transmitted to the masses and can even now be heard in village fairs, barn dances, etc. (Compare A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1925; C. R. Baskerville, "English Song

on the Night Visit," in *PMLA* XXXVI (1921), pp. 565 ff.; A. H. Krappe, *Science of Folk-Lore*, London, 1930, pp. 153 ff.).

The diffusion of folklore materials is not limited to an exchange between the various social strata of one and the same society; it is known to have traveled and to travel still over vast areas of the globe's surface, thus presenting one of the most difficult but also most fascinating problems of folklore. In this diffusion folklore materials are to all appearances less handicapped by linguistic barriers than is literary material. The common fairy-tale types are known virtually over the whole Eastern hemisphere including Indonesia and parts of Oceania, while the French and Spanish-Portuguese colonists carried them to the New World. The ordinary types of local legends are found over the entire European continent, and the very term migratory tale tells its own story. What is more surprising is the ease with which folk songs and ballads cross linguistic frontiers: ballads known to be of Scandinavian origin are found in France and even in Spain, and virtually all Balkan languages, though differing widely in grammatical structure and prosody, show much the same ballad types. This phenomenon necessarily presupposes the existence of bilingual individuals gifted, in spite of their anonymity, with considerable poetic talent.

In the case of types of folk-literature showing a fairly complex structure or plot (fairy tales, local and animal tales, merry tale, folk song, and ballad) it is clear that the vast majority of them can have arisen only once, in one place, at one time, and it is the task of the folklorist to determine that place and that time for each story type. This is done by a judicious application of the geographic-historical method, first developed by the Finnish scholar Julius Krohn in his *Kalevala* studies and continued and extended by his son Kaarle Krohn. (See *FINNISH FOLKLORE*.) The dependability of the result largely rests on the number of variants available for a given story type and on their character, i.e. on the fact whether some of these variants are attested at a relatively early time, by historical documents, or whether they are exclusively oral, i.e. collected from the mouth of the peasants in the course of the 19th century or later.

On the respective importance of the historical and the oral variants, a controversy arose between Kaarle Krohn and the Bohemian scholar Albert Wesselski. The former claimed a greater independent value for the oral variants, while the latter was inclined to attribute more importance to the historical ones. For Wesselski's view this much must be admitted: If an historical variant happens to be more widely known, if, for example, it occurs in the Bible (e.g. the story of Joseph and his brothers), or if it is represented by a great play (e.g. *The Merchant of Venice*) or a poem read and memorized in schools, etc., there is a great probability of such an historical variant affecting the oral ones, at least in the regions where the historical ones enjoy popularity or wide currency. Such a literary contamination of oral variants must therefore be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the materials. Thus the stories of Perrault's *Contes de ma Mère l'Oye* have been shown to have influenced the oral folklore of Germany (compare H. V. Velten in *Germanic Review*, V, 1930, pp. 4-18). Oral variants thus affected are then of extremely

doubtful value in the task of tracing the history of a story type. Bearing in mind these reservations, we may claim, however, that by the criteria of internal logic and structural development the archetype reconstructed from a large number of variants stands much closer to the archetype of the story than do the historical variants, no matter how old they may be. (Compare A. H. Krappe in *MLQ* IV, 1913, p. 272.) This means that the pure folklore tradition is more conservative than the literary-artistic tradition. (Wesselski's views are set forth in the preface of his book *Märchen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1925, and in *Sudetendeutsche Zeitsch. f. Volksk.*, 1929, I. Beiheft, pp. 44-5. K. Krohn replied in *FFC* 96 (1931), pp. 9 ff.)

In his emphasis on the historical variants of folktales Wesselski had been preceded by the Orientalist, Th. Benfey, the German translator of the *Panchatantra*, and one of the founders of our science. Benfey paid relatively little attention to the oral variants of folktales but depended on literary texts and internal criteria for tracing the history of a story type. He observed, for example, that the presence, in a tale, of certain Buddhist features, e.g. the peculiar view taken of animals, points to the Indian origin of the type (compare A. Arne, *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, Helsingfors, 1907, pp. 3-82). Benfey was prone to postulate an Indian origin for most fairy tales. This was an exaggeration; but it must be admitted that subsequent research has borne him out in many instances (Krohn, *FFC* 96).

Benfey's school (to which belonged such illustrious scholars as Gaston Paris and Emmanuel Cosquin) was rudely attacked by Joseph Bédier, who in his *Fabliaux* (1st ed., 1893; 3rd ed., 1925) denied the possibility of tracing a folktale to its country of origin and of reconstructing its chronology. He did make out a case for the extreme difficulty of tracing such a history for many merry tales of extremely simple structure and presupposing most elementary human relationships. Such tales may even be supposed to have been invented more than once, independently, in more than one place (polygenesis). But for all stories of more complex structures Bédier's scepticism is to be rejected.

In the same work Bédier made a claim which is no better substantiated by the known facts. He asserted that stories embodying beliefs and practices peculiar to ethnical or religious groups are not readily received by groups to whom such beliefs and practices are foreign. This is not so. We have already seen that tales reflecting a peculiarly Buddhist attitude toward animals have frequently been freely taken over by non-Buddhist groups. Stories based upon the typically Iranian tenet of divine dualism are similarly known as far west as Brittany (Krappe, *MLN* 58 (1913), pp. 515-19) and as far east as the North American Indians of the Pacific Coast (O. Dählbhardt, *Natursagen*, I). For the diffusion of a tale it is sufficient that it be a good story, holding the interest of the listener, and that it be easily understood and reproduced. The fact that it may embody doctrines by no means held by those who take it over is of no importance.

Tales of this character, which are known as migratory tales, properly speaking, and myths are for this reason much easier to trace to their places of origin. Similarly, in the case of animal tales and fables, zoogeographical data frequently furnish a welcome clue. Thus the role

of King Noble, the Lion, in the medieval beast epic and in the fable, militates most strongly against the theory of a European origin of the story types in question.

The possibility of polygenesis must be admitted for many proverbs based on universal or nearly universal institutions, habits, customs, etc., though even here diffusion is by no means excluded. In many cases a closer linguistic analysis will throw light on the subject. Thus the well-known proverb *Ora est labora* cannot go back into Latin antiquity because the verb *orare*, when used in a religious sense (which is by no means always the case), is not used thus absolutely but requires an object and means to entreat, request, pray someone for something, etc. Its absolute use, as in the proverb, is not found until after the Christianization of the Empire. In fact, the proverb originated with the Benedictine monks. This example shows at the same time the utter necessity for a sound linguistic equipment of the folklorist, and it is no accident that most, and the most successful, students of folklore have come from the ranks of the philologists, both classical and modern.

A far more complex problem is presented by the well-nigh universal occurrence of relatively simple, nay rudimentary, folklore materials such as games, dances, rites, beliefs, institutions, etc., such as belief in Powers (the chief root of religion), fear of the dead, rites of aversion, the blood covenant, the awe inspired by multiple births. There are three different explanations available, viz. 1) they may be the common heritage of our species handed down from a time when this species lived in a narrowly circumscribed area and diffused, subsequently, with the diffusion of man over the earth's surface; 2) they may have originated subsequently and independently from a psychological basis common to all mankind; and 3) they may have been diffused from a diffusion-center in a given period more or less recent. The second of these explanations was propounded by a German anthropologist, Adolf Bastian. The third is now preferred by some quite prominent anthropologists: G. Elliot Smith, W. H. R. Rivers, T. Graebner, and others. The first explanation has thus far received least consideration, no doubt because it requires far more data on the mores of the apes, man's nearest relations, than we actually possess. None of the three explanations is, however, ruled out *a priori*, and the main question merely is which one of them is the more likely to explain any given phenomenon.

The answer to this question therefore necessarily depends upon the nature of the material. A good deal of what is now known as moon lore, i.e. beliefs and practices connected with the lunar phases (appearance of the new moon, lunar eclipses, etc.) is probably explainable on the assumption that the nightly star attracted man's attention from the very earliest times.

At the other end of the scale are materials manifestly derived from the one or the other of the great civilizations some of which (e.g. the Egyptian) go back 10,000 years and even more. Egypt and Mesopotamia formed gigantic diffusion-centers for the domestication of plants and animals with the mass of folklore material attached to them.

Explainable by Bastian's *Völkergedanke* are, probably, certain ingrained fears, more particularly the fear

of the abnormal, such as multiple births, albinoes, the smith's craft, further certain widely spread institutions such as finger mutilation, the blood covenant, etc. For it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the whole subject is still very much in flux and that all diffusion theories such as those defended by the extreme diffusionists are to be rejected.

Man being by definition a gregarious or social animal (this is the correct translation of Aristotle's *zōon politikon*), all folklore materials represent social phenomena. They are the possession of social groups, not of individuals. Whence it follows that a given folklore may die with the death of the social group that has given rise to it and cultivated it. Thus the folklore of the ancient American peoples (Aztecs, Mayas, Peruvians) is as dead as are their languages and cultures. The ruthless destruction of Irish culture by Cromwell's vandals necessarily spelled the loss, largely irretrievable, of the treasures of Irish folklore (compare Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland*, Dublin, 1925), and the ill-advised efforts of 19th century missionaries in the South Seas has had similar effects. English folklore is much poorer than Scottish and Irish because the industrial revolution led to the shifting, i.e. the uprooting, of entire populations, which left the land for the big centers of population, and the destruction of social groups thus encompassed resulted in the loss of their traditions.

The same phenomenon, that is, the growing industrialization of continental Europe in the course of the last century and the threatened loss of the traditional lore, led to the efforts put forward by friends of the past to collect these traditions ere it be too late, and this consideration has given our science the fine impetus which made it one of the foremost disciplines in European historical research and in the university curricula. This leads us naturally to present a sketch of the history of the science of folklore.

Like every science, folklore had to begin with the collection and classification of the material, and to do this effectively, it had to gain consciousness of itself. This happened twice in the history of Western civilization, first in Hellenistic times, when after the death of Alexander two or three generations of scholars, mostly connected with the great *Mousaion* of Alexandria, drew up repertoires of Greek and Near Eastern lore as it had been transmitted by poets and chroniclers. Their object was, however, mostly to utilize these materials, not so much for purposes of historical investigation as to clear up and explain allusions in the ancient poets, chiefly Homer and the lyrics, or to work them up in poetic form as fit subjects for literary composition. (Compare E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 1st ed., 1867; 3rd ed., 1914.) This labor was not wasted, since without it we should not possess the materials stored up in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in the compilations of Parthenius of Nicaea and Antoninus Liberalis, to say nothing of the vast literature of the scholia.

It was different with the Hellenic mythology. By the time of Alexander's expedition the enlightened classes had completely lost faith in the traditional religion and taken refuge in various philosophical systems. This left open the question of how the traditional religion and the myths told about the gods had arisen in the first place. Two theories were put forward

to account for them, and neither one of the two can be said to be completely dead even now. They are: 1) the *euhemerist* theory, called after its supposed originator, Euhemerus (flourished about 300 B.C.)—in reality there were euhemerists long before Euhemerus—which sees in the gods dead kings and in their myths the distortion of historical facts. Thus the story of the Phœnician Cadmus, who left his home town, Sidon, to found Thebes in Bœotia and to marry Harmonia, was declared to reflect the flight of one Cadmus, cook of the king of Sidon, with Harmonia, the king's favorite flute girl. Hardly less absurd is the euhemerist interpretation of the rape of Proserpine: Proserpine, a daughter of Ceres, a Sicilian lady, was abducted by Pluto, a rich but somewhat unscrupulous farmer. Punishment overtook him, however, as he tried to cross a bog in his chariot: he was swallowed up with his fair prize. 2) The allegorical method, on the other hand, saw in the high gods personifications of celestial and other phenomena: Poseidon stood for water, Hera for air, Hephaistos-Vulcan for fire, etc. The earliest defenders of this theory were the poet Epicharmus (6th century B.C.) and Theagenus of Rhegium (5th century B.C.). This method was justly ridiculed by Plato (*Phædrus*, 229 C ff.); but it lived on down into modern times, when Francis Bacon still saw fit to apply it (in his essay *The Wisdom of the Ancients*) and Max Müller merely remodeled it. (On the euhemerist theory see G. Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*, 1909, pp. 122 ff.; on the allegorical theory see P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 1912, p. 112. For a critical evaluation of both see also A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie Universelle*, 1930, pp. 19 ff.) There is some evidence to show that classical antiquity did evolve a sounder view on the origin of the traditional religion than would appear from this survey. Eusebius of Cæsarea (*Praep. evang.*, II. 5), in refuting the allegorical school, drew attention to the fact that myths belong to a period of savagery, when men were as yet devoid of moral ideas and lived like beasts. Subsequently, being loath to give up the heritage of their ancestors, the Greeks retained these stories but interpreted them, so as to remove the stigma of savagery. Eusebius is not likely to have made this discovery by himself. In all probability he drew on some Hellenic philosopher of the school of Epicurus.

Throughout the Middle Ages and even in the Renaissance the euhemerist and allegorical schools reigned supreme. It was only early in the 18th century that the mode of approach adumbrated by Eusebius was rediscovered by the Jesuit father Joseph-François Lafitau (1681–1746), a French missionary in Canada and author of a work entitled *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains comparées aux mœurs des Premiers Temps* (Paris, 1724). In this book the striking similarity between the customs, manners, and religious ceremonies of the Canadian aborigines on the one hand, the Greeks of Homer and the Hebrews of Moses on the other were pointed out. The same reasonings were taken up and continued by Voltaire, in the introduction to his *Essai sur les mœurs*, by Fontenelle in his essay *De l'origine des fables* (see G. Hervé in *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris* XIX (1909), pp. 388 ff.), and by the President Charles des Brosses (1709–1777). Des Brosses was the direct source and inspiration of the Scottish

man of letters and scholar, Andrew Lang, the founder of scientific mythology.

Unlike his 18th century precursors, Lang did not have to fall back exclusively on ethnological material, a procedure not free from objections, since to many it seemed incongruous to explain the myths of Hellas and Rome by the lucubrations of savages. For meanwhile the science of folklore had come into being. It began with the collection of folklore materials by scholars, men of letters, and highly intelligent amateurs: Bishop Percy and Sir Walter Scott in Britain, Svend Grundtvig in Denmark, the Brothers Grimm in Germany, Giambattista Basile in Italy, and Charles Perrault in France. The first to use these materials in the manner in which Lafitau and his successors had used anthropological data, namely for purposes of comparison, was the German Mennonite Wilhelm Mannhardt, whose lifework was continued, in Britain, by the Scottish scholar, Sir James Frazer, the leading historical folklorist of the present century. Frazer was not only a brilliant classical philologist, the learned commentator of Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Ovid, but also a highly competent jurist, a fact which accounts for the excellent scholarship shown in his studies of human institutions. If Krohn's historico-geographical method is indispensable in the tracing of the diffusion of folklore material, Mannhardt's and Frazer's comparative method is best adapted for research in origins.

There is one domain which, thus far, has been relatively neglected, namely the psychological side of folklore. It had the misfortune of being discredited, at the outset, by the ill-supported and wholly unsound fancies of Freud and his pseudo-science, represented by the surrealists. But the prejudice thus created, with reason, by their absurdities and aberrations must not blind us to the importance of the psychological processes underlying many of the phenomena and factors of folklore. This is particularly true of folk-memory, which would seem to constitute the very basis of our science, but also for the strange coincidence between certain traditional stories and phenomena brought to light by psychical research. (Compare Alfred Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, übers. v. D. Petersen, Stuttgart, 1925.) This branch of folklore is still in its infancy, and closer cooperation of classical psychology and historical folklore is, at the present time, urgent desideratum.

*General bibliography:* For a general survey of the field: A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, London, 1930; for the historico-geographical method: K. Krohn, *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode*, Oslo, 1926; for the comparative method: W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1st ed., 1875–77; 2nd ed. 1904–05; *Mythologische Forschungen* (1884); Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 4th ed., 1935; *Psyche's Task* (1913); *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (1913–24); *The Worship of Nature* (1926); *Myths of the Origin of Fire* (1930); *Garnered Sheaves* (1931); *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (1933–36); *Aftermath* (1936). On the history of classical mythology: O. Gruppe, *Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1921).

ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

**Folklore Section of the Library of Congress** The Folklore Section of the Library of Congress was established by an administrative order of the Librarian of Congress,

Dr. Luther H. Evans, on August 22, 1916, exactly 100 years after the coining of the word folklore by William John Thoms, a fitting recognition by the Library of Congress of the broadened activities of folklorists in the United States. The Library of Congress' first interest in the preservation of oral materials in the field of folklore began in 1928 when Robert W. Gordon was appointed as Curator of the Archive of American Folk Song. Gordon's scholarly direction was important in shaping the course of the Archive which was subsequently to be under the administration of John A. Lomax and his son Alan (1933-42), Dr. Benjamin A. Botkin (1942-45), and Dr. Duncan B. M. Enrich (1945-). Through their efforts and those of well-known collectors whose work has been associated with the Archive of American Folk Song, the collections grew until in 1919 individual songs, fiddle tunes, banjo tunes, and other pieces reflecting the music of the people numbered more than 50,000 on more than 10,000 different cylinders, discs, and tape recordings. Initially, both Gordon and the Lomaxes made necessary field trips for the collection of the recordings, but as interest in the subject grew in the United States and as recording machines became readily available, field trips were discontinued by the Library staff. Now the collection of records is made by the Library of Congress in cooperation with universities, colleges, foundations, and other scholarly organizations to which the Library of Congress makes equipment available on loan. The Library of Congress has recently encouraged the establishment of regional archives in each state in order that scholars may have locally available the material in their own region. These archives are normally housed in the collections of the state university and have come into being at such institutions as the University of Arizona, University of California at Los Angeles, Occidental College, Murray State College, University of Utah, University of Wisconsin, Wayne University, and the University of Michigan. Only in very exceptional cases is the recording equipment of the Library loaned to individuals who are not connected with institutions.

From its collections the Library of Congress has published 22 albums containing 107 records representative of the best material from the recordings. These include albums of Anglo-American songs and ballads, Negro work songs, spirituals, Indian ceremonial chants, and albums of folk music from Latin American countries. They are available to the general public and may be purchased from the Recording Laboratory of the Library of Congress. A catalog describing the series is available upon request at a cost of ten cents.

Important collectors who have cooperated with the Library of Congress in increasing its record collections include Helen Creighton, Austin Fife, Wayland D. Hand, Arthur L. Campa, Sidney Robertson Cowell, Frances Densmore, William N. Fenton, Levette J. Davidson, Frances Gillmor, Melville J. Herskovits, Herbert Halpert, Thelma James, Louis C. Jones, George Pullen Jackson, George Korson, Margot Mayo, Alton C. Morris, Artus Moser, Vance Randolph, J. D. Robb, Charles Seeger, and Henrietta Yurchenco.

The Archive has broadened its activities in recent years and effected exchange agreements with comparable institutions throughout the world, including the

Cecil Sharp House in London, the Musée de l'Homme, the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, and the Phonothèque Nationale in Paris, and other institutions in Europe as well as in Latin America and the United States.

The increased interest in the broader aspects of folklore as distinct from folk song are reflected also in exchange agreements which have been realized. These are being effectively carried out through the medium of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore with offices in Paris and the International Folk Music Council with offices in London.

The collections in the field of folklore have also been increased with the addition to the Folklore Section of the WPA manuscript collections.

DUNCAN B. M. ENRICH

**folk medicine** See CURES; DISEASES; EGG CURING; FORMULAS; MEDICINE, and various individual articles on specific diseases, as EPILEPSY, LEPROSY, etc.

**folk-say** Coined in 1928 as the title of an annual collection (1929-32) of folklore and folk and regional literature by its editor, B. A. Botkin, the term has been defined by him (*American Speech* VI, 1931, pp. 404-06) to mean "folklore as literature," with the emphasis on the "oral, linguistic, and story-telling (whether in tale or ballad) aspects of folklore and its living as well as its anachronistic phases." Thus conceived, "not as a substitute for 'folklore,' but as an extension of it, to supplement the older term with one possessing wider and fresher connotations, not fixed by academic usage," the word has become specialized in three senses: 1) "as told by" accounts, including reminiscences, old-timers' stories, folk history, etc.—what the folk have to say about themselves, in their own words (see B. A. Botkin, "Folklore as a Neglected Source of Social History," *The Cultural Approach to History*, edited by Caroline F. Ware, 1940, pp. 309-15); 2) the creative use of folk materials, especially as developed in the folklore work of the Federal Writers' Project under Botkin's national direction (see Donald Ogden Stewart, *Fighting Words*, 1940, pp. 7-14); and 3) proverbial, colloquial, idiomatic, and figurative phrases, sayings, and bywords (by confusion of folk-say with folk-saying). In his introduction to *The American Imagination at Work* (1947) Ben C. Clough uses folk-say and book-say as antonyms. [EAB]

**folk song** See SONG; FOLK SONG AND MUSIC OF FOLK SONG.

**folktale** The term folktale as used in English is very inclusive. No attempt has ever been made to define it exactly, but it has been left as a general word referring to all kinds of traditional narrative. It applies to such diverse forms as the creative myths of primitive peoples, the elaborate frame-stories of the *Arabian Nights*, the adventures of Uncle Remus, Puss in Boots, and Cupid and Psyche. Such a wide definition is a great convenience in English, since it frequently avoids the necessity of making decisions and often of entering into long debates as to the exact narrative genre to which a particular story may belong.

It will be seen that the characteristic feature of the folktale is the fact that it is traditional. It is handed down from one person to another, and there is no virtue in originality. This tradition may be purely oral. The tale is heard and is repeated as it is remembered.

with or without additions or changes made by the new teller. Sometimes the tradition may be literary, as when a story keeps being told by one author after another. Many of the tales now current among the peoples of Europe appeared in writing in the collections of exempla used as illustrations by medieval priests. These collections repeated each other through the centuries and may have gone back to oral sources or the inventiveness of some literary author. In any case they became traditional, and the student of folktales is interested in them. Not all scholars would agree to speak of these literary tales as folktales, but the weight of usage tends to include them.

If we use this broad definition for the folktale, we shall find that it is as nearly universal as any form of human literary expression. As more and more of the primitive peoples of the world are studied, we see that men everywhere and in all types of culture have told tales. Though there is a difference in the emphasis and in the proportion of folktales in particular groups, many of the principal forms are practically universal. It is possible with considerable success to make comparative studies not only of the themes of folktales but also of the narrative techniques among peoples of very diverse cultures, from the simple Australian Bushman to the peasant of modern Europe and even the professional story-teller of the bazaars of Cairo.

**Forms of the folktale** It is convenient to use certain terms in connection with the folktale to differentiate some of the forms in which the tales appear. It must be understood, however, that these differentiations are rather loose and that they vary to some extent from country to country and from one cultural group to another. Usually the teller of tales is not much concerned with such distinctions. Certainly the primitive tale teller would not recognize any such categories as we might set up. On the other hand, folklorists in Europe have come to use such terms as *Märchen*, *Sagen*, legends, traditions, fables, animal tales, myths, and the like, with some degree of definiteness.

**Legends and Traditions** Some authors have tried to distinguish between the terms legend and tradition, but an examination of the literature shows that usage in English is utterly confused. There is no word corresponding to the German *Sagen*. Writers in English have, therefore, usually resorted to the combined form, legends and traditions. There is some agreement to include under these headings several distinct categories of narrative: a) explanatory legends having to do with creation or with origins; b) stories concerned with supernatural creatures such as fairies, dwarfs, and ghosts; and c) legends about historic or pseudo-historic characters such as the Pied Piper of Hamelin or Lady Godiva. A legend or tradition is always told as a fact and is presumably believed by the teller. But though it may be connected with a definite time and place, it may well change such details and still remain an object of belief.

**Fairy Tales** The German *Märchen* is frequently translated "fairy tale" in English. It is nearly always fictional in intent and thus differs from the legend or tradition. See FAIRY TALE.

**Animal Tales** Nearly all peoples tell short anecdotes about the adventures of animals. These are, most of

them, anthropomorphized so that the animal actually has human characteristics. Good examples are the Uncle Remus cycle from Georgia. See ANIMAL TALE.

**Fables** When the animal tale has a definite moral, usually expressed at the end of the story, it is known as a fable. Most fables belong to the literary tradition, although they frequently become a part of folklore. See FABLE.

**Myths** There is little agreement in the use of the term myth. But it certainly can be considered as one branch of the folktale. It concerns the world as it was in some past age before the present conditions were established. It treats creations and origins, and therefore may be identical with creation and origin legends. When it handles adventures of the gods, it may well be identical with the fairy tale. Many divergent theories as to the nature of the myth have been held in the past. All of them contain a grain of truth but none give entire satisfaction.

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STITH THOMPSON

**Fomorians** (from Irish *fomór*, giant, pirate) One of a mythical, prehistoric people who raided and pillaged Ireland from the sea: defeated and slaughtered, except for a handful, by the Tuatha Dé Danann at the Battle of Mag Tured. They are sometimes mythologically associated with the powers of nature which challenge man: winter, storm, fog, crop-blight, disease. See FIRBOLG.

**fontomfrom drums** The talking drums of the Ashanti people of West Africa. They are male and female and are dressed in rich garments. Their specific function is to drum out proverbs: each individual drummer drums a whole saying on his own drum. Seventy-seven of the proverbs are known, drummed, and recognized via the drum medium at Mampon (see R.S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, London, 1927, pp. 286 ff.).

**food superstitions** Most widespread in Middle America is the idea of categories of food known as "hot" or "cold," or "fresh" or "irritating," which have nothing to do with the actual temperatures of the foods, or even the presence or absence of spices. The Maya of Chan Kom consider wild turkey, rice, boiled eggs, pork, squash, papaya, and limes to be "cold," while coffee, beef, honey and pinole are "hot." The Tarascans of Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, in Mexico, consider unboiled atole, pork, bass, milk, tamales, pears, oranges, and peaches to be "fresh," while rice, potatoes, bananas, mangoes, chocolate, wheat, chickens, beef, and boiled atole are "irritating." A third intermediate category is often found. In some cases this is comprised of foods with no distinctive qualities, and in other cases hot and cold foods may be mixed to form an intermediate meal. Among some peoples hot and cold foods must not be eaten at the same meal. [GMF]

**food tabu in the land of the dead** The proscription against eating or drinking anything in the land of the dead on pain of being detained there forever. By partaking of food or drink in the land of the dead, the



partaker becomes kin to or one with the dwellers in that land and is unable ever to leave them or return to the land of the living. The classical story of Persephone, abducted by Pluto and doomed to return to Hades periodically for eating one small pomegranate seed, is perhaps the most famous example of the underworld food tabu motif (C211.2).

This motif is not only of classical antiquity but represents a living and widespread belief among contemporary primitive peoples. It turns up in the ancient epics of the world and has filtered into folk and fairy tales, songs, and ballads all over Europe. There are late Jewish usages of the idea and it is conspicuous also in Danish, Swabian, Lapp, Swedish, Manx, and Scottish tradition.

The *Kalevala* reveals how Väinämöinen journeyed to Tuonela in search of certain magic words but had sense enough to refuse the seething tankard of beer that was urged upon him.

The people of New Caledonia believe that when a man dies and arrives in the spirit land, he is given a great welcome and offered a feast of bananas. If he eats he can never return; if he refuses he stands some chance of getting back to the land of the living. The Melanesians warn any living man who would visit Panoi, their underworld, to touch no food in that place or he will be forced to remain there. There is also a New Zealand Maori story, containing the food tabu in the land of the dead motif, about a young girl who died for love. Her lover begged the gods to let him visit her in Reinga, the underworld. They consented but warned him to eat nothing that might be offered him. The tabu against eating in the other world motif (C211) is common also among the Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Pawnee, and Cherokee North American Indians. Analogous are many stories, especially of Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Kwakiutl tribes, about people who have drowned and been carried off by the land otters. Those who eat the food of the otters can never return. Two White Mountain Apache boys out hunting birds came to where the ga'ns were living underground. Food was offered them and they ate. When they returned home food was offered them as usual but they could not eat, because they had eaten where the ga'ns lived.

The same tabu holds in the fairylands of the world (C211.1): one must not eat fairy food or he cannot go home again. The food of the gods in the Celtic otherworld confers immortality, not death, upon the partaker; but the same rule holds that it binds the mortal to the god and he cannot return to his human habitation. Once Conle had tasted the apple thrown to him by the fairy woman, he was irrevocably compelled to follow her to that wonderful otherworld from which he never returned. Apples and rowanberries especially are mentioned as conferring a quality of beauty which old age could not dim. The rule works in reverse also. There is a Scandinavian story about a girl from elfland who had to eat earthly food in order to remain with her earthly lover (C661). And in Tonga (Polynesian) mythology also, the eating of mortal food was fatal to beings from the afterworld. Compare ADAPA.

**Fool Plough, Fond Plough, or Fond Pleeaf** In England, especially in the northern and eastern parts, an

agricultural festival (sometimes a pageant), observed usually the Monday after Epiphany (Plough Monday) before plowing is begun, or sometimes observed at the end of Lent to celebrate the termination of plowing. Young farm workers dressed in white shirts or night-shirts drag a decorated plow through the countryside, from village to village. In the north of England the Fool Plough goes about accompanied by a number of sword dancers and musicians. The Bessy, a man in grotesque woman's clothing, and the fool, dressed either in skins or wearing a fur cap and tail, go from door to door soliciting money. At one time the money was collected to buy candles to burn on local altars; now it is openly intended to provide food and drink for celebration and merrymaking. In Northumberland every time the Bessy receives a contribution, a gun is fired; if she is refused, the men plow up the path or dunghill.

In eastern Yorkshire on Plough Monday or Twelfth Day (January 6) the farm youths go from town to town dragging the plow from which the plowshare has been removed. When they stop to solicit they perform an antic dance around the personalized implement. Each group is said to be headed by "Mab and his wife," the usual clown and man in female garb, with blackened faces.

**footprint** The mark of the foot left in the earth, or in ashes, sand, etc.: widely believed to be one of the body impressions by which magic can be worked on a person. Certain Australian aborigines believe that they can lame an enemy by putting sharp stones or broken glass in his footprints. In Burma and northern India sores on the feet are often attributed to interference with one's footprints on the part of an enemy or witch. Many African peoples take care to obliterate their footprints for this reason; and insects which scurry back and forth and blot out the tracks of hunters and warriors are especially revered by many primitive peoples. Hunters among the Zulus, Hottentots, and some West African tribes put charms in the tracks of their quarry to prevent the animal from getting too far ahead. Some North American Indians also did this. So identified with the personality of man or beast is his footprint in early belief that the Seneca Indians say the bear knows when someone looks at his track.

In Bohemia, to lame a man the earth of his footprint is put in a kettle along with a nail, a needle, and some broken glass and allowed to boil till the kettle cracks. The man will be lame for the rest of his life. In Lithuania it is said that if the dust of your footprint is buried in a graveyard, you will sicken and die. In Estonia merely to measure the track with a stick and to bury that much of the stick has the same results.

Some southern United States Negroes today believe that if you tie up the earth or sand of a person's footprints in a little red flannel bag, and carry the bag with you, that person will be compelled to follow you. This is used especially as a love charm. Zuni Indian women also sometimes keep the soil of their husbands' footprints where they sleep, to keep the husbands faithful.

Many peoples believe they can catch the footprints of supernaturals in strewn ashes. The visitations of the returned dead or the identity of guardian animals or

spirits, or of troublesome demons, are often ascertained and revealed by their footprints left in strewn ashes. On St. Mark's Eve in rural England ashes were formerly sifted on the hearth; whosever footprint was seen in it in the morning would die within the year.

In Ireland if the fairy host rushes past you on All Hallows Eve, take up the dust from under your feet and throw it after them, and they will be compelled to give back any human being they are keeping among them.

In folktale there are magic footprints (D1294), transformations from stepping in footprints (D578), transformations to animal form by drinking from an animal's track (D555.1). Footprint as life token occurs in Icelandic saga (E761.1.3.1): if it filled with earth, the hero was sick, if with water, he was drowned; if it filled with blood, it meant he was killed in battle. Local legend everywhere in the world identifies marks on rocks, cliffs, mountains as the footprints of gods, demons, and other supernaturals. See ADAM'S PEAK.

**forbidden fruit or tree** A concept known to all Occidental cultures through the passages in *Genesis* which describe the planting of trees of all varieties in the Garden of Eden and the prohibition against eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The theological lore about these trees is extensive with a general agreement that Adam was expelled from the Garden lest, having come to a knowledge of good and evil, he might eat of the tree of life also and become, like God, immortal. Theologians are not in agreement as to whether these trees belonged to the apple, the citrus, or to other genera. The symbolism of the forbidden fruit (forbidden tree) has entered extensively into the folklore of Occidental peoples and has become part of the lore of unique forbidden foods, rooms, questions, and general tabu, of which it is undoubtedly a special form. [RBJ]

There is a Bantu forbidden tree story (known in some six or seven variants from the Basutos to the Begas in the Cameroons) in which the fruit of a certain tree can be eaten only by those who learn the name of the fruit and only with the permission of the owner. The weight of the tabu and the consequences of breaking it do not seem to be pointed up, however. The story begins with messengers being sent to ask the name of the tree. In a Suto version, Lion sends the animals to find out the name of the tree from Koko (literally, Grandmother, and as has been suggested, probably some tribal ancestress). Koko tells them the name and they travel homeward, repeating it lest they forget, fall into an anthill, and do forget. Lion himself goes and asks, also forgets. Tortoise goes, falls into the ant-hill, but remembers anyway. In resentment for Tortoise's success, Lion orders him to be buried. Then the animals proceed to eat and enjoy the fruit, leaving, however, the top branch intact (in some versions evidently a stipulation). In the night, Tortoise digs himself out, eats the fruit on the top branch, and goes back into the hole. The next day Koko comes in anger to the animals, asking who ate the forbidden fruit. Tortoise escapes punishment by reminding one and all that he has been buried.

In some variants the owner of the tree is a god, or the tree is the god incarnate. Some tribal versions give

Tortoise the role of messenger; sometimes it is Hare, sometimes Monkey. In the Benga version Python is in charge of the tree; Rat is the first messenger, Tortoise the last and successful one. In this case Tortoise succeeds where the others have failed because his mother has warned him not to eat or drink en route. So when finally he gets back and his canoe overturns on the beach, he is still saying over and over, "Bojabi, bojabi" (the name of the fruit), when the others pull him ashore.

The folktale motif of the forbidden tree (C621) in which the fruit of any tree but one may be eaten is extremely widespread and turns up variously in general European folklore, in the Eddas, in Semitic, Siberian, Latin-American, and also in Indonesian folktale.

**forecastle song** A leisure song of sailors, sung in the dog-watches in the evening, often accompanied by mouth organ, jew's harp, fiddle, or accordion, and chosen from ballads, music-hall songs, popular or sentimental songs of home. The chanteys, being work songs, were not heard at ships' concerts. On the clipper ships songs of patriotic exploits and battles at sea were favorites, often rousing considerable partisan spirit when Britishers and Yankees in the crew refought the Wars of the Revolution and 1812 with *The Stately Southerner* (*The Yankee Man of War* or *The Ranger*), *Ye Parliament of England*, and *The Constitution and the Guerrière*. Come-all-ye's of all trades took on sea-going trappings to suit the sailors' interests, cotton-picking, lumbering, railroading, soldiering, prison and mining complaints all adding to the song wealth of whalers, fishermen, and "packet rats." Such songs as *Barnacle Bill the Sailor* (known to forecandle hands as *Abel* or *Abram Brown*) and *Bell-Bottomed Trousers*, which have found a new audience over the radio, were popular long ago with seamen, in versions not acceptable for the air. *The Golden Vanity*, in many of its variants, *High Barbaree*, garbled but still spirited, *Blow Ye Winds of Morning*, as uninhibited as the whalers who sang it, were among the ancient British ballads that went to sea, and *The Little Mohee* (*The Lass of Mohea*), as sung by the Pacific whalers made the "fair Indian lass" a "pretty Kanaka" from Hawaii. Men at sea still sing, and while the radio and the ship's movies provide most of their songs, many of the old airs and verses survive, and the new ones are tailored and trimmed to the taste of the twentieth century mariners. *Venezuela*, sung as a forecandle song in the movie, *The Long Voyage Home*, achieved some degree of popularity on land, being often requested from the shouting audiences at folk song concerts in the 1940's.

**forget-me-not** A small herb (genus *Myosotis*) with tiny blue, rose, or white flowers, sometimes called mouse-ear because of the shape of the leaves.

Forget-me-nots are said to cure the bites of serpents and mad dogs. They are used as a poultice for sore eyes; boiled in milk and water they are a cure for dysentery. In Siberia they are used in the treatment of syphilis. Steel tempered in the juice of these plants is said to be so hard that it will cut stone without being dulled. At one time it was customary to give forget-me-nots to anyone starting on a journey on Feb. 29, and later they were exchanged among friends on that day.

**formulas** Among the Cherokee Indians, charms or prayers written by the shamans for their own use, but also sometimes recited by the individual requiring them. The sacred formulas of the Cherokees pertain to every phase of their daily life. There are love formulas, curing formulas, childbirth formulas (i.e. to expedite delivery), formulas for luck in hunting and fishing and with crops, and for finding lost articles. No luck follows the hunter or fisher who forgets the sacred formula. There are weather formulas, formulas for protection against evil, and for killing people. There are even formulas for weakening the other side in a ball game.

Most of the formulas begin with the word "Listen" and are written in two parts: 1) a set of practical directions for the use of herbs or other materials; 2) an invocation to specific supernatural forces to bring the desired result. Very often a formula *states as already true* that which it is designed to bring about. "No one is ever lonely with me. Your soul has come into the very center of my soul, never to turn away," is part of one of the most beautiful and most widely published of the Cherokee love charms. Formulas intended to make a rival unattractive and lonesome sometimes result in a social isolation so great that no one will speak, joke, or dance with him.

The disease formulas are next in importance and number to the love charms. They are not all curing formulas, however. Sometimes a man's parents or his best friend will send a disease to him merely to test his endurance or to teach him counterspells. These are called "ordeal diseases." The childbirth formulas are "to make children jump down."

The Hupa Indians of California also possess a vast number of medicine formulas. To cure the sick the shaman recites a long story of some mythical person who went to the end of the world and found the cure for just such a disease as the patient now suffers. The sacred ceremonial curing chants and dances of the Navaho, which have undergone no alteration or omission of either word or gesture since their beginning, might be classified as sacred formulas, although the word is not currently applied to them.

**formula tale** Any folktale following a certain traditional pattern and in which the plot is secondary to that pattern. Cumulative tales, catch tales, endless tales, circular tales or prose rounds, and unfinished tales are all formula tales. There is also a type which avoids the use of pronouns, and another type which always ends with a question (usually in regard to the awarding of a prize equally deserved by several contestants). This last is of three kinds: either it ends with an unusually clever and inevitable answer, or the problem is posed and the answer left to the audience, or else it falls into a more purely formulaic class such as the typical cumulative story which also ends with a question, as "Once there was a woman; the woman had a son; the son had red breeches; the breeches had black buttons," etc., etc., ending with "Shall I tell it again?" Most formula tales are told in the spirit of pure fun, and some of them are definitely play-game tales.

**Forseti or Forsete** In Teutonic mythology, the son of Balder (light) and Nanna (purity). He was the wisest and most eloquent of the Æsir and was made god of justice. No one ever found fault with his decisions. He

lived in the radiant palace, Glitnir. Helgoland was once known as Forseti's land because he helped a council of Frisians who had met there to codify their laws.

**Fortuna** The Roman goddess of fortune and good luck: identified with the more obscure Greek Tyche. Most often she is represented standing on a globe or ball (later a wheel), indicating the mutability of her favors, and with a cornucopia in one hand from which she strews luck with the other. However, she had many other aspects and attributes: she appears with a rudder, guiding the world's affairs; as *Fortuna virginensis*, she protected newly married women; as *Fortuna virilis*, she preserved their beauty so that they pleased their husbands; as *Fors Fortuna*, she was the goddess of luck. Fortuna is often veiled or blindfolded. Her shrines at Antium and Praeneste were oracular; the latter is one of her more ancient cult centers, where she was worshipped as *Primigenia*, the oldest daughter of Jupiter, the goddess of destiny. The wheel of fortune, symbolizing the precariousness of things in this life, was a favorite classical allusion of writers of the later Middle Ages.

**Forty-Seven Ronin** The forty-seven retainers or followers of Asano, heroes of *The Loyal League of Forty-Seven Ronin* or *Chushingura*, a famous Japanese puppet play, based on a historical incident, and first presented in 1748. The *daimyo* Asano was insulted in the Shogun's court by Kira, another nobleman, in 1701. Asano drew his sword, an act of impiety within the sacred precinct, for which he had to commit hara-kiri. His fortune was confiscated and his family declared extinct. The forty-seven Ronin, or retainers, were apportioned to other nobles, but swore to avenge their dead master. After two years of adventuring, they caught up with Kira and assassinated him, thus fulfilling the demands of Bushido, the code of honor. But they had transgressed the civil law and so, after placing the enemy's head on Asano's grave, all forty-seven disemboweled themselves. The Buddhist temple in Tokyo where they are buried is still a popular shrine. The story and characters are the subject of many Japanese paintings.

**fox** The lore of the fox has taken so many different and distinct directions in the folklore of the world that the data is most readily presented as independent streams which can be brought together only after more elaborate discussion than is possible here. The lore of the British Hunt Clubs, for example, is only remotely connected with the medieval beast epic centered about Reynard the Fox. This in turn has slight connections with lycanthropy (woman into fox) and other European shape-shifting. To this must be added the rich and apparently inexhaustible lore of the Chinese and Japanese shape-shifting foxes (usually, fox into woman). Tales of European and Oriental shape-shifting foxes are parallel to tales of other shape-shifters—Krappe suggests weasels, though the list might be considerably enlarged—and these are undoubtedly parallel to the tales of succubi, incubi, and poison damsels.

The British Hunt Clubs have developed a very special vocabulary which describes the etiquette and procedure of the hunt, and they have a large store of tales about the cunning of the fox in flight as well as about the habits of the fox.

The Epic of Reynard is a series of tales and poems which appeared in Europe about the 11th century A.D.

and reached the height of their popularity in the 14th and 15th centuries. This collection, written by unknown authors, was intended largely for the amusement of the middle and lower classes as the courtly epics were written for the chivalric classes. It satirizes the habits, customs, and prejudices of the churchmen, knights, and lawyers. In the early poems of the cycle, Reynard was called into court to defend himself for his several crimes. This cycle is connected with the literary fables about foxes such as Æsop's Fables and with the lore of the hunters.

The Europeans as well as the Chinese and Japanese have many stories about human beings who at the full of the moon or under conditions of emotional strain either imagine that they are wolves or foxes or actually become wolves or foxes and run about fields and graves. Robert Burton calls this "Lycanthropia, which Avicenna calls Cucubuth, others Lupinam insaniam or Wolf-madness." A classic parallel to this was the classic Greek cult of Zeus Lykaios. The assumption in a large number of these European tales is that the normal state of the creature is human and that the shift in shape and nature is a reversion, a curse, or a form of insanity. The preponderance of evidence in the Chinese tales—if preponderance be taken as the number of stories, variety of incident, or frequency of repetition—is that the nature of the creature was originally fox, though similar formulæ are used for cats, dogs, weasels, even trees, and that these creatures by the exercise of discipline acquired the power to assume human form.

Although the disciplines necessary to acquire the power of shifting shape are, in their very generalized form, late formulations, they can be traced back to very ancient sources, the great corpus of Chinese lore. This is still preserved in part in Chinese popular Taoism. The theory was already corrupt in the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) but can be traced in the writings of the Han scholars (206 B.C.-221 A.D.) as well as in the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Rites* of the Feudal Age (1100-221 B.C.). Thus the theory of how foxes or other creatures acquire power to shift shape is part of the Chinese ethos.

Two methods of shape-shifting are available: first, by the study of the classics, and second, by sexual trickery. The first, known as the legal method, is open to all, and shape-shifting foxes on interrogation often express amazement that human beings with so many advantages so seldom make use of it, for ultimately the study of the classics leads to immortality. The general view of the Chinese philosophers that the purpose of study is to produce "sageliness within and kingliness without" is, when translated into popular terms, that study produces elevation, saintliness, or power. Thus foxes who study the classics acquire first the power to become human beings, then immortals, finally gods. Many stories are told about human beings who have surprised groups of young foxes in a circle about an old white fox who is expounding the classics. The motif of the "fox school" is also known in European hunting lore. Some of the Chinese stories conclude with the statement that the teacher, when he assumes human form, is a tutor or a well-known scholar in the village. The difficulty about the legal method of acquiring power to shift shape is that it is arduous and requires a long time, as well as more concentration than most foxes are capable of.

Most stories are about foxes who have acquired shape-shifting power by the illegal method. This method is based on an important tenet in Chinese erotology, namely that in sexual intercourse the person who experiences the orgasm first loses a unit of life essence and if the partner can restrain orgasm this unit is absorbed. Thus foxes who can assume human form, if at first only briefly, can by seducing other human beings steal life essence and add it to their own. The formulæ for this sort of tale range from the simple to the complex. Examples are: A student who retired to a tumble-down cottage or deserted temple to prepare for the state examinations was visited at dusk by a beautiful maiden who became his mistress. Her erotic skill was such that the student became consumptive and finally died. Variations include the student who desired a fox mistress and announced his desires at dusk in a graveyard or before a deserted temple. At times the shape-shifters sincerely love their human paramours, help them with their studies, care in filial fashion for their parents after death; but they seldom are reported to return the life essence they have stolen. Occasionally the parents or friends become aware of the situation in time and call in either a shaman or a Taoist official specially trained in fox exorcism and drive the thief away.

Stories of fox reward and fox revenge are numerous, though Chinese authorities are inclined to believe that stories of fox reward are spurious. Inasmuch as foxes can become invisible and hear everything that is said and read everything that is written, the wise scholar will tell only flattering stories about foxes and keep silent about their wickedness. However many stories are told about hunters or farmers who have been rewarded for freeing foxes from traps or saving their lives when they were being hunted. A popular theme is of the fox and the scholar. Foxes who acquire power by sexual trickery are criminals and subject to death by a blast from the Thunder God. Scholars are by definition upright men possessed of great power whom the Thunder God will not harm. Consequently during thunder storms, foxes either in human or in fox form seek the protection of scholars. The rewards are of many varieties: fame, prosperity, success in the examinations. Because foxes are great thieves and can be invisible, they keep the money chests filled and complications ensue when a neighbor having marked his wealth finds it in the possession of a friend. At times this discovery is engineered by the fox who is offended by some careless comment by its patron.

More stories are told about fox revenge than about fox reward. Fox revenge is often carefully fitted to the offense. A hunter was bitten by a fox when taking it out of a trap to kill it. He shouted, "Defile your mother," which is a common Chinese obscenity, but the fox escaped. When the hunter returned home he found his mother in the embraces of a young man who when attacked changed into a fox and escaped, calling back, "I have done to you what you threatened to do to me." A mandarin who was very fond of his wife took a beautiful maiden to bed while he was on an official journey. After a time he became suspicious that his companion was a fox. He drove her away with curses. When he returned he found a hundred women in his Yamen identical with his wife in every respect: speech, bearing, bodily marks. The many ingenious attempts to separate

the true wife from the spurious ones belong in the cycle of the Judgment of Solomon.

Foxes and their numerous families, whether they have acquired power by legal or illegal methods, often take up their residence in deserted buildings, attics, or barns of family compounds. When human children annoy them by being noisy or throwing bricks at them or using impudent language the foxes retaliate by themselves throwing bricks or destroying curios or creating uproar. Other fox families are said to live quietly and respectably, exchange gifts with their hosts on formal occasions, and, when their children become as obstreperous as human children sometimes do, they offer apologies and make amends.

In general the shape-shifting foxes of China are said to be mischievous, tricky, and libidinous. They are very fond of wine and are often discovered because when drunk they assume their true fox form. They most frequently assume the shape of human females if they use the illegal method, though in some instances they become males and steal the essence of human females. Some of the revenge and reward stories are for harm or kindness done in previous existences. In one instance a fox caught in *flagrante* with a human female justified himself by saying that the woman had been his wife in an earlier existence. They had been killed before their time. She had been incarnated as a woman and he as a fox. Having studied to acquire power he had been permitted to visit the woman a stipulated number of times that their destiny might be fulfilled.

Another cycle of fox tales, not so widespread as the cycle just summarized, is of the poor man living alone who came home at night to find his house in order and his dinner on the fire. He discovered that every morning a fox came to his hut, shed her skin, and became a woman. He stole the skin. They lived happily and prosperously for many years until the woman discovered the skin, put it on, and ran away. Stith Thompson has reported variants of this story from North America, Greenland, Labrador. W. Jochelson has a somewhat corrupt version from among the Koryak on the shores of the Bering Sea. Oral variants have been collected from several parts of China and an early 19th century version was reported by a Chinese official visiting on Okinawa which was at that time part of Chinese territory. This fact again raises the question of the origin and diffusion of Chinese tales, which cannot be answered until the dark spots on the folklorists' map have been filled in by better collections than are now available.

Japan has a rich store of tales about shape-shifting foxes. The lore in Japan has been formalized by the Shinto priests until it is a recognized part of the cult. In China too, many of the stories have been modified by the priestly traditions though Chinese scholars have little respect for the Taoist priests, witches, fortune-tellers, and when they are feeling like scholars keep these stories in their proper place as part of the lore of the folk. Alexander Krappe is undoubtedly right when he asserts in an exploratory article, which is excellent in spite of a number of errors, that many of the Japanese tales came from China ("Far Eastern Fox Lore," *California Folklore Quarterly*, April, 1944). The parallels between these Chinese-Japanese tales and stories about succubi and incubi, fatal brides, other

shape-shifters, and persons suffering from lycanthropy will, when they are straightened out, form a fascinating section in comparative folklore. [RBJ]

➤ Fox in Japanese is *kitsune*; the magical animal par excellence of Japanese folklore, said to be able to bewitch people, and assume human shape. All foxes are believed to be malicious, except the Inari fox, the messenger of the Harvest God. [JLH]

➤ Fox as a male animal character plays a fairly prominent role in trickster and other tales in western North American Indian mythology. In many instances Fox is trickster's companion; at times he deceives Coyote and eats the food which Coyote has procured for himself. Among the Eskimo the most notable tale about Fox is that of Fox-Woman; this tale has Siberian parallels. The story concerns a man who comes home each night to find that his house has been put in order by a mysterious housekeeper. He hides near home one day and sees a fox enter his house; upon going inside he discovers a beautiful woman whom he marries. One day he enquires what causes the musky odor which he notices about the house; his wife admits that she gives forth the odor, immediately takes off her handsome skin clothing and resumes her foxskin, and quietly slips away from the house, never to return. See OFFENDED SUPERNATURAL WIFE (OR HUSBAND). [LWV]

**Fox and the Crane** The title of one of Aesop's fables in which the Fox invites the Crane to a meal and serves him soup in a flat dish. The Fox laps it up easily but the Crane cannot eat. The Crane then invites the Fox to return the visit and serves him his food in a long-necked bottle. Moral: Turn about is fair play. This is the subject of a widespread European motif, inappropriate entertainment repaid (J1565), fox and crane invite each other (J1565.1; Type 60) of which there are also one African and three North American Indian retellings known.

**Fox and the Grapes** One of Aesop's fables (Jacobs #31), in which a hungry Fox, after trying in vain to reach some grapes hanging on a vine, walks away saying to himself that they were sour anyway. Moral: It is easy to belittle what you cannot get. The aptness of this fable has caused the expression "sour grapes" to become a by-word reference in colloquial English for anyone trying to rationalize a failure by belittling the end he strove for. The most modern retelling of the fable is the cryptic "The Mookse and The Gripes" episode in James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (1939), p. 152 ff.

**Fox and the Raven** Title of one of Aesop's fables (Jacobs #8) in which a Raven sitting in a tree with a piece of cheese, is flattered by a Fox who admires her wings and talons. "But," says he, "that such a bird should be lacking a voice!" The Raven, pleased by such flattery, opens her mouth to caw and drops the cheese, which the Fox promptly eats. Moral: A flatterer is no friend. This is a common European folktale motif (K334.1; Type 57).

**foxxglove** Any plant of a genus (*Digitalis*) of the figwort family: from Old English *foxes-glōfa*, literally foxes' gloves. The term fox-bells is associated with a northern European story telling how at one time foxes' brushes were a potent amulet against the Devil, and the foxes were hunted constantly. They appealed to their

gods for help, who put these bells all through the fields so that they might ring and warn the foxes when the hunters were abroad. When the danger was over, the bells lost their sound. There is another story in which these flowers were given for gloves to the foxes by the fairies, to wear while stalking through bird roosts and chicken coops at night. They would make them less noisy.

There is a folk or popular etymology explaining the word foxglove as folk's glove because they are said to be worn by various classes of the little people commonly called folk. The Irish names, for instance, are *lus na mban síde*, plant of the fairy women, *méirini púca*, púca or fairy fingers, *méaracán síde*, fairy thimble, etc. Translation of the Welsh term is goblin's gloves; in Yorkshire they are called witches' thimbles. In parts of Scotland they were called dead man's bells. If you heard them ring you were not long for this world. In France they are called *gants de bergère*, shepherdesses' gloves, *gants de Notre Dame*, gloves of Our Lady, *doigt de La Vierge*, Virgin's finger.

In classical Greece and Rome the juice of the foxglove was used to ease the pain of sprains and bruises. In Italy today the leaves are bruised and bound to wounds. It was early known to be a poison, and in Europe it was used only externally until the 18th century, when it began to be recommended for fevers, insanity, and diseases of the heart. It was also found to be "available" for the King's Evil. The Indian tribes of New England knew it as a heart stimulant before this fact was known in Europe. In Ireland foxglove is used to stimulate weak heart, banish fleas, and reduce lumps.

**fox persuaded to talk** A general European folktale motif (K561.1; Type 6) in which a fox has grabbed a cock and is running off with it, followed by the hue and cry of the people, "The fox has stolen our cock." The cock says to the fox, "Tell them I am yours not theirs." When the fox opens his mouth to speak the cock escapes into a tree. This incident of escape by persuading the captor to talk (K561) is very widespread, with varying details as to captor, captive, and dialog. The fox in the bear's mouth asks the direction of the wind, for instance, and escapes when answered. Jamaica Negroes have an Anansi story called *Grace Before Meat* (see Beckwith *Jamaica Anansi Stories*, MAFLS XVII, 239) in which Anansi and Monkey, traveling together, come upon a tiger in a pit. While Monkey sends his tail down the hole to help Tiger out, Anansi climbs into a tree. When Tiger comes up out of the hole he grabs Monkey and is going to eat him. But Anansi advises him first to clap his hands with joy. Tiger does so and Monkey escapes.

The old woman who is being carried to the sky up a tree in a bag in her husband's teeth, to see the wonders of the upper world foolishly asks if it is much farther. "Not much farther," says the husband; the bag falls to the ground and the old woman is smashed to bits (J2133.5.1). This is one of Clouston's *Noodle Stories*.

**Fragarach** In Old Irish mythology, the terrible and wonderful sword called the Answerer, which Lúg brought with him from the Land of the Living. It could cut through any armor.

**frame story** A story forming a frame in which other stories are told; a narrative permitting the introduction of several (often many) other stories, unrelated to and having no effect on the frame story itself. The technique is to give a group of unrelated tales an over-all unity and dramatic meaning by making them part of a common situation. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are all related to the frame of the pilgrimage, Boccaccio's *Decameron* to the situation growing out of the plague. The technique is Oriental and probably Indian, where such technique is found from an early period and is developed to fantastic complexities as in the *Panchatantra*.

[MEL]

**Frankie and Albert** (or *Frankie and Johnnie*) An American popular ballad dealing with a "sporting woman" who shot her man for "doing her wrong." The song dates from the latter half of the 19th century and still has living claimants to the role of Frankie, none of whom can be authenticated. One of these is a Frankie Baker, of Portland, Oregon, who shot Allen Britt under circumstances resembling those of the song in 1899. However, the song is said to have been known many years before that incident. It has hundreds of variants, in blues style, in mountain style, in backwoods and bayou settings, and even in the cante fable manner. The heroine is variously known as Frankie, Sadie, Josie, etc., and the man as Albert, Johnnie, etc. The other woman has more aliases than either of the principals, being Nellie Bly, Alice Fly, Alkali, Ella Fry, etc. It is likely that the story originated on the Atlantic coast and traveled west to develop its many Mississippi versions. It is sung widely by both Negroes and whites and is popular among students, who generally sing it under the title of *Frankie and Johnnie*.

**Frau Hütt** Subject of a medieval local legend of the Tyrol, built around a certain rock which resembles a woman. The rock is said to be Frau Hütt, a woman of that locality who was turned to stone for wasting food.

**Frau Welt** The name given to the female supernatural paramour or fairy mistress of general European folk belief by medieval clerics; according to them, the Devil.

**fravashi** (Pahlavi *fravāhar*; Persian *farvar*) In the Avesta, one of a group of angels with whose aid Ahura Mazda made the plants grow and give offspring; in Zoroastrian belief, one of the guardians of human and divine beings whose name is explained as meaning protection or confession of faith; an ancestral spirit. A fravashi is one of a mighty army of spirits which exists in heaven before the birth of a man, protects him during his life, and is united to his soul at death. The fravashis war against evil and promote the good in the world. According to A. V. Jackson belief in them may date from pre-Zoroastrian times.

Incense is burned in honor of the fravashis and those who fulfill their duties to these guardians will have their houses filled with good things. They are worshipped especially on the 19th of each month and during the last ten days of the year. In the Avesta the *Fravardin Yasht* is devoted to their glorification.

In Armenia the fravashis are also worshipped. They are believed to live near the tombs and houses of their

kinsmen and are commemorated on Saturdays and before the great festivals. Compare *MANUS; PIRIS*.

Frazer, Sir James George (1854-1941) Scottish anthropologist. He was born at Glasgow, educated at Glasgow and Cambridge universities, was elected fellow of Trinity College (Cambridge) in 1879, called to the bar in the same year, and became professor of anthropology at the University of Liverpool in 1907. He was knighted in 1914. His principal work, on which his fame rests, was *The Golden Bough* (1890), reissued in 12 volumes under various titles between 1911 and 1915. An abridgment in one volume appeared in 1922, and a supplement, *Aftermath*, in 1936. *The Golden Bough* is an extensive study of ancient cults and folklore and comprises a vast amount of anthropological research. While remarkable as a collection of data, the work's conclusions are now often considered somewhat dubious, in the light of more recent and more factual investigations. Frazer assumes that all peoples have gone through the same stages of cultural development and that they all react and express themselves similarly; also, that in later stages there may be survivals of earlier stages. Frazer's two theories overlook the consideration that each people has its own historical development and its own culture. Among Frazer's many works are: *Totemism* (1887), *Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Studies in the History of Oriental Religion* (1906, later included in *The Golden Bough*), *Questions on the Customs, Beliefs, and Languages of Savages* (1907), *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (three volumes, 1913, 1922, 1924), *Folklore in the Old Testament* (1918), *The Worship of Nature* (1926), *Myths of the Origin of Fire* (1930), and *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion* (three vols., 1933, 1934, 1936).

French folklore Folklore has thrived for countless generations in the rich home soil of France, where immigrant races encountered and mingled with the natives of ancient Gaul. Very early it began to find its way abroad, first from the *provinces du Midi* (or *Oc*) to Poitou on the lower Loire river, to the *provinces d'Oil* in the north, and at times the reverse. Then from France it traveled far and wide, across the Pyrenees into Spain, the Alps into Italy, the English Channel into England, and the Atlantic into North America. In almost every century it was enriched with elements brought in by peaceful or warlike invaders: Romans, Goths, Normans, Scandinavians, Saracens, Bretons, Germans, and British. In a rather recent period of expansion, it embarked with fishers, whalers, and adventurers, and landed with them at many ports of call, there to take root and flourish. It also escorted into the New World a horde of colonists, missionaries and teachers, *coureurs-de-bois* and *voyageurs*, and fur traders. Like a tree firmly set in the ground, it spread its branches over a huge field, and shot its winged seeds on to the four winds. Fluid and ethereal, it met with no obstacle across its path, no fast frontier anywhere within reach. On foreign soil, after blending with its like of other extractions, it gave rise to new brands on the borderlands, as it did among the North American Indians.

The legend of Gargantua, the blundering giant of folk extraction immortalized by François Rabelais in his *Pantagruel* (from 1533 on), enjoyed popularity among the people of Poitou and Normandy. So it must

have done, in French America as well, at an early date. For the adventurers of the fur trade carried it to the Great Lakes. Point Gargantua in the neighborhood of Grand Portage, according to Bigsby,<sup>1</sup> was "a prominent ... feature on the east side of Lake Superior ... and the River Gargantua issues at the bottom of a small bay beset with isles contiguous to the point."

*Folktales* The folktales of the Middle Ages, known in France under the name of *Romans de la Table Ronde*, and in England under that of *Arthurian* or *Round Table legends*, entered America along with the earliest settlers. They have stayed there ever since, and nowadays are retold in the basin of the St. Lawrence, at Old Mines (*Vieilles Mines*), Missouri, and around the bayous of Louisiana. Not only do they survive among French Canadians and Americans, but also among the Indians that have come under their sway. This belated growth, two or three centuries old, was exposed by Stith Thompson, in his *European Tales among the North American Indians*.<sup>2</sup> Here are analyzed a number of such tales as "The Seven-headed Dragon," "John the Bear," "Little Poucet," "The White Cat," "Cinderella," "Jack the Trickster," "The Master Thief." From old France they and a number of others passed on to many North American natives from the Atlantic to the North Pacific Coast and down the Missouri and Mississippi, with the French immigrants, settlers, voyageurs, and half-breeds. "By far the greatest contribution" [of European tales among the American Indians] Thompson writes, "has been made by the French, in Canada, and to some extent, in Louisiana" (p. 456). "The two or three centuries' contact with the French in Canada has been the most powerful influence; it has introduced the largest number of different tales to the natives" (p. 321).

*Folk Songs* Folk songs, although less ancient than folktales, have come down in part from the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Their sources often are much older than their recorded versions. Like folktales but less freely because of their set form, they moved back and forth, up and down rivers, along highways, over hills and across mountains; they sailed across the seas to islands such as Jamaica, San Domingo, to Brazil. Of this there are sundry examples, for instance *Seven Years at Sea*.

No other sailors' chanter compares with it for historical interest. It tells of a sailing ship seven years at sea. Starving, the sailors decide to draw lots and cut a set of straws. Whoever pulled out the shortest would be feasted upon for the relief of the others. The captain drew the shortest, but dodged his fate only because Ti-Jean, the page boy, climbed the rigging and burst into singing, "Courage, I see land fore, right, and left, resplendent Babylon town, three doves, and the loveliest maidens three. If ever I land, the youngest I'll take home with me."<sup>3</sup> Scholars have compiled a number of French and Scandinavian versions. Mila discussed nine Catalan versions for Spain. Puymaigre, in his study "A Nau Cathrinetta," spoke of four distinct Portuguese forms. Doncieux' *Romancéro*, in 1901, contains a survey of its migrations; it lists over 26 French versions, more than 11 for Spain and Portugal, 6 in the Breton language, 4 for Scandinavia. The English *Folk Song Journal* has brought to light some British records. This chanter also exists in Switzerland. Nowhere is it as familiar as in

French Canada, where more than 20 versions have been recorded. Its peregrinations, as summed up by Doncieux, all point to its cradle on the seacoast of Brittany and Anjou: this is still its main center of distribution.

From the coast of western France, the mariners carried *Seven Years at Sea* to the shores of Provence and Gascony, then to Catalonia in Spain. The Catalan version was adapted in Portuguese, in the guise of *A Nau Cathrinetta*. This was the name of a famous 16th century ship, the pride of Portugal in her day. Portuguese writers hailed this chantey as of fantastic import, nothing less than the embryo of the maritime epic of their nation. Thackeray adapted it into an amusing rime entitled "Little Billee," where figure three sailors from Bristol—Jim, Jack and Bill, the cabin-boy. Bill, in the topmost sail, beholds Jerusalem, Madagascar, North and South America, the British fleet at anchor, and Admiral Napier, K.C.B. Another English parody appeared in *The Academy*, XXVI, 1884. And this song has since lapsed into a familiar studio parody in Paris. Under this form a sailor is actually devoured by the captain. In due time a funeral is held, and an inscription is graven on the captain's stomach.

Of a different type is the famous tale of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, well over two thousand years old, and familiar to Shakespeare, who uses it in his *Midsommer Night's Dream*. It was already well known in Europe. We find it in the Roman poet, Ovid, who wrote on the ancient lovers of Babylon. Their misfortunes and suicide, in a desert haunted by a lioness, were recounted just before the Christian era. This tragic tale journeyed to Rome all the way from Asia Minor. Then it started on a new trek through the centuries to France and Great Britain. At one time, in Normandy, it was embodied in a semi-narrative and lyric lay of Anglo-Norman expression.<sup>4</sup> The producers of broadsheets and imagery, in the 15th century, exhumed it. Very soon they printed it in verse form, along with the legends of *Alexis*, *Le Juif errant*, *Geneviève de Brabant*, *Damon et Henriette*, *Saint Nicolas*, *Julien*. . . The calendars, in the latter part of the 16th century, embodied *Pyramus*. In the form of a song of 250 lines, bearing the imprint of Pellerin (of Epinal) and of other image-makers, it entered the Lower St. Lawrence, during the past two hundred years. Now it is remembered by Canadian folk-singers, one of whom, in 1916, bore the name of Louis L'Aveugle, a blind itinerant of the Saguenay River.<sup>5</sup>

The story of *Saint Alexis* was nearly as old in its inception; it became as widely traveled. A 4th century fiction from Asia Minor, it has retained the name of Edessa as its starting point. From Edessa, Alexis in the end landed at the port of Ostia near Rome, where he died in sanctity. His story started out on a long devious way, in script or verbally, towards France and Canada. Its exotic theme—the desertion of the bride by the bridegroom for mystic reasons, the life of a pauper in strange lands afar, and the final refuge in his father's castle, where he died, unrecognized and despised, under the stairway—retained its appeal on foreign soil during more than a millenium. In France, it was embodied in one of the three earliest scripts in the *lingua vulgaris* of the 11th century. Resurrected later by the broadsheet makers, it awakened to a new life. Now partly lost in France, it is still recited along the St. Lawrence. It was recorded there several times in recent years, particu-

larly from the folk-singer Louis L'Aveugle of the Saguenay.

Another sample from the dim past is the song of *Dame Lombarde*.<sup>6</sup> As its name indicates, it originated in northern Italy, in the 8th century, and eventually crossed the Alps, northwards. Almost wholly unrecorded in French literature, it followed the 17th century colonists into Canada, and came to light, in no less than 12 versions, all of them recorded at this late day below Quebec city. In a weird affair of poisoning, the tale is told of a Lombard king having incurred the hatred of his wife Rosmonde, who avenged the death of her father. She gave him a wine potion containing venom from a serpent's head crushed between golden plates.

Not quite so ancient, the *complainte* of *La vieille magicienne* (The Old Witch) dates back to 1290.<sup>7</sup> It tells of the profanation of the Host. At the demand of a Jewish pawnbroker, a woman had redeemed with a sacred wafer her garments and jewels, only to see him led to the scaffold on the heights of Paris. On the way, he was consumed by a stroke of lightning. Confiscated, the pawnbroker's property passed to the hands of the guild of joiners called "La Confrérie des Menuisiers de Madame Sainte Anne," and was placed in the care of the religious order of the Carmes mitigés, and its church, Les Billettes, was maintained until the French Revolution. The episodes of this tradition, during the Middle Ages, were illustrated in famous tapestries, and some of the details came down to us in two folk songs, now apparently forgotten in France, but recovered in French Canada.

Not a few folk songs, in the repertory of both France and French America, go back to the Middle Ages, among them *La Passion de Notre-Seigneur*, *Le petit pauvre et le mauvais riche* or Dives—the Lazarus parable, *Le docteur qui vend son âme au Démon* (Dr. Faustus selling his soul to the devil for renewed life and fortunes—the famous Theophilian legend), *Les danseurs châtiés* (The Impious Dancers chastized—their fate was to dance until their death), *Dessus le pont de Londres* or the disobedient young dancers drawn to their death by drowning when London Bridge collapsed—possibly a 13th century event, *Les ecoliers de Pontoise* (the three young Paris scholars hanged at Pontoise during the reign of St. Louis, and whose deaths were wantonly avenged by an elder brother at the Court of France), and a number of others. Some of these ancient songs have been analyzed by the scholars of several countries; they are *Le roi Renaud*, a Breton and French form of the *Elf King* or the *Vise de Sieur Olaf* of Scandinavia; *La porcheronne* or *Germaine*—the Crusader returning home after a prolonged absence, to find his faithful wife persecuted by his own mother; *La marâtre* or the orphan children ill-treated by their stepmother; they went back to the grave of their mother, who nursed them miraculously; *La fille du roi de France* cast into a dungeon to languish, because she refused to renounce her love; *Le flambeau d'amour*, a princess gives a signal from a tower to her lover; he tries to swim a river and dies by drowning. This last tale is an echo of another story of tragic love, of the classical legend of *Héro et Léandre*, and reminds us of an episode in *Tristan et Isolde*.

The wealth of this epic lore is hardly equalled in



other continental countries. The medieval France of the Crusades erected Gothic cathedrals, wove glorious tapestries, and blossomed forth in countless songs and romances. Yet, strange to say, the best field nowadays in which to find whatever is left of the oral literature of the Middle Ages, is no longer France itself, but the colony founded by France in the New World. Huge collections of ancient tales, legends, and songs are now being recorded in Acadia and French Canada. These oral traditions have in the past century fallen into oblivion or decay in their original homeland.

The *littérature courtoise* of medieval France chiefly centers in its Troubadour poems and songs. Thousands of these have been recovered from archives and compiled by the medievalists of European countries. A unique class in this literature consists of *pastourelles* or shepherd songs, in which the golden age of chivalry excelled. Women enjoyed no social standing in the Orient and in classical antiquity. This attitude was reversed as soon as the northern European countries, France in the lead, spoke for themselves through art and literature. Gallantry became a mark of refinement; a *chevalier* courted a *grande dame* and placed her upon a pedestal, there to burn poetic incense. These effusions might have become stilted, had not the lover strayed away at times from the staid paths of convention. Pining love led to devious adventures, away from castle or mansion, into Arcadian fields or on pastoral hills. Fond of an escapade or seeking relief in lyrical outbursts, courtly seekers of *faciles amours* at times met with shame and rebuke. In the earlier stages of this literature, they were greeted by shepherdesses still unspoiled and happy. But abuse, at the hands of decrepit or trifling philanderers, set the countryside on its guard. Flageolet tunes or lofty echoes changed to the barking of shepherd dogs are the tricks familiar among a rustic folk. The range of this genre encompasses several centuries, mostly from the 12th to the 14th century. After it had seemingly arisen in Provence and Languedoc, in "Le Midi" which had come under the influence of Latin culture, it spread northward across the Loire River, firmly established itself in the whole of France, and spread to the neighboring countries—Britain, Germany, and beyond, as if from a radiating center.

The *littérature courtoise* held the foreground for many a day in the heart of western and northern Europe. Whether the *pastourelle* or shepherd song is at bottom a folk or a literary creation—scholars still disagree about it—matters little. It has furnished the national repertory with a hoard of genuine folk songs. These are matchless for their beauty. Their lyrical derivatives have branched off into wide expanses: love lyrics of all types, in which feathered messengers—the nightingale, the lark—at times are dispatched a long way to deliver a message; or pining lovers vent their chagrin in solace; or surfeited passion turns back and jeers recklessly. There we enter the by-paths of frivolity if not obscenity, and we encounter the *maumariés* or ludicrous pairs in ill-fated wedlock. The *pastourelle* and love song in the French collections exceed in numbers, if not in quality, all other kinds. In the compilations of the homeland, they are richly represented, although they have suffered, in melodic content, the blight of age and neglect. Canada has saved a good part of this treasure from oblivion. Hun-

dreds of records now preserved at the National Museum of Canada, the Library of Congress, and elsewhere, stand as witnesses of their cultural import and of their unexpected preservation away from the original centers of their diffusion.

Historical songs to which dates and contexts may be attached, are not a few. Among them we find *Le mariage anglais* or the wedding of an unwilling French princess to a young English king (possibly dating back to 1490, if not earlier in the same century); and several songs bearing on a similar subject—a prince of one nation courting or marrying a princess of another, as *Je ne suis pas si vilaine* or *Passant par la Lorraine*; this last seems to go back to Anne de Bretagne, who married the king of France in 1491. In the *Petit tambour* a prince hides his royal identity when asking for the hand of a princess. *Le prince d'Orange* is a mockery on the traditional enemy of France, the prince of this name who died in 1507. *Le roi Eugène*, as a political song, is a *lèse-majesté* against Francis I; it was composed presumably in 1526, during the imprisonment of the king of France at Madrid. In *Les trois roses empoisonnées* or the poisoned bouquet, a jealous queen in reclusion sends to her rival at court the subtle poison that causes her death; it misrepresents an episode (1599) in the lives of Henri IV of France and Gabriel d'Estrees; other episodes in the same lives were illustrated in Gobelin tapestries. In *La trahison du maréchal Biron*, a once valiant marshal of France is shown up as a traitor who has sold his country to the king of Spain; Biron was condemned to death in 1602. And in *Cartouche et Mandrin* (18th century), a debate takes place in the pre-revolution decades in France, between two famous criminals. Most of these historical songs, well known at one time in France, were better preserved in the folklore of North America than in that of the motherland. During the past 30 years, their variants and versions of the same variants in Canada have been recorded in substantial numbers.

Drinking or bacchic songs, mnemonic ditties, *rigmaroles* (*rengaines* or *randonnées*), often are almost ageless; they are numerous. How many remained in France before they were cast aside, no one can tell for sure. In Canada alone, six or seven hundred drinking songs have already been rescued and classified. They extol the healing virtues of wine, even in a country too cold easily to grow grapes. The *rigmaroles* count from 60 to 100 in the least; they belong to the type of song illustrated by *Old King Cole* in England. The main titles in this list are *Le premier jour de mai*, *que donnerai-je à m'amie?* (The first of May, what shall I give to my sweetheart?); *La Perdriole*; *Dis-moi pour quoi un—un seul Dieu* (Who is one?—God), a mnemonic ditty meant to recall the mysteries of religion, once familiar in Celtic lore, where it referred to mystic beliefs; and other *rigmaroles* enjoying a great vogue, particularly in Canada, such as *Alouette!*, *Mon Merle*, and *Si j'avais les beaux souliers que ma mignonne m'a donnés* (If I still had the fine slippers my sweetheart gave me) . . .

Hundreds, perhaps one or two thousand folk songs, fall into other groups: *complaintes* or come-all-ye's, canticles or *cantilènes*, workaday songs, dances and game tunes, lullabies, ranging from the remote past to the last few hundred years: *A la claire fontaine*;

*Vole, mon cœur, vole!; Les trois beaux canards; A Bordeaux, beau port de mer; La courte paille; Derrière chez nous, yâ un champ de pois; M'en revenant de la jolie Rochelle; Voici le printemps; Les trois dames de Paris; La fille du roi d'Espagne; Les Prisons de Nantes; J'ai cueilli la belle rose; Bonhomme, que sais-tu donc faire?; Ramenez vos moutons du champ!*

**Folk Dances** The last titles above are of roundelays or "dances rondes". The size of this lot in the French repertory is by no means small. Folklorists are inclined to call dance-songs many compositions that were not necessarily, or may never have been, meant for dancing. In Canada, where singing has continued to this day, some of those songs are considered *chansons de métiers* or workaday songs; or they were canoe or paddling songs of the voyageurs or the lumberjacks.

Folk dances in France and Canada used to lay more emphasis than in English-speaking countries upon dramatic and pantomimic themes; most of them consisted of tunes with refrains; the refrain was usually burdened with meaningless words or syllables accompanying quick dance steps or a pantomime of the type of *Lalipitlou*, or *Folderol domdadl*. Many "rondes" or roundelays belong to the important group of *Le pont d'Avignon*, *Les trois Allemandes*, *Savez-vous planter des choux?* *Promenons-nous dans le bois* or *Le loup*, *Dans la ville de Rouen*, *Bien travailler, c'est s'amuser* . . . These roundelays follow in the trail of simpler game songs and play-parties for nursery and school, of the type of *The Mulberry Bush* and *London Bridge*. They are *Le lever de la reine*, *Le petit homme dans la lune*, *Le cuisinier*, *Le rat*, and such in great numbers and variety. Even at this late day, the French-speaking folk, young or old, on the lower St. Lawrence, still gambol and frolic to the tunes of *La boulangère*, *Marion danse*, *Laquelle marierons-nous? J'ai tant d'enfants à marier*, *Dans ma main droite je tiens le rosier*, *Si mon moine voulait danser* . . .

A list of 250 titles compiled by Rabelais, in his *Pantagruel*,<sup>8</sup> confirms the presumption that the prevailing dances in his time—the first part of the 16th century—were of the tune with refrain, and of the pantomime, types. There we read the names, among many others, of dances which even now sound familiar, and probably could be identified, had Rabelais been more explicit, for instance: *Si j'ai mon joli temps perdu*, *La gaillarde*, *La frisque*, *Catherine*, *Curé, venez donc*, *La péronnelle*, *La belle Françoise*, *L'Allemande*, *Frère Pierre*, *La tisserande*, *La pavane* . . . To this information, Rabelais added: "Fut par la reyne commencé ung blansle double, auquel tous et falotz et lanternes ensemble dansèrent" (The queen headed a *branle* or a set wherein merrily joined carriers of torches and lanterns). "Les autres aux divers sons des bouzines dansèrent diversement" (The others stepped forth together to the gay tunes of flutes and rustic oboes). What is more, some revelers were seen dancing "aux chansons de Poictou, dictes par un fallot de Saint-Messant, or ung grand baisant de Partenay le Vieil" (to the tunes of Poitou, as sung by a jester from St. Messant, and a tall sleepy-head from Partenay the Old). This last locality reminds one of another dance song—of later France: *Dans Parthenay*, still familiar in Quebec under the caption of *C'est dans Paris yâ une brune* . . . *Maluron malurette* . . .<sup>9</sup>

France and Brittany also possessed dances of the *gigue* or jig and reel varieties, no less than square and round dances, so characteristic across the English Channel, particularly among the folk of Scotland and Ireland, and brought into the New World at an early date, along with fiddle and bagpipes. The frontier between them is as elusive as their genesis. Typical jig and reel tunes are found in the old Mahé collection of Brittany, published by Mlle. E. de Schoultz-Adaïevsky, in "Airs de danse du Morbihan" (*Mélusine* vi: 100-105). The *bourrées* and *branes* of provincial France, revived in present-day festivals, belong as group dances to the same class as the square "sets" of England and North America. Their similarities made it easy for the *voyageurs*, *canotiers*, and *habitants* of French Canada, Louisiana, including the *métis* or half-breed population of the Northwest, to exchange or adapt features from their neighbors, who often shared the same revelries. In mixed parties, all would join in dancing Canadian *lanciers*, *cotillons*, *quadrilles*. Some of the dances were called *La belle Catherine*, *Les joins*, *La frégate*, *La plongeuse*, *La bistingue*, *Le salut des dames*. The dancers would also welcome other features from the Orkney Islanders, from Celtic partners in the fur trade, and from later comers in the 1830's. These contributions were Scottish reels and jigs, some of them named *The Moneymusk*, *Turkey in the Straw*, *The Devil's Dream*, *The Brandy* (perhaps from the French dance of the Middle Ages known as *Branle-gay*) . . . From this medley have emerged the famed *Red River jig* of the Northwest, and, in the eastern settlements, *Le mistigri*, *La grondeuse*, *Reel McDonald*, and some *Arlepapes* (Hornpipe tunes).<sup>10</sup>

In this promiscuity, such tales as *Petit Jean*, *Jean de l'Ours*, *Jean Sotte*, developed or flourished. Little Jack's cunning and trickery, in these stories, more than made up for his puny size and the scorn of his elders for him; they were bullies or dullards. From them no doubt issued the forest hero Paul Bunyan and his Blue Ox, of the lumber camps in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Maine. There the Quebec lumberjacks once lavished their youth, industry, and inexhaustible Gallic lore. *Legends*, *Rimes*, *Sayings*, *Beliefs*, *Customs*, *Folk Naming*, *Observances* *Legends*, rimes and ditties, sayings and proverbs reflecting the wisdom of the past, nicknames or *blasons populaires* embodying the names given by the folk to localities and people, beliefs pejoratively termed superstitions, observances religious or otherwise, practices, devices, folk recipes and medicines, yarns and tall personalities, and customs of all sorts, were too formless and elusive to subsist apart from their social environment. Never fully recorded or encompassed, they none the less were extensively sampled by folklorists as well as by observers, first among them Paul Sébillot, in his voluminous *Folklore de France* (1904-07), which is a misnomer. This monumental work deals chiefly with his own special field—Brittany. His range of observation is plainly circumscribed in his  *Coutumes et traditions populaires de la Haute-Bretagne* (1882); it includes folktales, legends, beliefs, superstitions, medicinal and magic practices. A somewhat broader outlook prevails in his *Bibliographie des ouvrages français où se trouvent réunies en quantités notables les principales matières du folklore* (1887). Periodicals in this domain are heavy containers of folklore miscellanea in the proc-

ess of being collected, sifted out, and published. The outstanding among them are *Almanach des Traditions populaires* (3 vols., 1882-84), succeeded by *Annuaire de la Société des Traditions populaires*, under the editorship of Sébillot (1886-94); *Mélysine*, founded by Henri Gaidoz and Eugène Rolland (irregularly published from 1877 to 1912, 11 issues in all); *Revue des Traditions populaires* . . . (32 vols., 1886-1918); *La Tradition* . . . (21 vols., 1887-1907); *Revue du Traditionnisme* . . . , founded by Beaufort-Froment (15 vols., 1898-1914); and others.

An aspect of folk traditions in which a few French masters—foremost among them Sébillot and Van Gennep—have excelled is called *folklore calendaire* or folk beliefs and practices that mark the progress of life through its various stages from birth to burial, or the passing of the year with its feasts and celebrations. Arnold Van Gennep has devoted to it the first two volumes of his monumental *Manuel de Folklore français contemporain* (1943); and Soeur Marie-Ursule, at Université Laval, Quebec, has followed a similar plan in most of her thesis, "Le Folklore des Lavallois" (in a forthcoming number of *Les Archives de Folklore*). Nearly one half of his *Manuel*, consisting of four heavy tomes (1937-43), is the most extensive bibliography (vols. 3 and 4) of the whole subject ever attempted. It is all but final in parts, in its search for every possible written source, but not for raw materials, this only within France.

Van Gennep's estimate of the attainments of his science in so far as he has surveyed them, is worth quoting: "In the past two hundred years," he has written in French, "other sciences have developed to the point where they now can rely not only on *Manuels* and *Précis* (treatises), but also on great encyclopedias, detailed bibliographies, and even on periodicals" (*Manuel* I: ix). But folklore remains puny among established sciences. On this point, he has written further: "Until recently folklorists have experienced the greatest possible difficulties in publishing their materials" (p. viii). "Folklore, in the past hundred years, had no chance of being studied methodically, and of ever being brought to its many culminative points" (p. vi). "Most of the casual collectors have looked down upon their folklore work as a pastime, somewhat ridiculous, inferior in quality, not deserving much consideration. They have accepted the rank of mere subordinates to the hidebound historians, who until recently despised the study of living documents (*mœurs vivantes*)" (p. vi). "To the present day, not a single university chair of folklore has been established in France. This failure is one of the causes for the scientific weakness of the country in this field" (p. viii). "It is incorrect to state, as is often done, that French folklore is very poor" (p. vii), for "hardly one twentieth of the territory in France has been yet systematically explored for its folklore" (p. v).

The seeming poverty of French traditions, which Van Gennep deplors, is also due to other causes. These are cultural and historical. Cultural they are, in so far as the high or academic learning for many centuries has been imbued with a Latin bias. This bias was the outcome of the conquest of ancient Gaul by Caesar, which imposed upon France a language at first foreign

to itself, and a drastic change in its culture. The folk vernacular, originally Celtic, was cast away as unworthy of survival. Even the "Bas-Latin" introduced after the 4th century of our era, was branded as *lingua vulgaris*, and *vilain* was the term accepted for it. The sway of the Roman Empire, under ever-changing forms, has remained undiminished. France of all European countries is, historically, the one where aristocracy—class aristocracy, and the aristocracy of art and learning—has reached its peak and maintained its hold longest, after its political symbols had given way to other standards, some of them deceptive.

Folklore is the endowment of the people at large, mostly of the illiterate mass. Like the vernaculars embodying its contents, it was destined to obscurity from the first. Only of late years has it dared to raise its humble head. Immense though its latent powers and diversity, it has not as yet awakened fully to the knowledge of its own stature. For it possesses all the unwritten and uncoded activities and lore of a people within the national borders and from the immemorial past. Its storehouse is human memory, the most retentive of all archives; its shop, that of manual arts and crafts, where masters have trained apprentices at all times; and its momentum covers manners and customs, ingrained habit and behavior, in a vast cultural stream beyond the control of the few that boast of authority and high learning.

*Manual Arts* Historical causes for the alleged poverty of French folklore as it has been recorded, lie in the restrictions arbitrarily imposed upon its scope. These restrictions in the main have been twofold; they have tended to exclude the traditional arts and crafts, and have almost completely ignored the patrimony of ancient France in the New World. The natural extension of French folklore in America as a whole goes back to the 17th century, when the fleur de lis held sway over vast territories from their starting points on the St. Lawrence almost as far as the Rockies and the Gulf of Mexico.

Antiquarians and curio collectors at first were interested only in the vestiges of classical and medieval archeology within their province. They could not encompass the arts and crafts as a whole. Because of a great bulk and diversity, these cultural activities of the past far surpassed their comprehension. They consisted of building and architecture; metal work including iron, pewter, gold, and silver; weaving, embroidery, lace-work, and tapestry-making; tailoring and costume; pottery, leather-tooling; sculpture, statuary, gilding, the making of stained-glass windows; illumination and engraving; and to some extent mural painting. As for the collection of folk songs, tales, legends, and customs, these traditions called for keen observation and a treatment familiar to trained folklorists. Left to other hands, particularly to professional historians or literary writers, they all fell far short of their deserts. As a rule they were dismissed as trivial or secondary, whereas they had been of prime importance in the existence of the nation, ever since the Gothic period and the northern Renaissance. Because of this oversight, we may look in vain for substantial monographs and manuals on most of the subject of craftsmanship. Valuable, at times noteworthy efforts even at the hands of *historiens de l'art*, have failed to do full justice to a

country where industry and skill for a millennium have often been unsurpassed. Of them all, only architecture, carving, statuary, and iron work have figured prominently in print and in albums. Tapestries, stained-glass windows, which contain much of the oral lore of the land, have enjoyed their share; also cabinet-making, pottery, fashions in costuming. Gold and silver smithing and metal crafts were not entirely overlooked. But a great deal has vanished before it was recorded.

Almost neglected have been the guilds and corporations, which were social bodies of great cultural import, after the 12th century, and have produced an untold harvest of masterpieces. A few amateurish books on "tour de France" for apprentices, bearing on the *Confrérie des maîtres menuisiers de Madame Sainte Anne*, and some technical treatises for the use of schools, are all that come to mind. Countless master craftsmen in architecture, carving, and masonry, for instance, lie forsaken in their nameless graves. Their accomplishments to us remain mostly anonymous within the walls of their sublime Gothic temples which for a time swayed the allegiance of western Europe. The guilds have been well studied, in France, only from the point of view of sociology and institutions (see Martin Saint-Léon's book).

In Van Gennep's *Bibliographie méthodique* they are only in part dealt with, under the caption of "Arts populaires." Reduced to a minimum here, only three subjects are listed. Previously they had been the object of many publications, as on ceramics, paper-making, costume and accessories.<sup>12</sup> The apparent reason for dismissing the major arts is that they have stayed in splendid isolation as if by the common consent. They had withdrawn almost beyond reach, as the medieval guilds or corporations were suppressed by the French Revolution. Yet some of them were later revived; their customs until recently survived, like the "tour de France" for apprentices in joinery and woodwork. Fortunately, as Van Gennep points out, the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et métiers* . . . , Paris, 1751-77 (5 vols.), of Diderot and d'Alembert, contains a systematic study of "les techniques manufacturières, les procédés de pêche, les petits métiers, l'organisation artisanale" (the technique of manufactures, the processes of fishery, the small trades, the organization of crafts).<sup>13</sup> "From that moment," concludes this dean of French folklorists, "the true descriptive method had been found." But unfortunately it was not systematically followed at large.

An unforeseen expansion of the arts and crafts of old France was discovered on the shores of the St. Lawrence River in recent years. These activities had taken root there as early as the second part of the 17th century. An independent guild of joiners and wood carvers was established in Quebec under the same name as of the parent body in Paris (*Confrérie des maîtres menuisiers de Madame Sainte Anne*).<sup>14</sup> A school of arts and crafts was established by Mgr. de Laval, first Bishop of New France, at Cap-Tourmente near Quebec. The cloistered convent of the Ursuline nuns in Quebec, founded in 1639, was devoted to the teaching of French and the practice of "a thousand and one small crafts" (*mille petites adresses*). The *Confrérie de Sainte Anne* of Paris was not the only

one whose representatives migrated very early to the New World. For at the annual procession of Fête-Dieu in Quebec, in the summer of 1646, 6 organized crafts were represented by a delegate bearing a symbolic torch, and two years later, in 1648, their number rose to 12. These delegates were turner, joiner, shoemaker, cooper, locksmith, armorer, carpenter, mason, cutler, baker, wheelwright, and nailer. Craftsmen of various callings, after their settlement in the colony, practiced their art, established families, and in most cases handed down their name, and often their trade, through 11 or 12 generations. The guild of *Sainte Anne* remained in existence for more than 200 years, until 1855 and possibly later, and the training of apprentices by masters survived in many parts of French Canada almost to the present day. The manual arts of later Canada are close derivatives of French fountainheads, with allowances for creative adaptation to new demands, materials, and surroundings.

The flower of feminine crafts entered New France as early as 1639, along with the founders of the Ursulines in Quebec and Three Rivers, and, less than a hundred years later, in Louisiana. Not only did these pioneers contribute much to the evangelization of the natives, but they trained Indian girls in the handicrafts with a great perseverance. Their cultural influence, felt immediately after their landing at Quebec and their establishment down the Mississippi, has since spread from their cloisters to almost every point on the American continent. A few years after their foundation, the number of native seminarists in their care rose to fair numbers; they included Huron-Wyandot, Iroquois, and Algonquian children. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the founder, was happy to write home: "They sing with us in unison, they quickly learn all that we want to teach them, and are most supple in our hands. Born though they were in the wilderness, they can easily be cast in the very mold of the daughters of France." Of all the teachings of the Ursulines and other nuns who soon imitated them, the most enduring in their material effects and repercussions were those in the arts and handicrafts—sewing and embroidery in particular. Many women, native or white, over North America still owe a debt of gratitude to those educators who, long ago, initiated their ancestors into what was then called the science of crafts (*la science des ouvrages*), also to read, write, play the viola, and "a thousand other small accomplishments" (*mille autres petites adresses*). The programme of training, as mapped out from the first, included "good French manners, housekeeping, needlework, drawing, painting, music, some notions of architecture and other fine arts" (*arts d'agrément*).

Several minor crafts eventually provided the nuns with a much-needed income, for instance, the making of birch-bark boxes and dishes, fine leather work, book-binding, also the manufacture of artificial flowers, wax fruit, hair pictures, and painting. The making of birch-bark and "incense" boxes became, for the nuns in various centers, quite remunerative at one time. The bark was sewn with *watap* (spruce roots), and the outer surface was decorated with dyed porcupine quills or moose hair, much like the bark work now made in a derivative way by the Micmacs and other Indians in the

Eastern Woodlands and far beyond. Our museums now house abundant collections of Indian decorated garments and utensils; their inception goes back to such early teachings. Of all these collections, the most ancient and significant is that which was made in the 18th century for the Dauphin de France and now belongs to the Musée de l'Homme, in Paris. This set plainly exposes the French origin of native floral and geometrical designs upon garments or leather, or cloth, or upon bark; and evidence of such designs, besides, is entirely wanting in the prehistory of America.<sup>15</sup>

*The Science of Folklore From Its Beginnings* Folklore as a science developed only slowly. Like Cinderella it languished for a long time in obscurity. The activities of the Académie celtique, early in the 19th century, opened a back door to folk traditions. Why a Breton academy should take the lead in this field is easy to surmise. The French Revolution and its deceptive catchwords on the Rights of Man had failed to root out aristocratic prejudices. The *villain* of old provincial France remained as ever unworthy of attention or scrutiny. But under an exotic Breton caption a lead unwittingly was found. The first "questionnaires" for research began to find their way into the hands of sundry collectors, most of them mere amateurs. The best traditionists of France for two or three generations were mostly Bretons: de la Villemarqué (c. 1840), Luzel, and later, Gaidoz, Sébillot, Lebraz . . .

The romantic conception of folklore in Germany then infiltrated France with the belief that the folk in a crowd can spontaneously do works of art in the form of tales, legends, songs. Napoléon III, emperor of France in the mid-forties of the last century, became acquainted, during a visit across the Rhine, with the achievements of the brothers Grimm. He conceived a plan to be directed by Jean-Jacques Ampère, in 1852, of collecting folk songs through the teachers, *préfets de communes*, and parish priests, in all the schools in the state. This country-wide investigation produced a mass of mixed materials, which puzzled public opinion. The results were eventually cataloged and filed as "Fonds français, Nos 3338-3343," in six large volumes, at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Later in the last century, the collectors of oral literature reluctantly accepted the term of folklore for their science; it had been invented and first published, in 1846, by William J. Thoms, in England, and was destined to universality. In vain did the French writers try to enforce their preference for *traditions populaires* and hold on to it until after 1900, as they did in such titles as *Revue des Traditions populaires*, and *Congrès des Traditions populaires de 1900*. They called themselves *traditionnistes* instead of folklorists. But folklore as a caption prevailed in the end.

From 1855 on, the stimulus came largely from the medievalists, particularly Gaston Paris, through their *Revue des Langues romanes*, *Romania*, and *Revue celtique*. Folktales and folk songs, during this period, gained quite headway; they found capable exponents in E. Cosquin, Eugène Rolland, Anatole Loquin, George Doncieux, Julien Tiersot, and more recently Van Gennep, Patrice Coirault . . .

The *villain* misconception of aristocratic France is a

diehard. It has persisted to this day, and so far it has blocked official recognition at the university. Not a single chair of folklore exists in all of France, and the chief folklorists are still unsupported free-lance workers. Leadership in this field has been taken in 1944 by Université Laval, Quebec, where a chair of folklore was established, the first of its kind in the French language. This move is significant, as French folklore in its oral forms—folk songs, folktales, and legends—on the whole is better preserved in the New World than in the Old.

Everywhere in French-speaking settlements and colonies, it has thrived undisturbed, comparatively isolated and independent, during the past three centuries. "One feels," a French critic recently has written of Canadian folk songs, "that this music which originated in our land long ago has been saved all the while under a protective blanket of snow." The study of French folklore in Canada and in the United States, in the past thirty years, has brought about the recording of a huge body of materials in a surprisingly good state of preservation. Among them we find nearly 11,000 versions of folk songs; of these 6,000 were recorded on the phonograph or in writing; as well as several hundred folktales and legends. In these island-like survivals, the memory of the illiterate folk often has preserved valuable heirlooms which, through wear and tear, have long since vanished in the motherland.

A significant aspect of the French occupation in North America has taken shape in folk naming (*blason populaire*). This cultural development, partly linguistic and partly folkloric, consists of conferring on people appropriate geographical family and personal names, coined according to obvious features and circumstances. On the maps of our continent, many such names still commemorate the early discoveries or the passage of the *voyageurs* and *coureurs-de-bois*, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and down the Mississippi. Nicknaming or the giving of new names in order to distinguish the individuals, when family names become useless through multiplicity, has occurred in so many places that it has given rise to folkloric studies that are singularly colorful. They disclose a genius for verbal expression and portraiture that has been lost wherever school standards have established uniformity.

Surveys at first centered in or around the National Museum of Canada, encouraged by the editors of *The Journal of American Folklore*, have recently expanded into the activities of the "Archives de Folklore" at Université Laval, Quebec. These activities have forced open a new phase in French folklore taken as a whole. For this science can no longer, as in the past, confine itself only to the motherland. It must acknowledge its own expansion outside, in the former North American colonies. These colonies have not ceased, after the severance of political ties, to preserve and develop a vital patrimony of cultural traditions.

As initial instalments in the proof of the import of this branch of French folklore stand a series of Canadian numbers in *The Journal of American Folklore* since 1916, and several publications outside, among them: *Tales from the French Folk-lore of Missouri*, by Joseph-Médard Carrière (1937);<sup>16</sup> *European Tales among the North American Indians* . . . , by Stith

mitted at the forefront of her *Chèvre-feuil*, where she gave the story of Tristram de Cornouailles, that: "Plusor le m'ont conté et dict/ Et je l'ai trouvé en écrit/ De Tristram et de la roïne/ De lor amor qui tant fut fine/ Dont ils orent mainte dolor/ Puis en moururent en un jor" (Not a few have told and rehearsed it/ Besides, I have found it in writing/ That Tristan and the queen/ Of their love which was so deep/ That they suffered great pains/ And one day because of it met their fate). (See Joseph Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1895.)

Folktales once more found their way among the literati when Charles Perrault published *Les Contes de ma Mère l'Oye*, in 1697, under the pen name of Perrault Darmancour. Among these tales are found "Petit Poucet," "Chaperon rouge," "Le chat botté," and "Cendrillon." [Mme. Félix-Faure Goyau, *Choix de Contes de Fées*, introduction. "Il avait peur de ses confrères, les académiciens. Que diraient-ils lorsqu'ils sauraient un des leurs occupé à de pareilles niaiseries" (p. xii).] Imitators, mostly among women, followed his example, the best among them the baronne d'Aulnoy (1698). In all this derivative literature, the traditional stories served as a pretext to "belles-lettres" according to the artificial tastes of the period; they were rearranged, developed, and pampered, yet became household familiars.

Only with Carnoy in *Littérature orale de la Picardie* (1883), and with Cosquin, in *Contes populaires de Lorraine* (1886), did ancient folktales become objectively scientific. Their systematic study, the analysis of their contexts, the classification and arrangement of their episodes, have reached their apex with the mythographers A. Aarne (1908), Bolte and Polivka (1913-) in Europe, and, in the United States, Stith Thompson.<sup>21</sup> Folktales and legends in North America, like folk songs, have remained alive to this day, as a folk endowment, whereas in France, both are said to have lapsed into oblivion. In the lumber camps of the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for instance, tellers of folktales are still—or were until very recently—engaged to entertain the workers during the evenings. Their repertory is vast and well preserved as of old.

Alcée Fortier, in his *Louisiana Folk-tales* (1895),<sup>22</sup> took the lead in recording Creole tales. The author of this article, at the request of Dr. Franz Boas, in 1915, went extensively into the field of French folktales within Canada. About eight numbers of *The Journal of American Folklore*, since 1916, have included from 150 to 200 texts. As many more are awaiting publication, while others are being gathered and published elsewhere. Joseph-Médard Carrière<sup>23</sup> has issued a considerable set from the ancient Canadian colony of Old Mines, Missouri, now on the verge of disappearing; the new generation no longer keeps the language that embodies them. Carrière has recently published an extensive bibliography.<sup>23</sup>

The expansion of ancient French lore among the Indians of the North American continent, although fully grasped for many years, has now become the object of a special study. Professor Stith Thompson in several comparative studies from 1919 on, has put down side by side the French folktales of France, of Canada and the United States, and their adaptations by the Indians. Transformed by the natives, they form part of their

own aboriginal traditions. Yet they belong to the borderlands of French folklore as introduced in North America by the fishers, the voyageurs and *courcurs-de-bois*, and the colonists of the 17th century.

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MARIUS BARBEAU

**French harp** Term for harmonica in mountain sections of the southern United States.

**frevo** A Brazilian solo dance performed in the streets during carnival processions, with acrobatic steps and jumps done on one spot when the procession halts. [GPK]

**Frey or Freyr** In Teutonic mythology, son of Niord and Nerthus (or Skadi); god of sunshine and rain, peace, prosperity, and fruitfulness, and the patron of married couples, horses, and horsemen. He came to Asgard as a hostage after the war between the Æsir and the Vanir. He was given the realm of Alfheim for his home. The dwarfs gave him the golden bristled boar, Gullin-bursti, to draw his chariot and the ship, Skidbladnir, personification of the clouds, which could travel on land, sea, and air, and could be folded into his pocket when not in use. He also possessed the horse, Blodug-hofi, which would dash through fire and water, and a wonderful sword which would fight by itself, but this he gave to his servant for winning him Gerda's hand. Thus he was weaponless for the last battle.

Once, when looking out over the earth, he saw the lovely Gerda in Jotunheim. He became like a lovesick mortal until his servant, Skirnir, undertook to woo the giantess in his name. At first he had no success, but by threatening to make her an old maid with his spells, he prevailed.

Frey was worshipped especially by the ancient peo-

ples, and especially on the winter solstice, because thereafter the days become longer and the sun stronger. Boars' flesh was served and a flaming wheel, representing the sun, was rolled down a mountain into the sea. Some customs survived well into the Christian era, such as presenting a ham or sitch of bacon to the most happily married couple in the community. Others, such as the Yule Log and boars' head at Christmas, still survive. Legend says that Frey returned to earth as Fridleef I, king of Denmark (40 B.C.).

**Freyja, Freia, Freyja, Fri, or Fria** In Teutonic mythology, the beautiful, blue-eyed, blond goddess of love, beauty, and fecundity: in Germany identified with Frigga. She is the daughter of the Van or sea goddess, Niord, and Nerthus or Skald, hence as goddess of the Vanas, known as Vanbride or Vanadis. Other epithets of Freya are Gefn, Horn, Mardel, Skialf, Syr, Thrung. She is not always soft and pleasure-loving, but, as Val-freya, led the Valkyrs to the battlefields where she claimed half of the slain. These she entertained at Folkvang, the others went to Odin in Valhalla.


She married Odur, the sunshine, and had two beautiful daughters, Hnoss and Gersemi. When Odur wandered she was sorrowful and wept; the tears formed drops of gold in the stones, and drops of amber in the sea. She lived in the mansion Sessrymnir in her realm of Folkvang. She possessed a falcon garb which enabled her to fly, and the beautiful necklace, Brisingamen.

The early Christians declared her a witch and banished her to the mountains where her demon train still dance on Valpurgisnacht.

**Friar Rush** In medieval German folklore, Brüder Rausch is the Devil dressed as friar. He plays the role of servant in monasteries in order to confuse, tempt, and seduce the monks. He makes them make mistakes and forget the Psalter. Friar Rush as mischief-maker is the subject of motif F470.0.1. He and his pranks became a popular subject for the English chapbooks in the 16th century. He is described in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* as having a cow's tail, cloven feet, and hooked nails. In later English folklore his anticlerical role becomes somewhat dimmed and he is sometimes mentioned simply as "the friar" who is occasionally found in cellars turning on the wine-taps. Sir Walter Scott (in *Marmion*) confused Friar Rush with the friar's lantern, or will-o'-the-wisp.

**Friar Tuck** In the Robin Hood legend, the jolly priest who proves more than once, to the discomfiture of his victims, that he is as much a manly man as any of the greenwood band. His fat figure and brawny arm are pleasantly alluded to in several of the Robin Hood adventures of balladry.

**Friday** An unlucky day in general European folk belief. The reason for this is that Christ was crucified on a Friday. It is bad to get born on a Friday or get married on a Friday. It is bad luck to take a new job on a Friday, cut one's nails on a Friday, or visit the sick on a Friday. If you turn your bed on a Friday, you will not sleep. Sailors are loath to begin a voyage on a Friday; and criminals expect a hard sentence if they are unlucky enough to be tried on a Friday. "Wet Friday, wet Sunday," is a common saying in general weather lore. In Irish folk belief it is good to die on a Friday, be buried on Saturday, and get prayed for on Sunday.

 Friday is the day of the Nordic goddess Frigga. For the Moslems, Friday is a holy day when all must attend mosque and hear the address. Early Christians regarded Friday (and Wednesday) as half-fasts but the Syrian Christians fasted from sunrise to sunset and the Nestorians treated it as Sunday. The term "Black Friday" is a late coinage in England. "Friday face" in 17th century English slang was a sad or moody expression.

[RDJ]

**Frigga, Frigg, Frija, or Fri** In Teutonic mythology, the second and principal wife of Odin; goddess of the clouds and sky, of married love, and housewives. She is variously said to be the daughter of Fiorgyn and Jörd or of Jörd and Odin, whom she later married. She is the mother of Balder and Hoder, Hermod, and usually Tyr. Certain ancient poems state that Frigga and Odin had seven sons who founded the seven Saxon kingdoms in England. Frigga is represented as tall and stately, clad in long white robes, but as sky goddess the robes could change from shining white to dark. A bunch of keys (symbol of housewifery) always hung from her girdle.

Although permitted to share the throne with Odin, Frigga spent most of her time in her own house, Fensalir, spinning golden thread or weaving varicolored clouds. Through her eleven handmaidens or will-doers (Fulla, Hlin, Gna, Lofn, Vjofn, Syn, Gefjon, Snotra, Eira, Vara, Vor) she attended to the well-being of mortals, smoothing the paths of lovers, presiding over married love, spreading knowledge, and administering justice. Fulla may also be Frigga's sister: the Germanic Frija, for instance, had a sister Volla (Fulla in Norse) interpreted as a bringer of wealth. Frigga's name (Frigg, Fri) survives in Friday.

In Germany Frigga was identified with or became confused with Freya, but no such confusion or identity took place in Scandinavian or Icelandic mythology. Freya is one of the Vanir, while Frigga is always one of the Æsir. In later German folklore Frigga is paralleled by Holde (Hulda, Frau Holle), and others.

**Frithiof, Fridthjof, or Fridjof** Hero of the 14th century Icelandic *Frithiof Saga* and Tegner's beautiful modern Swedish poem. He was the son of Thorsten and Ingeborg and playmate of the kings Halfdan and Helge and their sister, Ingeborg, with whom he later fell in love. Her brothers, however, would not permit her to marry a commoner, and betrothed her to King Sigurd Ring. Frithiof took the dragon ship, Ellida, and the sword, Angurvadel, which he inherited from his father, and set out on a voyage of piracy, eventually arriving at the court of King Sigurd. When the old king died, he betrothed his wife, Ingeborg, to Frithiof and entrusted him with raising his son.

**Frodi or Frothi** A legendary king of Denmark; son of Fridleif or Frothleif who was believed to be an incarnation of Frey. Frodi's reign was peaceful and prosperous and he is known in legend and saga as Peace Frodi. He possessed the two magic millstones called Grotti, and the two Swedish giant maidens, Menia and Fenia, who ground out gold and peace and prosperity for Frodi. In the *Grottasongr* or Quern Song (in Snorri Sturleson's *Edda*) when Frodi's greed would not let the giant maidens rest, they changed their song and ground out warriors and disasters for Frodi and his kin. The Quern

Song mentions the story of the fratricide, how Frodi killed his own brother Halfdan to secure the kingdom, and prophesies Frodi's death at the hands of "Yrsa's son" (who is Halfdan's grandson) and the extinction of his race because of this child of incest. The invasion of the Viking Mylsingr is the result of the grinding out of warriors against Frodi.

In *Beowulf* and in earlier Danish legend it is Halfdan, who kills Frodi. In the Quern Song Frodi kills Halfdan. In other Icelandic and in Norwegian saga, Frodi kills his brother Halfdan, whose two sons eventually avenge their father. These two boys (Hroar and Helgi) escape their uncle by feigning madness à la the ancient Jutish Amleth, set fire to the castle, and Frodi is suffocated with smoke in an underground passage. They parallel the numerous other hero brothers of the world, who are exposed or expelled or escape (like Romulus and Remus or the two sons of Duncan murdered by Macbeth) only to return and take back their kingdoms.

The confusion and identification of two Danish kings named Frodi, the mythical Peace Frodi and the medieval Frodi the Peaceful, and the intermingling of their legends is discussed in Axel Olrik's *Heroic Legends of Denmark*, New York, 1919, pp. 446 ff. The legend of the embalming of Frodi's body and the periodic carrying of it through the kingdom to insure the continuance of the prosperity which his presence in life had secured for the people, undoubtedly belongs to the later king.

**Frog He Would A-Wooing Go** See FROG WENT A-COURTING.

**Frog Mourning Song** A dirge sung by the descendants of the Githawn or Salmon-Eater tribe of the Alaskan coast, originally sung, according to legend, for the destruction of the young men of the tribe in punishment for their wilfulness, as related in the Salmon-Eater epic of migration. The spirit frog of the legend is a cultural heritage from Asia, and is the attribute of Dzellarhons, niece of Githawn, head of the clan. Dzellarhons is also known as Copper Woman, Frog Woman, and Volcano Woman, for her gift of metal to the tribe, her spirit frogs, and her personification of fire in the destruction of the people.

**Frog Prince or Frog King** A folktale (Type 440) belonging to the beast marriage cycle, and with varying details found in India, Hungary, Norway, Germany, and the British Isles: similar tales, of the transformation of a water-guarding reptile or amphibian, are found all over the world (e.g. the Kafir tale of *The Bird who Made Milk* where the crocodile becomes a man again when the devoted girl licks his face).

**The Frog Prince** (Grimm #1, subtitled *Iron Henry*) combines this story with the story of the faithful servant. The youngest of three princesses drops her golden ball into a well. The frog retrieves it after she promises to be his companion and playmate, to eat with him and sleep with him. But when she has the ball again, off she runs, ignoring the frog's calls. The next night, as the court is at dinner, a knocking is heard at the door. The princess answers, and when she sees who it is, shuts the door in the frog's face. Her father insists that she let the frog in and live up to her promise. So she sits unwillingly next to the frog, and manages to force herself to eat from the same



plate, and even carries the frog upstairs at arm's length. But when he wants to get into bed with her, she flings him against the wall. Instead of a frog tumbling to the ground, a prince stands there; and then she is glad to keep her promise. In the morning, the prince's carriage arrives with the faithful servant. As they drive away, the three iron bands with which Faithful Henry had had his heart encircled to keep it from breaking at the absence of the prince snap one by one.

Sometimes the youngest princess is instead a step-daughter, as in the English *The Well at the World's End*. In this tale, the girl must bring water in a sieve; the frog tells her how to smear it with clay. At the climax, she cuts off the frog's head, and it is transformed into a handsome prince. Other means leading to the transformation are: simply sleeping in the girl's bed; being kissed; and (the idea typically appears in swan-maiden stories) burning the frog's skin. See BEAST MARRIAGE; BEAUTY AND THE BEAST.

**Frogs Asking for a King** One of Æsop's fables. The Frogs prayed Jupiter to appoint a king over them. So Jupiter threw a Log into the pond, which made such a great splash that the frogs were overawed at their king and kept a respectful distance. In time, however, they became so bold as even to climb upon his back and bask in the sun. At last they grew dissatisfied with so sluggish and uninteresting a monarch, and besought Jupiter for a more active king. So Jupiter sent them a Stork, who set about devouring the frogs as fast as he was able. Again they prayed to Jupiter. But he was weary with their discontent and refused them, pointing out that their plight was only the result of not letting well enough alone.

Legend has it that Æsop told this story to the mob in Athens who were seeking to dethrone Pisistratus, and thus prevented the act of violence. It comprises the general European folktale motif J643.1.

**Frog Went a-Courting** The common American title of one of the best-loved and most widely known of all folk songs in English. The first literary mention of the tale of the frog who wooed a mouse occurs in Wedderburn's (or Inglis' or Lyndsay's) *Complaynt of Scotland* (1548). In 1580 it was entered in ballad form in the Register of the London Company of Stationers under the title of *A Moste Strange Weddinge of the Frogge and the Mouse*. The oldest extant musical version is in Ravenscroft's *Melismata* (#20) (1611). Innumerable variants occur in oral tradition all over the United States among both Negro and white singers, and in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Each region has added local color to its versions, the variation appearing especially in the favorite refrains. Many of the Scottish texts have a "cuddy alone" burden, which in the southern United States has changed to "Kitty alone." Some English texts have a "kimo" burden, which has been picked up in American Negro tradition and found its way into minstrel shows in two burlesques, "Keemo Kimo" and "Kitty Kimo." A humming refrain is also common in American versions. Both Irish and American texts elaborate on the wedding guests; in the Irish, a snail with a bagpipe enters; in the American, a black snake and a Negro man figure. The wedding feast also has its local variations. In some southern American variants "two green beans and a black-eyed pea," are served. In about

1809 an English stage version was created with humorous modern additions, including an opera hat for the gentleman frog, and the burden "Heigh ho, says Rowley" made its appearance. American Negro children have amalgamated the tale with various other game and hand-clapping rimes of the "Hambone" and "Ball the Jack" types and white children have converted it to a Mickey Mouse framework with a trace of Western thriller plot. In earlier days it took its place with the play-party songs. The airs to which it is sung vary widely, and its titles include the usual Mother Goose one, *The Frog He Would a-Wooing Go*, *Mister Frog Went a-Courting*, *The Frog's Courting*, *The Mouse's Courting Song*. The story is typed as an elaboration of the birds' wedding. See BIRDS' WEDDING; MICKEY MOUSE.

**Frozen Girl** One of the variant titles of the American ballad, *Fair Charlotte*.

**Fudo** The Japanese God of Wisdom. See JAPANESE FOLKLORE. [JLM]

**Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, Huang Ti** Three great legendary emperors and culture heroes of China. Fu Hsi instituted marriage rites, because his sister reported to him that men and women were living together indiscriminately without law and that this was degrading to the morals of the people. Fu Hsi then prohibited marriage between persons with the same family name and instituted the system of go-betweens, presents, and ceremonies. His legend is that he was the offspring of a miraculous conception; and he is often referred to as Adam of China. Shên Nung, called the patron of agriculture, succeeded him. He invented the plow, about 2700 B.C., taught the people how to till the soil, discovered how to plant seeds and the medicinal properties of certain herbs. He is still honored twice a year in Chekiang province. Huang Ti was the first uniter of China, and his wife, Lei Tsu, was the first to domesticate wild silkworms. [RDJ]

**Fulla** In Teutonic mythology, an attendant or sister of Frigga whose beautiful, long, golden hair represented the golden grain. She acted as lady's maid and confidant. She is the same as VOLLA.

**funeral customs and beliefs** The idea of defending or protecting the survivors which prevails in and determines the character of burials (see BURIAL) also dominates, in more or less concealed and disguised fashion, the attendant funeral customs and beliefs.

The wearing of black by the mourners, the pallbearers, and the undertaker and his assistants was originally intended to make those nearest the corpse inconspicuous and thereby protect them from the ghost and any other spirits hovering near on this occasion so dangerous to the living. Even when so protected by black garments, the mourners must not let the sun shine on them; window shades must be kept drawn and even the curtains in the funeral carriages are carefully pulled down. In the border counties between England and Scotland it is believed that if the sun shines brightly on the face of a mourner at a funeral, he will be the next to die.

In the ancient funeral ceremonies of the Sacs and Fox (North American Indians) every relative of the deceased was careful to throw into the grave some article of food or clothing. It need not be an article of

much value—even a piece of faded cloth would do. But if anyone failed to throw in something, he was in danger. The ghost of the deceased might return and claim the forgotten gift. If you threw something into the grave, it laid the ghost. The same idea was probably back of the widespread custom of casting soil, clay, dust, or ashes into the grave long before the Christian funeral ceremony included the "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" phrase.

Among southern United States Negroes Dr. Puckett reports that in some localities the body is placed on a cooling-board, under which is carefully put a plateful of salt and ashes. It is supposed that ashes absorb the disease from the body, and at the funeral these ashes are carried to the grave and thrown in at the recital of the committal service. The idea seems to be that even the ashes, in which the disease (or the evil spirit causing it) may have hidden, must be buried with the body.

The Negroes are quite frank about the purpose of wearing black, and are not so apt to use the euphemism common among whites that it is worn "out of respect for the dead." One Negro said plainly to an investigator that wearing black is intended to keep the ghost from bothering you. In Georgia when deaths are of unusual number in a family, a bit of black ribbon is fastened to everything alive that enters that house, even dogs and chickens. White people in these communities smile at the idea of canines and poultry in mourning, but that is not the idea. The black is not grief for the dead, but protection of all living from the contagion of death.

If you would understand funeral customs, you must know the primitive lore of the folk—the ancient wisdom which is aware that all the dead envy the living. You therefore must not wear anything new to a funeral if you are one of the family, especially not new shoes. It is dangerous to excite the envy of the newly dead. Sackcloth and ashes were worn of old for the same reason and mourners went barefoot. (See DEAD SHOES.)

It is the same idea of being very careful not to offend the dead in any way nor to put any obstacle in the way of a proper and orderly disposition of the body which leads to the observance of customs otherwise difficult to explain. For instance, it is very bad luck in England, in Africa, or in Georgia, to meet a funeral procession face to face. Southern Negroes, in such a case, turn right about face and look steadily in the direction in which the procession is going. If they are in an automobile, they will stop the car and turn completely about in their seats until the funeral party has passed. On the Scottish border, the person meeting a funeral procession must, unless he wishes to die soon, promptly take off his hat, turn and walk along with the mourners. If the bearers are actually carrying the body, he must take the place of one of them for a short distance. After rendering that assistance, he bows to all the mourners, and is free to resume his own direction.

In parts of England it is believed that there will be another death in the family if a hearse has to be turned in the opposite direction after the coffin is placed in it. The corpse must always be taken from the house feet first; otherwise, looking back, it would beckon one of the family to follow it in death. There must be no stopping of the hearse, once it starts for the cemetery: all gates must be already open. Even in crowded city

traffic, where this funeral custom cannot always be strictly observed, the funeral has the right of way over other traffic.

In all these instances and many other similar ones, the idea appears to be that it is bad luck to have any interruption or delay which would afford a dissatisfied ghost, reluctant to leave this world, an opportunity to work any mischief before the body is safely put in what is hoped will be its last resting place.

The "eulogy" pronounced at the funeral services, usually by the clergyman but occasionally by the "best friend," is a practice consonant with the underlying principle of the entire proceedings—do nothing to offend the ghost of the deceased, which is popularly supposed to remain in the vicinity until the body is buried, and sometimes for three days thereafter. The overflattering nature of the eulogy, which upon some occasions is carried so far as to bear little resemblance to the actual character of the person, and which therefore gives a flavor of insincerity to the entire obsequies, is a survival in modern funerals of the primitive fear of the displeasure of the ghost. CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Funzi or Mfuzi** The mythical blacksmith of the Fjort people of Africa. He appears in Fjort mythology subsequent to the stories about the gift of fire which the Fjort received from a river deity. As soon as they had fire Funzi appeared and taught the people how to work in iron and copper. He is credited with making the lightning also. The Funzi marriage rite (one of several marriage rites of the Fjort) is marked by the gift of one of a pair of copper bracelets from the young man to the girl; the other he wears himself.

**Furies** See ERINYES.

**furlana** A violent, impassioned couple dance of Venice, performed by one or two couples in 6/8 time: still a living dance well into the 19th century.

**Furrina or Furina** An ancient Roman goddess, whose festival, the Furrinalia, continued to be observed on July 25 in later Roman times and who had a priest, the flamen Furrinalis, despite the fact that her nature had been forgotten. She was perhaps a spirit of the darkness. In the grove of Furrina, C. Gracchus ordered his slave to kill him.

**furze, gorse, or whin** A spiny evergreen shrub (*Ulex europaeus*). The name derives from "fires" which these bushes resemble when alight with their bright yellow flowers. Because of its almost continuous flowering, the Scotch say: "When the whin gangs out o'bloom, will be the end of Em'burgh toun," and in Northumberland they say that when the gorse is out of bloom, kissing is out of season. Quite generally in England it is thought that to bring gorse into the house is to invite death. In Ireland furze bushes are burned on May and Midsummer Eve to protect the cattle and crops. The Irish make a wonderful yellow dye from the flowers. They speak of Gaelic furze, a light, tufty variety; they call the coarser, paler-flowered kind "foreign" or French furze. Still another species of the hills called *aiteann Muire*, or blessed furze, is worn on the person to help in finding lost property, and prevent stumbling. The seeds are used medicinally for internal diseases, and for obstructions of the liver and spleen.

**Fu Shên** The Chinese God of Happiness. He has several legends. One of them states that a 6th century A.D. emperor had a liking for little men, and required that large numbers of them be sent to his court as servants. A certain local judge issued a memorandum stating that little men were also subjects of the Empire and had the same rights and privileges as others. This memorandum so touched the heart of the emperor that he withdrew his levy. The people therefore regarded the now famous judge as the God of Happiness. His image appears frequently on festive occasions. [BJJ]



**Gabriel** In Hebrew, Christian, and Moslem belief, one of the archangels: in *Daniel* and *Luke*, the messenger of God; in Christian tradition, the angel of mercy, in Jewish the angel of judgment; in Moslem tradition the Holy Spirit and revealer to Mohammed of the Koran. Gabriel was sent to bring the glad news to the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation; he will blow the trumpet at the Last Judgment. The Moslems believe Gabriel to be their national protector, as do the Jews, who place Gabriel, along with Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, the protectors of the Jews, within the veil surrounding God's throne. Gabriel is the angel of truth, punishing all who deviate from righteousness; he is the Divine instrument of punishment, carrying the sword of justice. He is made of fire, and is especially entrusted with the office of angel of death for the Holy Land. Sometimes in medieval Jewish angelology, Gabriel is associated with the moon, less often with the planet Mars.

**Gabriel's hounds, Gabriel hounds, Gabbleratchet, or Gabbleracket** Wild Hunt of England that makes itself known by a noise in the upper air: explained as the hooting or whistling of wild geese, swans, or plovers passing in the night. The passage of the hounds, which are thought to be the souls of unbaptized infants wandering between Heaven and earth, is a death omen.

**Gad** A Semitic (Canaanite, Phœnician, etc.) deity of fortune: the name literally is "fortune" or "luck."

**ga'ddōt** Literally, standing quiver: the Iroquois Indian stomp or trotting dance, formerly a warriors', now a spirit-of-the-fool dance. It opens the evenings of social dances, and regularly constitutes part of the ceremonial cycles—among the Cayuga of Six Nations as the second of four. (See BREAD DANCE.) The step, which is a shuffling forward trot, is used in some dozen dances classified by the Indians as the *ga'ddōt* type. The progression of the *ga'ddōt* is the usual anticlockwise circle, among the Seneca with men and women alternating in a single line, among the Cayuga with men in the lead and women bringing up the rear. The songs are unaccompanied antiphony between the leader and men's chorus. They are in ternary form, with the middle part shifting to a higher key and the dancers simultaneously swinging into a side shuffle, or, toward the end of the series of songs, staggering toward the center and out again. The effect is cumulative, from a unison start with a small

**fylgja** Literally, following spirit: a tutelary spirit of Norwegian folklore, regarded either as a person's double, his own soul, or interpreted as his guardian spirit. As guardian, the *fylgja* comes to one in his dreams with warnings, advice, or exhortation. As double or soul it is conceived of in animal form, and in this aspect merges with the separable soul concept. *Fylgjas* are hereditary beings; upon his death, a man's *fylgja* passes to another member of his family, generation after generation. To see one's own *fylgja*, except in a dream, means imminent death.

group of men to a large animated mixed line of some hundred dancers. [GRK]

**gadjsia'** The Husk Face maskers or Bushy Heads of Iroquois Indian curing ceremonials, associated with and following upon the dances of the *gagōā* or False Faces. They wear masks of braided corn husks which automatically associate them with agricultural supernaturals. Some of them represent women who speak of their crying babies at home. Their leader is called O'nis'desōs, long-ears-of-corn; another one, Osaida'waang's, large-purple-lima-beans; and the "women" also have names of plant association. They dance in a stiff-legged straddle, to monotone syncopated songs. They use a wooden paddle instead of turtle rattle, and in their fast dance, circle around their staves.

The Husk Faces act as heralds and messengers to the False Faces in the rite of house-purging and beg for tobacco. On the fifth night of the midwinter festival among the Coldspring Seneca they cavort simultaneously with the False Faces and with social dances. At one time their men and women execute a social round dance and the Husk Face "women" have an *shānye*, or old time women's dance.

The *gadjsia'*, or Husk Faces, have no language. Their legend is that they come from somewhere in the East from a place of many stumps, *'igahuntgānph*, which is a rocky gorge, and must return there. This suggests a memorial of derival of horticulture from another tribe.

[GRK]

**Gae Bulg** Literally, notched spear: in Old Irish legend, the wonderful spear of Cuchulain. The notches were such as to cause the greatest injury when the spear was being extracted. It was made from the bones of a great sea-monster that died in a fight on shore with another of its kind. It was given to Cuchulain by Aife, the woman-warrior of Alba, who was the mother of his only son. And it was with the Gae Bulg Cuchulain killed that son, Connla, not knowing it was his own son before him. It was with the Gae Bulg Cuchulain killed his loved friend Feidiad in the War for the Brown Bull. And in the last fight Cuchulain fought, it was the Gae Bulg he hurled at the satirist who demanded it of him; but Cuchulain got his own death soon after without it.

**Gagaah** The Crow of Iroquoian mythology; one of the most magical and sagacious of all creatures. When

he came from the sunland to earth he brought safely in his ear a grain of corn which Hahgwediya planted in the body of the earth. This was the first corn, which sustained and gave life to the Indian. Thus because corn is the gift of Crow to man, Crow especially has the right to hover over the fields, to eat the young grubs which endanger the tender shoots, and claim the first share.

**gagates** A mysterious gem known to the ancients: said by Pliny to be indigenous to a river named Gages in Lycia. Galen, however, looked for this river and could not find it. An Old French pick-up of the Latin *gagates* passed over into English as *jet*. R. Holme in 1688, however, said there were two kinds, "one russet in color, the other black." It was later, and erroneously, confused with the word *agate*.

Epiphanius (315-403) ascribed to gagates the power to drive away serpents. By the 12th century the power had become extended to the expulsion of demons. The 11th century Bishop Marbod recommended gagates as an amulet against dropsy, in dilution as a preventive for loose teeth and as a remedy for indigestion and constipation, and as a dispeller of illusions. He also recommended it "in fumigation" for epilepsy and to drive out demons. From the 11th to the 18th centuries it was constantly reported as kindling or burning in water, and olive oil was recommended to stop the burns caused by it.

**gagōsā** The False Face dancing society of the Iroquois Indians. They wear black or red wooden masks with distorted features, crooked noses. They represent disease, wind, or animal spirits, supernaturals with power for cure. They meet at the longhouse in the fall and the spring and also during the midwinter ceremonials. They march from house to house exorcising disease, and join in the longhouse ceremonials on the third day (Cayuga) or fourth and fifth days and fifth night (Seneca). They are assisted in the treatment of the patients by the *gadjsa'*, or Husk Faces.

There is a definite sequence to their ceremony: 1) The marching song to the homes or to the longhouse, called *ganōhwai'wi* or *ganōlowi'*, or the distraught mind. This quiets the wind spirits and resembles the ashes-stirring rite of the midwinter festival. 2) The dance of the common faces or hunchbacks, Seneca *hadigōsōska'a* or Cayuga *hadu'gēha'*. They knock at the doors, enter with turtle rattles and staves, and caper about with grotesque flatfooted hops and hip motions. They take hot ashes out of the stove and blow and rub them into the patients' hair and strew them about all over the floor. 3) Picking-out-partners or thumbs-up dance, *dādinyota'* (they two face each other). The first part is for the doorkeepers, thereupon for two False Faces with two matrons of the society, opposite the patient. 4) The general round dance for all, *deyōs'dōdihās*, literally, they move one foot after another, similar to the *ga'dōsot*. The two doorkeepers, *hadu'i'*, clear off the benches with their rattles to make all dance. 5) The conductor of the ceremony addresses the assembly either after the marching song or, among the Onondaga, before the round dance. The *gadjsa'* or Husk Faces herald and join the False Faces in a grand pell-mell.

The singers straddle a bench, pounding it with turtle rattles, and sing hoarse dissonant tunes with insistent

beat, interpolated with moans and roars of the animal spirits. It is an amazing and spectacular ceremony. [crk]

**gahe** Supernatural beings inhabiting the interiors of mountains, in the mythology of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Indians, and called by them the *Mountain People: impersonated by the masked dancers*, and equatable to the White Mountain Apache *ge'ti*, Jicarilla Apache *hactin*, Lipan Apache *hacti*, and Pueblo *kachinas*. The gahe have great power for driving away disease, and often can be heard dancing and drumming within the mountains. Some of them paint and cover their faces for the dancing, and these are the ones on which the Chiricahuas pattern the masks for their masked dancers. But no one has power to create a mask unless he has actually seen the gahe. Each of the Chiricahua gahe is associated with a different color and symbolizes a different direction. There is the Great Black Gahe of the east, the Great Blue Gahe of the south, the Great Yellow Gahe of the west, the Great White Gahe of the north. Many others follow in the procession of the dance. Last comes the Gray One, the Clown, probably the most beloved of them all, and believed to be the most powerful too when any serious work is involved. They worship the ceremonial fire which they approach from each of the four directions, beginning with the east. The gahe have great curing power. They can give sight to the blind and restore missing arms or legs. And they nearly always answer the prayers of the people.

Once at the foot of the Chuchillo Mountains a band of Chiricahua Apaches were attacked by Mexican cavalry. Many Apache men, women, and children were killed from a distance by the Mexican guns. But one man and one woman got away. They prayed to the gahe in the mountain as they ran. And the gahe came forth and drove the Mexicans into a cave in the rocks with their swords and then closed up the cave. Now there is a pile of Mexican cavalry boots outside the cave, but the soldiers never got out. The Chiricahuas say the gahe always have real swords.

Apache crown dancers, functioning at curing rites and adolescence ceremonies for the White Painted Woman and pubescent girl. They represent mountain spirits associated with the guardianship of game animals. Their only sound is the spirit call, "hoo-hoo-hoo." They represent the cardinal points in the number of four to a set, and in all ritual approaches. Their spectacular costume includes high pointed horns or crowns with face-covering black hoods, skirts with pendants, body-paint in symbolic designs, eagle-feather decorations, and a pointed stick in either hand to impart endurance. It is dangerous for them to make a mistake or to be touched. The shaman sings special songs during the ritual painting and for each type of dance step—the free step, which is rigid and terse, and the high step, the strenuous broad squat with vehement forward leg flings. They dance around the fire in front of the ceremonial puberty structure all night long for four nights. Pay and ceremonial obligation stimulate this endurance test. [crk]

**Galahad** In the Vulgate Cycle of the Arthurian story, the son of Lancelot and Elaine. By passing the test of the Perilous Seat and successfully drawing the sword from the floating stone, Galahad qualifies as "the best

knight in the world." Galahad replaces Perceval as the Grail Seeker and is the only one of Arthur's knights who is fully successful in that quest. He is successful because he is a pure and maiden knight. [MEL]

Galatea (1) In Greek mythology, one of the Nereids. Polyphemus loved her, but she in turn loved Acis. Polyphemus caught the lovers together and crushed his rival beneath a rock. Galatea then changed Acis into a river, or, in another version, married Polyphemus. In still another story, she wept so long over the death of Acis that she became a fountain.

(2) In Greek legend, the wife of Lamprus. Her husband ordered her to kill her child if it were a girl, so she brought up her daughter as a son, calling the girl Leucippus. When the deception could no longer be maintained, Galatea and Leucippus fled to the temple of Leto. Galatea prayed to the goddess that the girl might become a boy—and it so occurred. The Phaeacians thus worshipped Leto Phytia (the creator) and celebrated, in honor of the event, the ecdysis, or putting off (of female attire by the transformed youth).

(3) In pseudo-classical mythology, the ivory statue created by Pygmalion, with which he fell in love, and which was transformed into a woman. There does not seem to be any basis in classical legend or folktale for ascribing this name to the statue, since it is in extant ancient versions nameless.

Galaxy The Milky Way: so named because it resembles a trail of milk across the sky (from Greek *gala*, milk).

gambling The act of risking or wagering something of value upon a chance. This form of pastime is found all over the world, e.g. among Indians of North and South America, among the Chinese and Siamese, and in India. Finds in excavations testify to the popularity of gambling in games of chance from earliest antiquity. In India, dicing was said to have been carried to an extreme, not merely to divine the future but as part of a ritual. Dicing was a popular pastime in England, indulged in by Queen Elizabeth who, it is recorded, had her dice "treated" that she might always be sure of winning. Slaves in Mexico sold themselves so that they might have money for gambling. Gambling is perhaps an offshoot of divination; it might be called a cousin, in that the will of the gods determines the fortunate winner. Like divining, gambling has utilized every conceivable happening within the human environment; modern Europeans have been known to bet on the color of the next cow appearing to the right of a railroad train; automobile license-plate poker is often played in the United States. Huge wagers, up to and including everything a man owns—wife not excepted—have been made. There are great national lotteries in many countries; almost every people has its favorite gambling game or situation. The dividing line between gambling and business, the so-called "risk money," is often so important a factor in economy that an unlucky turn of events will bankrupt companies and cause national depressions. The professional gambler, sometimes dishonest, sometimes scrupulously honest but with great knowledge of the game he played and its odds, was (and still is) a familiar figure in frontier life, in the American West, and on the Mississippi packets. Such cosmopolitan centers as Macao in China

or Monte Carlo derive a great part of their income from gambling; fan-tan, roulette, and various banking card games are notorious as gamblers' games. The conquering gambler is a popular motif of many North American Indian myths and folktales. See GAMES.

gamelan Malay word for the characteristic orchestra of Bali, Burma, and Java. The collection of instruments, rather than the performers, constitutes the orchestra, which is owned by a village or a court. The instruments include numerous gongs, gong chimes (see BONANG; REJONG), cymbals, drums and drum chimes, xylophones, wooden clappers, bamboo rattles, and sometimes a flute, the combination differing for the purpose of the performance. The orchestras play for temple feasts, for marionette plays and other dramas, for exhibitions of dancing girls, for marching, for cremations, and for various ritual dances. The music is based on a pentatonic scale, of which there are three distinct types in use, and the rhythm is swift and interwoven on several levels, accented by deep gong tones. The musicians play entirely from memory, experienced players teaching new members of the orchestra.

games Much emphasis is placed in various studies on the games of children, for games play an often predominating role in the budget of time of a child; childhood is game-time *par excellence*. Nevertheless, the games of adults are as important in the over-all study of the subject, and, when correlated with other aspects of the study of human society, more important. Such monumental works as Lady Gomme's investigation of the children's games of Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, in two volumes for this small albeit important section of the world, and Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children*, serve only to emphasize the tremendous sweep of the subject, for in neither of these works are the games of grown-ups examined, and in neither is the work complete in regard to variants, the interrelationship of allied games, and foreign forms of the games under discussion. Such a task was of course beyond the resources of either writer, the evidence being incomplete and the space being limited; above all their aims were quite different, collection rather than comparison *per se* being the end in view. However, these works, the chief studies in the folklore of games, may serve the reader as illustrations of the scope of the subject.

It is possible that many other cultures, primitive and complex, have neither the quantity nor intricacy shown by the games of England and the United States. (It should be noted here that this discussion will limit itself primarily to games known to most of its readers. Exotic forms are as a rule the games that we play, played elsewhere with variations and cross-mixtures.)

It is difficult to believe, as investigator after investigator into the way of life of other peoples seem to indicate, that only one or two pastimes of children, often not games at all but simple play, like doll-play, form the extent of the game-life of any group. Even more discouraging are statements like "No games have been recorded" or "The children do not play many games." Conceivably, there is on the face of the globe an occasional, rare culture in which no games are played, in which all the time of all the members of the community from the youngest to the oldest is taken up

with the more vital problems of sustaining life, propitiating the spirits, and such immediate necessities. Admitting this as a possibility, and granting that some primitive groups of men live constantly in the precarious balance between life on a minimum basis and extinction on the morrow, in more than one instance the investigator's lack of interest, because his emphasis is directed elsewhere, results in such a finding, or lack of finding. For, given so simple an instrument as a piece of string, men, Eskimos and Australians, Papuans and North American Indians and Africans, have developed a form of play, or instruction, or art, or religious activity, or game, called by some Cat's Cradle, but more generally called String Figures, which in its complexity and universal interest yields to few other forms of human activity. One field worker, investigating where others had met defeat in trying to approach the members of a group, and who succeeded by trading string-figure information, suggests it as a more efficacious tool than any conceivable Esperanto might be. Games may serve in more ways than one as a convenient key to the way of life of a people.

But it is the doll, or the hopscotch diagram, or the ball, not the casual piece of string or the few odd pebbles, that catches the eye of the field investigator when his attention is centered on other matters. Unless he be definitely attracted to games, it is quite possible that he will overlook games that do not require special materials. Moreover, as sometimes it is true, games are mysterious matters, closely linked with religious beliefs or customs like the sexual distinctions, and may thus be ignored completely in an investigation because glossed over or even avoided by the one being questioned.

The problem is further complicated by a lack of agreement in definition. Generally speaking, any form of amusement or pastime is a game. What is serious and essential activity in one context may in another place and time be nothing more than sport. The hunter on a tiger-shoot in India, to whom the quarry is only a large and dangerous target on which to test his accuracy with a rifle, is indulging in sport; to the inhabitant of the nearby village the killing of the man-eating tiger is something quite different. The fox-hunters in red coats riding to hounds are, by different means and for different ends, doing the same as the chicken farmer who lies in wait with his shotgun for the thieving fox. The same cowboy who ropes a calf and throws and ties it for branding may later perform the same act at an inter-ranch contest of skill or at a large regional rodeo. Thus it is too with fishing and running, with shooting the rifle or the bow and arrow, with horse-racing and corn-shucking: many of the sports and games played by men are simply a change in context of an activity closely concerned with the plain facts of daily living of some other men. And games derive not only from the economic, as they may be called, aspects of life. Many are developments of other things men do in everyday living. For example, religion and religious ceremonies have led to ball games and such games as London Bridge and The Farmer Takes a Wife. Educational activities are paralleled in the simple imitative Play-School of our five- and six-year-olds, and in the pseudo-war games of Chess and

Lead Soldiers. Almost anything that man does he also plays at, and in fact the game is often the training ground where he learns, as child, youth, and adult, to acquire an ease and facility which become useful when he comes to practice the activity itself.

We cannot then define game only as pastime or sport or amusement, for the dividing line between game and serious pursuit must be sharper if it is to be discussed with any degree of ease or profit. To begin with, a game must be a social activity; more than one must play. A baby fingering its toes; a child, all alone, mothering its doll; a boy tossing pebbles at a tree; a huntsman practicing with bow and arrow by shooting at a stick are all engaged in activities which form the basis for games but which of themselves are not games. The extra ingredients in each case are another person and the concept of dramatic struggle and climax. Let a mother play with the baby and have her recite, as she or the baby touches each toe, "This little pig went to market," and the social situation necessary to a game is met. Add another child to be the father of the doll and the universal Play-House game is present. If another boy happens along, the pebble-throwing becomes a contest to see who can score the most hits in a given number of throws. Draw a line, measure distance, set up a wand, and stand several archers on the mark, and a game, or sport, or contest, exists. In every instance what was energy directed towards performing an action for its own sake becomes energy applied to a dramatic end.

Essentially that is what a game is, a drama. There are games in which no winner or loser emerges. Such are round games like Drop the Handkerchief and Tag and The Old Witch. In the first two, ephemeral contests take place, one of the group against another or the group or against the whole group. In the last, the game is repetition of a formula by each of the participants and includes a mock struggle and what amounts to a plot in which the witch loses the game.

But in most games there are a winner and a loser. The winner may be one of several in a game, as in Marbles; he may be one of the two players in the game as in Chess; there may be several winners and losers each playing independently, as in Poker or other similar gambling games; or the winner or loser may be a group, as in Baseball or most team games. But success or failure, and the action that leads up to them, are the essential ingredients of a game as they are of the drama. Vaguely (and almost indefinitely), a game is plot worked out by the players during its course of action.

Games also have another peculiar set of circumstances attached to them that differentiate them from the "essential" pursuits of life or from practice for those activities. No game is possible without rules, either explicit or tacitly understood by the players. The rules may consist simply of a general understanding of the aims of the game and of an agreement among the players that some arbiter exists to whom appeal may be made in case of disagreement. In this the game differs from the vital pursuits of life.

It does not matter where the hunter stands to shoot his arrow at the deer; his purpose is to kill the deer to obtain food, and the only rule essential to his behavior

successful is that the deer not escape alive. The words chosen by the suitor in proposing marriage need be those that obtain the acceptance of the maiden; the exact formula does not exist, really. The thief shot down by the policeman may, if he can, shoot the officer and escape. But, in games, there are rules to prevent such actions. The toe must not cross the line in shooting at the target, and sometimes the winner will not have hit the mark but will have been the one who has come closest. No variation is permissible in the formula used by the suitor in marriage games; the rime to be used is handed down as from Sinai. After the robber is shot by the cop, bang! he cannot get up again unless certain conditions are met; "You can't do that; you're dead" is an inexorable verdict, and until some recognized resuscitating action takes place, the "dead" player's place is on the ground and *hors de combat*.

Rules are of course flexible and subject to amendment at the will of the players—if they agree to the change. A game, with only its general outline the same, will have variants in which, from city to city and from country to country, the specific rules to fit its various complexities will be different enough to make identification by a student of games difficult. But basic to the play of any game is the unexpressed admission that those rules which are accepted will be followed by all the players. "La buona fede è l'onestà sono condizioni necessarie in ogni buon giocatore." (G. Pitré, quoted by F. Rodriguez Marín.) Without these qualities (thus again setting games apart from many other activities where success is more important than morality) most games would be impossible. If Peter decides to lie low after "it" calls "I spy Peter," the game loses its point. If, despite the penalties exacted for the fault, a bridge player persists in renegeing through a series of hands, the game becomes so chaotic that play becomes next to impossible. The effect on a quiet afternoon's game of a child who insists on taking the "doctor's" pulse is disruptive. In the drama that is played out in any game, the parts must be kept to; improvisation is admissible where necessary, but the very nature of most games frowns on such anarchic action. Most boys would much prefer playing One or Two O' Cat to participating in a ball game where two or three of the players are common to both sides. The climax is not as clearcut; the sharpness of deciding winners and losers is blunted; the satisfaction derivable from having played through a game is dissipated.

A game then may be defined as a form of play in which two or more participants vie, either as individuals or as groups or teams, under the limitations of rules either tacitly or explicitly understood by the contestants, for the purpose of determining which is the better or best at the particular form of play; a game is a dramatic play contest. This is true whether the game be rope-skipping or baseball, boxing or puss-in-the-corner, charades or "Last one in stinks." The term games, thus, as used here, does not include dances in which everyone performs simply to trace a pattern, or for simple physical action, or the like, because there is no contest involved; social dancing and ritual dancing alike are not included. Nor is drama a game, for the outcome of the contest, while existing in the plot, is not a matter of doubt; it is preordained by the

nature of the activity. It is much to be regretted that such play activity as children's games of the type of The Old Witch and The Farmer in the Dell have traditionally been classified as games. While the transmission of such pastimes, and the situations in which they are played, resemble greatly those of actual games, in truth they are not games but juvenile folk-drama. Certain traditional festival games, ball games between married and unmarried women, in which the married women always win, though forerunners of games, cannot be considered games because of the absence of contest; the fruitful married women must win over the barren single ones. It is to be doubted, also, that many of the field sports, like hunting and fishing, are games; the stake of the loser is much too great, and the understanding of, or adherence to, the rules set up by the hunter on the part of the quarry is not present.

The classification of games has been the subject of many students, and there are almost as many ways of considering the subject as there are writers on the matter. Games may be discussed according to the season in which they are played; according to the places where they are played; according to the number of players involved; according to the sex or age of the participants, etc. The investigations of Stewart Culin into the games of the North American Indians and the peoples of the Orient led him to divide games into two main classes: games of dexterity and games of chance; the latter subdivided into games of pure chance and guessing games. Wood and Goddard define three principal types: showdown games, in which each player performs without interference; playing games, in which interference from others occurs; and a play-then-showdown group. Variations within games and hybrids of games belonging to different groups make necessary such straddling classes as Wood and Goddard's third. A striking example of the mixture of two games is seen in the game of London Bridge. This game, as described by Newell, reaches its climax in a tug-of-war between two teams chosen during the previous course of the game. Lady Gomme, in her discussion of the forms of the game in the British Isles, expresses surprise at his emphasis on the tug-of-war, she finding nowhere in the several variants collected by her any such hauling contest between parties. She concludes that in America the game was consolidated with some form of the arch-tug-of-war game, like Oranges and Lemons, to which London Bridge is very similar, and which does have a choosing of sides and a pulling finale like that of the American London Bridge. Yet, despite what seems a radical difference in the aim of the game, the name is London Bridge on both sides of the Atlantic, and undoubtedly is the same game whichever the variant. While instances like this do not upset larger classes, such as those mentioned above, in the long run an attempt to establish a complete, overall classification must break down. The method is useful in tracing similarities between games, but it must not be taken as an absolute method of studying games.

There are two classes of games, however, which make a helpful dichotomy in a historical study of games. Certain games, such as top-spinning, marbles, dice, chess, must be played with specialized equipment. These

games are quite distinct, though not sharply so, from those which require no special tools but are played either without accessories or with such materials as pebbles, sticks, and the like, obtainable at random from the surroundings. It is obvious that the former class will leave, as relics for the archeologist to discover, its paraphernalia in the remains of its vanished culture. It therefore becomes easier to trace the history of such a game as chess than it is to track down the origins and diffusion trails of games like hopscotch. Sometimes the task of tracing the origins of games is made easier by literary remains, or by works of art, describing or depicting a game so similar to one we know that a connection is facilitated. Thus, we know from a mural painting in the palace at Knossos that bull-baiting was a sport indulged in by the ancient Cretans more than 3,000 years ago, evidence further strengthened by the picturing of the same sport on vases and other remains of the period. Whether a direct link exists with the modern Spanish bullfight with its up-to-date methods of maddening the bull by exploding bits of gunpowder under its skin, or with the modern American rodeo sport of twisting a steer's neck until he falls to the ground, or whether the modern sports are independent developments of a sport occurring in sections of the world where cattle exist and men demand dangerous amusement, the information about the Cretan practice exists and indicates a possible starting point for an investigation. Pieces resembling chessmen found in Mesopotamia, millennia old, dice from ancient Egyptian tombs, help to link, if not the games themselves and their actual play, the men who played and play the games.

The half-dozen games discussed below have been chosen as types, not of kinds or classes of games, but of what might be termed the ways of games. Johnny-on-the-pony, the only not specifically adult game of the group, is a European game that has come down to us through the centuries in a clear line from the classical world. Chess is a game with cousins in all parts of the world, but specifically a single game with its own distinct characteristics and played by many peoples. Mancala is a game so limited in its geographical distribution that one is tempted to call it the racial game of the Negro; it is at any rate a game peculiarly identifiable with the continent of Africa. Playing cards illustrate the use of equipment for several kinds of games, and for purposes allied with a quasi-religious function, i.e. divination; they are a sophisticated form of the use of special, significant, and manufactured material for several purposes. Dice, developing from natural objects, are found in their most essential as well as in artificial forms, and are used in much the same way in every part of the world, and at every epoch.

Among the games of New York City boys played by the light of street lamps is one called Johnny-on-the-pony. Two teams of equal numbers are chosen. One team are the jumpers, the other the ponies. One of the ponies bends his head against the stomach of one of his teammates who stands with his back to a wall; the next teammate bends, placing his head against the buttocks of the first player and grasping his thighs, forming the beginning of a chain which stretches from the wall until the entire team is in line, all bending forward. Then

the other team, one by one, leaps onto the backs of the ponies, jumping high and landing as vigorously as possible in an attempt to break down the line of stooping boys. When all the jumpers are on the backs of the ponies, they chant

Johnny on the pony, one, two, three,  
Johnny on the pony, one, two, three,  
Johnny on the pony, one, two, three,  
All off.

If the line of ponies has not broken and precipitated the entire mass of boys to the ground in screaming confusion, or if the jumpers have piled up so that they form an unstable pyramid that topples as the ponies sway back and forth to the rhythm of the chant, the ponies become the jumpers. If the line of ponies breaks, it must re-form and permit the jumpers to try again until the ponies are successful in withstanding the assault and become jumpers in their turn.

This game, one among many that seem to stem from a youthful exuberance and desire for a rough game involving bodily contact, is a local form of a game known in many parts of Europe. It is played in several other ways and under several other names in Britain. The French game of the Bear (*l'Ours*) combines a form of mimic bull-baiting in the ring with the leaping characteristic of the game in question. Forms of the game in combination with other games are known. It is however best known as How Many Horns Has the Buck? in which the leaper holds up a number of fingers and forces the player he bestrides to guess correctly or undergo another leap. In this form, we are indebted to Petronius Arbitr (*Satyricon*) for the information, the game was played in ancient Rome, with very much the same sort of question as is now used. The Latin question, "Bucca, bucca. quot sunt hic?" is phrased today, "Buck, buck, how many horns do I hold up?" The relationship of this game to the traditional riding of children on their fathers' backs is perhaps more apparent than traceable. It resembles too a form of leapfrog, a game known to have been played in classical Greece.

On the other hand, one of the popular games played in ancient Greece, a game which had houses devoted to its play, and which has now disappeared, was the Cottabus, an adult game imported into Greece from Sicily and originally a method of divination. The object of the game in its various forms was to throw wine from a cup through the air into another container without spilling any during the cast. This game, despite its extreme popularity, which was perhaps as great as that of Bingo in the present-day United States, is no longer played, except perhaps by some few scattered antiquarians in the manner of craftsmen interested in the techniques of making chipped flints like those of the neolithic men. What reason lies behind the survival of the one game and the disappearance of the other? The answer lies perhaps in the seemingly innate conservatism of children. For the one game is a child's game and the other an adult game, and by comparison with what we know of other survivals in children's games where an underlying adult custom or ceremony has long disappeared, a hint perhaps of the nature of the transmission of folklore may be obtained.

The origin of the game of chess seems to be hidden



by the curtain of unmeasurable antiquity. Actually, no definite reference is known before the 7th century A.D., but by then chess had already spread from India to Persia. Chessmen, or pieces that apparently belong to a game like chess, have been found in the ruins of Mesopotamian Tepe Gawra, dating some 4,000 years B.C. But, of course, not all games called chess are the game played today under that name. Checkers or draughts is played with flat pieces of equal value on a checkered board; nine men's morris may be played with flat men or with pegs; the Japanese *go* is played with counters on a surface of intersecting lines; the Irish *fidhchell* was some sort of board game: all, under circumstances where the method of play was forgotten and the equipment alone remained, might be called chess by someone unearthing the materials.

Chess, the game as we know it, however, is a highly specialized game, defined as one in which no element of chance exists, in which pieces of various powers move on a checkered board. The object of the game is to attack and immobilize the chief piece of the opponent. In this, combined with its maintaining a theoretical equality of opportunity between the players, skill alone determining the outcome, chess is unique among games. Its origin is obscure and clouded with folklore, mythology, and nonsense. Solomon, the Greek Palamedes, Hermes are among the many names mentioned as its inventor. It is said to have originated among the Babylonians, the Jews, the Irish, the Chinese, and among others, the Araucanians. It has been identified as being a derivative of games so obviously not chess as the Roman *latrunculi*.

There have been competent and careful scholars, like Murray, who, investigating the history and development of chess, have arrived at more or less definite conclusions based less on theoretical guesswork than on factual resemblances. Chess, which Murray calls "the national game of Asia," seems to have started in India as *chaturanga*, the four angas, or components of the army. From India, it went to Persia, thence to the Arabs as *shatranj*. Among the Arabs, in the 10th century, is found the first book devoted to the game. Its author, Masudi, speaks of it as a game some hundreds of years old. Within the hundred years following the date of Masudi's book, chess came to Europe, in essence the same game as the one played today, but differing almost completely in detail, such as the setting up of the pieces, and their powers and moves. It is only within the past hundred and fifty years that chess has become more or less stabilized in the form we now play.

Chess may be said to have almost world-wide scope. It is played in Mongolia and in Argentina, in the United States and in Russia. It is played not only over-the-board in European coffeehouses and in chess clubs and on park benches, but by mail between continents, and by telegraph and radio. In the United States alone, 4,000-10,000 devotees carry on contests lasting months, and often a year or more, by postal card. The notation of the game, in the several languages and systems, is readable by practically every player.

Chess has its own folklore. There are tales told of every master player, apocryphal and difficult to trace, as are most anecdotes. Alongside the written code of

laws of the game, certain customs have the force of law. For example, the choice of colors by one player from the two hidden pawns in his opponent's fists and the habit of resigning a game, before one is checkmated, by upsetting the king are covered by two widespread but unwritten rules. As with players of many games, chess players have idiosyncrasies approaching superstition.

Another game of skill, known by almost as many names as there are tribes to play it, might well be called the continental game of Africa, although it is played in Arabia, India, Indonesia, and many other places to which Arab traders have carried it. This game, investigated by Culin under its Syrian name of *Mancala*, is called, for example, *Chanka* in Ceylon, *Madji* or *Adji* by the Dahomeans, *Kale* by the Fan, and *Wa-wee* in the West Indies. Generally, the game consists of placing counters in containers or hollows in a board before each of the two players and then moving the counters (pebbles, beans, etc.) in turn about the board, capturing the pieces in the space to which the last piece was played and in those preceding or opposite it whenever the number of pieces in the last-played hole is two (or another arbitrary number). Were dice added to the game, as they sometimes are (e.g. the Egyptian Arabic *Seegà*), it would resemble to some degree backgammon. Primarily it is a game of skill; it is occasionally played according to rules which permit a knowledge of mathematical rules to enable a player to determine in advance whether he will win or lose, as in the puzzle-trick of taking an odd or an even number from a pile of sticks or pebbles; sometimes the toss of dice adds a greater element of chance to the game.

Culin, and Andrée before him, maintained that the game originated in Arabia and was carried through the continent of Africa to the Atlantic. Schweinfurth held that the game was of central African origin, and that it traveled from the interior to the edges of the continent, where the Arabs picked it up and transmitted it further to those places with which they had contact. In the absence of other, definite proof of either theory, the important note to be made is that the game is played all over the African continent, eastward to the Pacific and westward to the New World, carried to the latter probably by Negro slaves, to the former by Arab traders. According to Herskovits, the game is found in the New World from Louisiana to the Guianas, and is, throughout the area, a rather ceremonial game, connected with the idea of death, and as such not a gambling game. He traces the back-country game of Dutch Guiana as perhaps coming from Dahomey; the game played on the coast seems to come from the Gold Coast. Among the customs he records among the Saramacca of the upper Surinam River connected with the game of *Adji* is the belief that a board must be made by a man who has lost a wife or one who is old; the board has a connection with the spirits of the dead, there is something dangerous about it. To be a good board, the *adjiboto*, the *adji* boat, so called from its shape, must be rough-hewn and become smooth and polished by the fingers of the players.

There are two games, or more properly groups of games, played with two specialized kinds of equipment,

which may truly be said to have world-wide distribution: dice and playing cards. Few places on the face of the globe that have been visited by the exploring or colonizing European have not seen the transplanting of both the "Devil's picture-book" and the "galloping dominoes," for dice and cards, by their nature, lend themselves to the kind of games which rely for their thrill on chance and gambling.

The latter concomitant of games has been only lightly touched upon here because it is not essentially an element of games, but so closely is it associated with the subject that something must be said about it. Where the child or the adolescent finds justification in the physical enjoyment or the training, the social or the prestige elements, of playing in games, the adult, in many societies, seeks to place on the firm basis of permanent acquisition some tangible reason for playing. In societies where money or goods is the measure of the stature of the man, he will attempt, even in his play, to make further additions to his store of wealth. With some games, those, like Wari mentioned above, having a more or less ceremonial nature, gambling is not possible, but in most games, whether of chance or of skill, "a leetle side bet" not only adds to the spice of the game, but often becomes the reason for playing it. In many ways, this is a translation into concentrated action of the dramatic element of games as repetition of the serious pursuits of life. To risk wealth representing a month's, a year's, even a lifetime's work on the turn of a card, a throw of the dice, the speed of a horse, or the agility of an athlete, crowds sufficient drama into the moment of decision to repay the risk of property.

Whether it be fanciful or not, whether it be folklore, fiction, or fact, the story of the man who risks all on the chance of a game is well known. The legends of suicides at the gambling houses of Monte Carlo are only one case in point. There are many reports of missionaries, travelers, and others who knew the North American Indian of the desperate passion for gambling that led some men to wager horse and lodge and wife in a game of dice, and, losing, to revenge themselves by war or feud, thus placing in the scales their own and others' lives. Many accounts tell of whole American Indian villages becoming destitute as a result of unfortunate wagers made against another village in some game. State lotteries, organized "bingo" games, manuals on the laws of chance and the odds in roulette and dice, all attest to an almost universal fever among the men of our time to turn to physical use, to goods and money, the tension and the knowledge of a game, to add to the drama by making it real in terms of real living values. Gambling attaches itself to games rather easily because of their high emotional tension, just as it does to commodity and stock markets, elections, and the other more immediate and dramatic concerns of daily life.

As has been said, playing cards and dice are used in the great gambling games. By their nature they lend themselves to play where the element of chance, the knowledge of the laws of the odds, are paramount. Even in so skilled a card game as bridge, knowledge of the most probable distribution of the cards and of the most probable direction in which to take a successful

finesse distinguishes the better bridge player from the good or the mediocre. Knowing that drawing to two pair leaves the hand less chance of improvement than discarding one pair and drawing to the other in order to make three of a kind is something that many poker players never learn. Whether to bet against or with the thrower in dice depends on knowing the chances of his making a "point": good in the case of 8 or 6, bad if he must throw a 10 or 4. The skilled gambler is, then, as is the skilled player in such games, more or less the mathematician, solving an equation in one unknown on the spur of the moment by assigning an arbitrary and personal value to the chance factor.

The place of origin of our playing cards is open to debate. Some students, e.g. Wilkinson, make a strong argument for their origin in Chinese playing cards, which in turn seem to stem from the divining arrows used by many of the peoples of Asia and North America. Certainly there seems to be a connection between our cards and the Chinese type. However, no direct connection has been shown.

Chinese cards are long and narrow, resembling in many ways the sticks or feathered ends of arrows from which they are believed to derive. The playing sticks, classified by Culin with the playing cards, used by the North American Indians, are of similar shape. The playing cards of India, on the other hand, are round. In both Hindu and Chinese cards, there is division into suits, and into ranked variety within the suits. It has been suggested by Culin that these East Indian cards are derived from play equipment similar to that of the playing disks of the North American Indians. The latter were, however, more akin to dice in their use (they were counted according to the faces turned up in a throw of the series of disks) than they were to cards. A combination of motifs is nevertheless not beyond the bounds of possibility, and some lost game of India may have developed, through an Indian acquaintance with Chinese cards and card games, into a game played with round cards. It might be suggested that tradition holds us to a rectangular card; a round card might be more easily handled and would last longer than the oblong one. But card games are no different from other games, and tradition's weighty hand is turned against chance.

At some early point in their history, cards arise from divinatory practices. The idea that they were divided into suits on this divining basis, usually into four suits corresponding to the four directions of the compass, is most appealing. Their use, since their introduction into Europe, has always been, concurrently with their use in competitive games and save for a brief lapse some centuries ago, in fortune-telling, as a means of seeing the future. Cartomancy is an old and well-established study in Europe and in its derivative and allied cultures. On this ground the Gipsies have been "accused" of having imported cards into Europe, since Gipsies are notoriously the palmists and tea-leaf readers, the card readers and phrenologists *sine qua non*. And, working back from this hypothesis, there have been studies tracing the "Book of Thoth" or other such fantastic names for the pack of cards to the Egyptians (which is what the Gipsies' name derives from), whose country, or supposed country, as the most ancient known to Europeans of past centuries, was naturally thought

to be the home of the original, and unhappily lost or hidden, mysteries of the human spirit. But the theory that the Gipsies brought cards to Europe is dubious at best. The first playing cards, it is true, are noted on the continent at about the time that the Gipsies arrived from their Eastern lands. Cards, as a game device, would be among the very first things transmitted from one people to another; if anything were to be handed by the Gipsies to their European neighbors, the most likely of all would be playing cards, if that were one of the Gipsies' peculiar possessions. Nevertheless, contact between the Gipsies and the peoples they lived among, for one reason or another, was never close enough for cards to have passed easily from the one group to the other.

Cards have been known in Europe for at least 500 years, the tarot deck being known in France, the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy in about 1350. Willshire places the earliest definite date at 1392. The very earliest of Italian cards were what are known as tarocchi or tarots, cards including a group called attuti or atouts bearing such names as the Pope, the Lovers, the Sun, the Devil, the Tower. Combined with these in the deck were the suit cards, comprising the numbered cards and court or coat cards. The early games played with the tarot deck were all for two players.

Like chess, playing cards have their invention myth; it is said that they were made to amuse the mad Charles VI of France. There was no early standardization of the number of cards in a deck, nor is there today. Our standard pack contains 52 cards, but various games are played with a 32-card pack, or 48, or 53, etc. Some Mexican decks have 104 cards; it is said that in India a deck of 120 cards is used. Our suits of clubs, spades, hearts, and diamonds were once cups and coins, batons and swords (and still are in some countries like Italy and Spain), but our modern suits have developed a traditional symbolism of their own, especially as used in fortune-telling. Hearts relate to love; clubs to knowledge (or as resembling the clover-leaf, to fertility); diamonds, as is quite natural, to wealth; and spades to death and the grave. The court cards too have their names, and have often been printed with the faces of the persons they are supposed to represent. For example, the French names for the four kings were traditionally Charlemagne (hearts), Alexander (clubs), Caesar (diamonds), and David (spades). Similarly with the queens, and with the knaves, the latter being called for the great knights of legend, e.g. Hector, Lancelot, Ogier the Dane.

In cards, as in all games, tradition maintains a hold not to be shaken, not even by well-thought-out schemes of persons seeking to improve certain of the games. A fifth suit, often suggested, and which probably would result in the development of new and interesting games, has never been kindly received by card players. The very cards themselves, as printed today, are of traditional design; the costumes worn by the royalty on the court cards is early Tudor, although some of the trappings, e.g. the crowns, are of later date.

The deck of cards, as we know it, and with the evidence of the atouts of the "Egyptian book," is probably a development of two types of cards used in two kinds of games. The numbered cards, aside from their arrangement in suits, may go back to some form of game resembling dominoes, with matching of numbers or building up of a series as its basis. The court cards and

the tarots may be essentially the descendants of instructional material, of pedagogic cards or of cards used in divining what lay in store for the user of the cards. Michelangelo is said to have invented a Florentine form of the game of cards, using a complete deck of tarots, to instruct children in arithmetic. History, traditional belief, and legend may well be the instructional use of the non-series cards in the deck, as evidenced by the names given to the court cards and by the names of the atouts.

Whereas the origin of playing cards is conjectural at best, there is more solid ground for determining the origin of dice. The beginnings are preserved in one of our popular terms for the implements, the "bones," a term used whether the dice be of ivory, plastic compound, or cubes of sugar. More clearly than is the case with cards, dice may be seen to be originally almost universal instruments for divination, by casting the vertebræ or knucklebones of animals. Where this form of divination is practiced, the fall of the bones with the long spur up, or the short spur up, or in any of the other possible ways, or, where more than one bone is thrown, the various casts in combination, is read by the diviner according to a preconceived plan. What more natural than to turn this form of determining the wishes of the deities into a type of gaming, with the lucky person the one who draws the best omen? In time the bone itself had figures drawn on it; instead of the fall of the spines, the appearance of a painted or incised character became the determining factor. The simple dice games of the North American Indians were played for the most part with pebbles having one face painted and the other left natural or plain, or with pieces of wood flat on one side (marked or unmarked) and with the natural curve of the twig on the other. The distinction between "lot" games, represented by these implements, and "dice" games, seems to be an artificial one, because the two forms of casting to determine a number are essentially the same. In a set of such dice there may be several varieties, or one with special marking. Where number divination is a developed study, the faces of the dice, or bones, may be numbered. Thus we have dice from ancient Egypt more closely resembling ours than the almost contemporary American Indian dice.

Dice may further be used in determining which of certain positions in a chart is to be chosen for divining purposes. One may move pieces to different positions in divining, or make a contest of the moves as in the Indian game of pachisi, the Korean nyout, the European backgammon, the Egyptian seggà. Or one may determine what part of a standard chart, such as the Chinese sixty-four hexagrams or the eight diagrams, is to be read against a standard interpretation. Dice thus become a tool for the determining of a further objective, and may be part of, or all of, the equipment necessary for a game.

The usual things that come to mind when games are spoken of in folklore context are the games of children or the play-party games of some of the "backwoods" sections of our country, the rope-skipping and other games and rimes of children or the traditional play songs. For several reasons these categories have been avoided. First, the much-repeated statement that children are the most conservative creatures on earth seems

to be true, and as a truth it leads to a dilemma. Do children play games because the games are traditional or are the games traditional because children play them? And if both, or either, whence the changes that occur in games? This is of course a statement of the chicken-and-egg paradox. Second, there has been overanalysis of children's games. There may be point in proving that London Bridge is an ancient bridge-sacrifice rite, transferred to the child's world by his imitation of his elders, and, upon the disappearance of the rite itself from the adult world, remaining in a vacuum in the play world, and thus changing through the centuries. Interesting, yes; but this is a scholarly hypothesis deriving from what is itself a scholarly game; it has nothing to do with the "why" of the popularity of London Bridge among children. No child plays that particular game today in imitation of his elders' bridge sacrifices; no child makes the connection between the game and bridge sacrifices. No child has heard of bridge sacrifices, unless we subscribe to some theory of a racial consciousness. Though some of the variants of London Bridge do indicate a bridge-sacrifice ceremony as the basis of the game, these are the oldest rimes in theory only. There is no way of dating the comparative age of those particular verses as against the so-called more modern verses of thievery and jail except by deduction, at best a process to be handled charily in the face of inductive evidence. The child of today plays London Bridge because children of the generation preceding his played it, and because he is a Tory. The rope-skipping rimes using the name of Charlie Chaplin are still used in 1949 by six-year-olds who have never seen a Chaplin picture, and who would not recognize the name out of the rime context. The name used in this rime may change with the passing of a few more years; it may change to another popular name, or be garbled into something unrecognizable as a name, or it may remain Charlie Chaplin. But no one will claim, in 200 years, it is to be hoped, that because of historical research it has been decided that the children of that day are reenacting a comedy scene from some early Chaplin picture. They will not be, any more than our children are portraying bridge sacrifice or a Chinvat Bridge ritual. Third, adults have an influence on the games children play. How much of the transmission of the games is through half-forgotten rules and ways of play taught, deliberately fostered in children, by adults long past the games age themselves? How many of the "children's games" are games played in the schools as "quaint survivals" or efficacious methods of keeping a group of children occupied for a half-hour of supervised, recess play? The problem of differentiating between the games taught to children by adults and the games passed on directly from one generation of children to the next is not one to be lightly attempted.

It seems that any of the problems commonly met with in the investigation of children's games may be as easily solved in a sketch of adult games. The principal questions are the two asked in most folklore investigation: what is the significance of variants; and what is the general connection of games to the remainder of the corpus of human activity?

As with belief, folktale, folk song, ballad, or any of the other subject-subdivisions of folklore, games show a related series of variants that study can attempt to map. Similar problems to those found in the other studies

appear here. Which are the lines of transmission? How does a game travel from one country to another, from one century to another, and how does it change in transition? Do games have a geographical starting place; is there one center of diffusion from which a particular game is spread to other places and other times? Do parallel customs give rise to similar games without actual cultural contact transplanting the games? These questions are more or less rhetorical.

Tylor has studied the Indian game of pachisi and compared it with the Aztec patolli, to discover what seems to be a close correlation. This type of lot-game does not seem to have reached Europe, but rather to have spread eastward from India. On the other hand, the later dice-and-board games, related to the "lot" games but specifically using dice rather than lots for determining moves (e.g. backgammon and the various forms of the Game of Goose), spread all over the world, "so that an Icelander could easily play backgammon with a Japanese on an ancient Roman board." Chess, too, and mancala seem to have definite centers of origin, disputed in detail but not in theory. But the more general games, dice and cards, seem to have arisen not in one place or from one source, but in several places, in the presence of certain similar materials and traditions. Given a highly specialized game, therefore, we may perhaps be able to trace its place of origin; even so widespread and common an instrument as the kite has been placed in eastern or central Asia. But to find a place of origin for the top or the ball or the doll, or the general "board game," is something few would dare to attempt. These latter seem to be so related to the universal activities of man that they cannot be limited to one time or culture or place.

Aside from the universals, the problem arises of the means and direction of travel of the remaining games. First appearances of games, where they can be noted, in Europe indicate the lines attaching some games to their place of origin. Chess coming into Europe carried by the Moslems, playing cards being imported by the Gipsies or the home-coming Crusaders, mancala showing an affinity for those countries outside Africa where the Arabs did their trading and to which slaves were brought, demonstrate that games travel the main routes of historical migration of other cultural materials. So likewise does the spread of European colonization bring European games to other peoples.

An instance in point is the spread of the kite. Yrjö Hirn in his study on the instrument has shown that the first mention of the kite in the European area was in England in 1634. The evidence of ancient Greek art, an illustration of what seems to be a kite flying on the end of a string, he shows to be most probably a bull-roarer, because no literary evidence places the kite in Europe after Greek times before the 17th century mention of it. Chadwick shows that, on the other hand, the kite was very popular in Polynesia much earlier than the 17th century, in fact that the art of kite-making and kite-flying began to deteriorate in Polynesia about 750. Taken in conjunction with other evidence of migrations, the conclusion is that the traditional home of the kite in China must be very near to the real one, that the kite was invented somewhere in the territory we now know as China, and went from there eastward to Polynesia during the first millennium of the Christian era,

and, later, with the increased contact between European and Eastern cultures, was carried to Europe from China.

Migration alone, however, does not tell the tale. The process of adaptation of a game, once it has been transplanted, in the new milieu is also important. Just as in folk song, where place names which mean nothing to the singer are changed to some other more meaningful form, games too are given a significance more in keeping with their new homes. The earliest American version of London Bridge, from *Mother Goose's Melodies* about 1786, tells that "Charleston Bridge is broken down." We have already noted the combinations of games, in this same London Bridge, for example, combination in America of the English form of that game with the English game of Oranges and Lemons. In New York City, the adaptation of baseball to the city streets as stickball has made a game almost as distinct as baseball is from one o'cat. The variations of I Spy or Hide and Seek are perhaps as many as the localities in which they are played.

The tendency towards change may be as strong as the conservative tendency in games. Against the traditional nonsense rimes of children, Onery Twoery and Ibbity Bibbity Sibbety San and Eeny Meeny Miny Mo, that seem to go on through the years and from place to place with so little change that they can be recognized quite easily, against the traditionalism of the royalty of the chess pieces and the court cards, must be placed the inventiveness, the desire for new things and thrills, the dramatic instinct that leads people to play games. That is what makes for the invention of a game like cribbage by Sir John Suckling, that is what causes a jaded group of chess players to adopt the Japanese *go* in the United States, that is what starts a mah jong fad or the sudden sweep of gin rummy, that is what causes the adoption of topical characters in children's rimes. The outlines of many games remain the same; the detail varies from place to place, from group to group, from year to year.

The local variations in what apparently is the same game may be due to their basis in what are called vestigials by Corrado Gini. This concept may be contrasted with the theories of diffusion and of autonomous evolution. Gini distinguishes between origin and development. The elements of a game, as of many other customs, the very basis of the activity originates in one place and is diffused. On this small germ, on this vestigial fragment is developed the complex game, by a process resembling autonomous evolution. Thus a game implement, like a top, may be the invention of a specific place or time, and may be carried to other places in the course of time, but the games played with the top will be local developments. As a middle ground combining the other principal theories of the transmission of games, this is a quite satisfactory statement. It permits greatly varying games being recognized as the same game where the diffusion theory fails to account for such variation. It permits resemblances that the universal and parallel development theory does not account for. An index of game elements similar to the Thompson folktale motif-index would be a most helpful adjunct to a systematic study of games.

Games are of course not isolated phenomena. They are conditioned by all the other aspects of the society in which they are played. Just as one cannot study the religious life of a people without knowing something

of its economic life, its political life, and its art forms, so one cannot thoroughly study a game without knowing something of the societies in which its variants are found. The relationship of our modern ball games to early religious customs, to fertility rites, to the priesthood has been brilliantly demonstrated by Henderson. The underlying connection of the baseball game with ceremonies ensuring that a sufficient crop would be obtained is no concern of 80,000 followers of the game crowding into a modern stadium to see a struggle between the representatives of two cities, but there is reason to suspect that the emotions evoked may be essentially the same as those that hailed the victory of light or summer over darkness or winter in the outcome of a primitive form of ball play. The inherent drama of games is thus linked with the kind of activity we set apart as drama, which itself began as an expanded form of liturgical exercise in Europe, and which was a form of religious expression in ancient Greece. Enough has already been said about the connection of children's games with primitive religious customs, with sacrifices, with planting ceremonies, with marriage rites, with belief in witches and supernatural beings.

Games are more than a reflection of other activities of life; they are in their own right a part of the way of life of a people. It might even be said, in view of the great emphasis placed upon games and sports in the United States today, that games form the distinctive feature of modern American life. But it will take time and discerning historians to determine the validity of such a statement. If it be true that a religion cannot be studied by a believer, or that a custom cannot be adequately measured until it is decadent and relegated to the limbo of superstition, then the historian of the games of the United States is yet to be born. There may be good reason for the petering out of the study of games that made so great a part of folklore study in the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century.

JEROME FRIED

**Gammer Grethel** Frau Katherina Vichmännin, a peasant wife in the Hesse-Kassel district, from whose lips the brothers Grimm took down a large number of the *märchen* in their exhaustive collections. Her name is given to certain of the collections, as narrator; her portrait, sketched by M. Ludwig Grimm, appears as frontispiece in one of his brother's later collections of popular tales credited to her telling.

**ga'n** White Mountain Apache supernatural beings who live in mountains and caves and underground worlds: impersonated by the masked dancers in various religious ceremonials. Long ago the ga'n lived on this earth the same as people. But they did not like sickness and death, so they went off in search of a world where no disease could come and where eternal life was the lot of all. They are especially venerated as being associated with agriculture and crops. Compare GAHE; HACTCIN; KACHINA.

**Gaṇas** In Hindu mythology, the servants of the gods; any of the nine classes of inferior deities who are attendant upon Śiva. They are commanded by Gaṇeśa or Nandi and live on Kailāsa. The classes of deities included among the Gaṇas are the Ādityas, Vasus, Viśve-devas, Anilas, Tushitas, Abhāṣvaras, Rudras, Sādhyas, and Mahārājikas.

**Gandarewa** In the Avesta, a monster of the deep; a fiend with golden heels whose body was in the water and whose head was in the sky, unlike his counterpart, the Indian Gandharva, who lived usually in the sky. Gandarewa was the guardian of the haoma and a dragon eager to destroy the good in the world. He was slain by Keresāspa after a battle in the sea which lasted nine days and nights. In the *Shāhmānah*, Gandarewa appears as Kundrav.

**Gandharva** (1) In Vedic mythology, originally a solitary being, the measurer of space, the sun steed, sometimes identified with the rainbow, and the guard of the soma, who is mentioned three times in the *Rig-Veda* in the plural. In the Brāhmanas, the Gandharvas are a group of beings who, with the Apsarasas, preside over fertility. They dwell in the sky or atmosphere, are skilled in medicine, and have a mystic power over women. Accounts of their origin vary. In some they were born from Brahmā, in another they were the offspring of Kaśyapa. Their leaders are Viśvāvasu and Tumburu.

The Gandharvas are described in the *Atharva-veda* as shaggy, half-animal beings. Elsewhere they are called beautiful, wind-haired, with brilliant weapons and fragrant garments. In the epics they play lutes and sing at the banquets of the gods. They are also explained as spirits of the wind, the rainbow, the rising sun, the moon, the clouds, and of the soma. There seems to be no more justification for these views than for their identification, in defiance of philology, with the Greek Centaurs.

(2) In the *Mahābhārata*, a race of hill dwellers.

**Gandreid** The Wild Hunt of Norse folklore: literally, spirits' ride. Belief in it still persists in many sections: the survival of an ancient feast of the dead commemorating all who died during the previous year and comes during the Epiphany. The wilder the rush of spirits, the better the crops in the ensuing year. Whatever fields they fly over will bear especially well.

**ganegwa'e** The striking-a-fan or eagle dance of the Iroquois Indians. It is unlike the Southwest eagle dance in the virtual lack of mimetic action and in its primarily curative intent. The eagle, *ha'guks*, has power to restore life to wilting things and to charm animals for hunt. During the introductory songs, to water drum and horn rattle, someone presents a drum to the first singer, then a horn rattle to the first singer's helper, then a small rattle and fan to each dancer. Each following dance song is interrupted by a speech and small gift, usually money or cakes. The dancers face the bench of singers (Cayuga) or line up in two lines vis-à-vis (Seneca) and in a lunging position shake their rattles and try to pick up a small object with their teeth. To an interesting stretto drum-beat pattern, they hop forward or backward in a crouching position. The songs, some atonal, some pentatonic, are thus in two contrasting parts, the first rhapsodic, the second clearcut. The *ganegwa'e* is probably related to the calumet dance of the Cherokee and Plains Indians, the grass dance, and the Pawnee Hako. Common features are the give-away and one-time boasting speech, the former bustle or crow-belt and the calumet, now a feathered fan. [CWC]

**gané'o** The Iroquois Indian drum dance: a dance of thanksgiving to the Creator, Haweniyō, for crops, good

health, and other benefits. It recurs in all the major seasonal festivals of all longhouses, usually as climax to the several days of ceremonial procedure. The traditional songs, which number over 100, are accompanied by the water drum. The middle section of the ceremonial is chanted solemnly in monotone rhythms, with interpolated prayers by one of the faithkeepers, addressed to all of creation, from inanimate elements and humblest creatures to supernaturals and the Creator himself. The dancers, men in the lead, circle against the sun, the men with a double thump of each heel, the women with the *čškānye* step. The best dancers become inspired to angular gestures with the arms and torso.

[CWC]

**Ganeśa, Ganesha, or Ganapati** Literally, lord of the hosts: in Hindu mythology and religion, the god of wisdom, prudence, and learning, and the remover of obstacles; leader of the troops of inferior deities; son of Śiva and Pārvatī (Devī) or of the scurf of Pārvatī's body. He is represented as a pot-bellied fat man of yellow or red color, with four hands and a one-tusked elephant head, sometimes riding on a rat or attended by one. He is worshipped in the Deccan and often depicted in Śaivite shrines. The rat vehicle and elephant head symbolize his power to vanquish every obstacle whether it be by tramping the jungle or by entering a granary.

Many of the myths about him account for his head. According to one his proud mother showed him off to Śiva whose glance burnt the child's head to ashes. Brahmā advised her to replace it with the first head she could find. According to another myth, Śiva struck off Ganeśa's head when his son opposed his entrance to Pārvatī's bath and then replaced it with that of an elephant to placate his wife. The loss of one tusk is explained by the legend in which Rāma went to visit Śiva who was sleeping. Ganeśa opposed his entrance and Rāma threw his ax at him. Recognizing his father's ax, Ganeśa permitted it to sever one of his tusks as he waited to receive it.

Ganeśa's importance as a god is first acknowledged in the Purāṇas. His association with the rat suggests a humble origin, but this has been discounted by some scholars who considered Ganeśa of hieratic origin. As a result of the consequent belief in the sacredness of rats, their extermination became a difficult problem. Compare SARASVATĪ.

**Gangā or Gangā Māi** In Hindu mythology and religion, the sacred Ganges: personified as a goddess of abundance, health, and prowess. The Ganges is the most holy river in modern Hindu belief. Temples have been raised along the river banks and her water is in demand for sacrifice and as a viaticum. Its full efficacy is obtained by bathing in it during the full moon or eclipses. The ashes of the dead are cast into the river to wash away the sins of the dead one and to secure his rebirth in the celestial realm.

In the *Purāṇas*, the heavenly Ganges flows from the toe of Viṣṇu. It was brought from heaven, according to a myth told in the epics and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, after Agastya swallowed the ocean. King Bhāgirātha then devoted himself for a thousand years to fierce penances. Brahmā, pleased with his asceticism, promised to grant him a wish and the king requested that the heavenly river Gangā descend to earth. Brahmā agreed

but advised the saint to win the grace of Śiva, since he alone could prevent the weight of the river from cleaving the earth. After practicing further austerities, he got Śiva to acquiesce and to catch the impact of the torrent on his head, his snarled hair delaying the current which eventually descended to the Himālayas and thence through the plains to the sea.

**Gangā** as a goddess is the eldest daughter of Himavat, the sister of Umā, and mother of Bhishma and Karīkeya (Skanda). Her vehicle is a sea monster.

**gangar** The slow, sunwise walking circuit performed by men and women, characteristic of Norwegian folk dancing. See CIRCUMAMBULATION. [GPK]

**Ganymede or Ganymedes** In classical mythology, the cupbearer of Zeus. Ganymede was originally a mortal, the son of Tros and Callirrhoe, and the most beautiful of boys. He was carried off, by the gods or by Zeus in the form of an eagle or by an eagle sent by Zeus, and in exchange his father was presented with a pair of divine horses or with a golden vine. Later mythology placed him among the stars as Aquarius and made him the presiding spirit of the fertilizing fountains of the Nile. In later mythology, likewise, the story degenerates into a tale of pederasty, and the name Ganymede—usually in the form *catamite*—becomes typical of the boy kept for homosexual purposes. In Crete, where pederasty attained great refinement, Minos replaced Zeus as the ravisher.

**Ga-oh** The spirit of the winds of Seneca (Iroquois) Indian mythology. He lives in the northern (in some versions, western) sky, and controls the four winds, and therefore the seasons. These are constrained at the entrance to his dwelling: the Bear (Ya-o-gah, the north wind), the Panther (Da-jo-ji, the west wind), the Moose (O-yan-do-ne, the east wind), and the Fawn (Ne-a-go, the south wind). Ga-oh is a benevolent spirit, concerned with the welfare of men on earth.

**garde or guard** The magic charm used by the Negroes of Haiti and Trinidad to ward off evil. In Haiti, it belongs to the same general category as the *arrêt* and *drogue*, employed for similar ends by the Haitians in contrast to the *wanga*. In Haiti, the guard, as the magical device that brings security is called, is contrasted to the "trick," which gives power that enables an individual to pursue ends of personal aggrandizement. [MJH]

**Garden of Eden** The place of the creation of man (Gen. ii, 8), specially planted by God with all the good, food-giving trees and the two trees of life and of the knowledge of good and evil. There Adam lived an idyllic life for the few hours between his creation and the time he ate of the forbidden tree and was expelled. The concept of the earthly Paradise was probably borrowed by the Hebrews from the Persians, with later modification by Greek tradition. The Garden of Eden, in some of the later mystical Jewish writings, is the earthly counterpart of the heavenly Paradise. No living person is permitted to view the Garden (a seraph armed with a flaming sword guards the gate), although it is said the Rabbi Joshua ben Levi tricked the Angel of Death into letting him sit on the wall to see his future place in Paradise, and then leaped into the Garden carrying the Angel's sword. He was permitted to stay after he had surrendered the sword.

**Gardsvor** Literally, house guardian: in Scandinavian folklore, a household spirit, usually conceived of in the form of a little man, and still believed by many to be a manifestation of the soul of some ancestor.

**garlic** Sometimes called stinkweed, this species of onion (genus *Allium*) is found in most parts of the world and, because of its pungent odor, is widely credited with antiseptic qualities which scientists say it does not possess. It is especially recommended in time of plague. It is widely credited with the power to drive away evil, whether demons, witches, vampires, or the evil eye, and is hung in houses and around the neck for this purpose. While this holds true in most of India, there are parts of the country where the presence of evil spirits may be detected by the smell of garlic in the air. The idea that a magnet lost its power in the presence of, or when rubbed with, garlic was mentioned by Pliny and was carefully repeated through the ages until Sir Thomas Browne placed it among his *Vulgar Errors*.

Roman soldiers ate garlic in the belief that it gave courage in battle. Bullfighters of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia carry a piece on their persons into the ring, believing that if the bull smells it he will not charge. It is placed at crossroads for Hecate and is also carried by travelers to protect them from her. Besides being universally respected as an antiseptic and preventive of disease, used as an amulet, liniment, salve, philter, or inhalant, it is also considered a potent cure for all diseases of man and beast, except those of the eyes, head, and kidneys. Aristotle mentioned garlic as a cure for hydrophobia and a spring tonic. The Berbers grind garlic and bake it in bread to cure a common cold and use the plant as an aid to conception. It was also recommended for those who had to drink water they suspected of being unsafe to prevent infection.

**Garm or Garmr** In Teutonic mythology, the blood-stained watchdog who guarded Hel's gate and lived in Gnipa-cave. Anyone who had given bread to the poor could appease him with Hel cake. At Ragnarök he will break loose, slay Tyr, and be killed by Thor.

**Garuḍa** In Hindu mythology, folklore, and religion, a form of the sun; the vehicle of Vishnu, represented as a supernatural being, half man, half bird, with a golden body, white face, and red wings. He is king of the birds and was born as the son of Kāśyapa and Vinatā or at the beginning of time from the eggshell which, in the hands of Brahmā, then produced the divine elephants.

Garuḍa is the implacable enemy of the serpents. According to the myth in the *Mahābhārata*, his mother quarreled with her co-wife, Kadrū, the mother of the serpents, and was enslaved. To free Vinatā and himself, Garuḍa defeated the gods, extinguished the fire which surrounded the ambrosia, penetrated the whirling wheel of blades, slew the snake guards, and carried off the soma; whereupon Vishnu made Garuḍa immortal and chose him as his steed. Indra recovered the amṛita but his thunderbolt was smashed in the fray.

As the relentless annihilator of snakes, Garuḍa possesses magic power against the effects of poison. Persons suffering from snakebite at Puri, Orissa, embrace a Garuḍa pillar in the temple.

Wings are ordinarily not an attribute of Indian celestial beings which either float through space or are carried by vehicles. Garuḍa's however, were so powerful

that he could stay the rotation of the three worlds with the wind from their motion. See AIRĀVATA; VISHNU.

**gasgaíqdadq** The Seneca Indian social dance (called *gansudágeka* by the Cayuga) the shake-the-bush or naked dance in English. The reason for the name is unknown. It is unique in that the women start the dance first with a choral song, then with an open round in two columns. Pairs of men then are inserted. The odd couples go backward; at a repetition of the music the even couples pass through between them, thus becoming the backward dancing leaders. The step is of the *ga'dáśot* type, embellished with low kicks *ad lib.*, but the couple-swapping resembles the *gedjéonq* type. The songs, to drum and horn rattle, are well developed and introduce new thematic materials in the second theme. [crk]

**gasháqdadq** The Seneca term for the Iroquois gourd or squash dance (literally, shake-a-pumpkin or shake-a-jug): a social dance of the *ga'dáśot* type. The corresponding Cayuga *katchátóndátq* or *nióšawáonq* is regularly the fourth of the ceremonial spirit-of-the-food or bread dances. The choreography and music are of archaic ritual type, in a counterclockwise circle, men in the lead, women at the tail. The songs, to drum and horn rattle, have a limited range and thematic development, and terminate with a long monotone antiphony between the dance leader and men's chorus. The regular *ga'dáśot* is always added to the dance sequence. [crk]

**Gaster, Moses** (1856-1939) folklorist, Hebraist, and Rumanian scholar. He was born in Bucharest and received his education there and at Leipzig, Germany. In 1881 he was appointed lecturer in Rumanian literature and language at the University of Bucharest, but four years later was expelled from the country for agitating on behalf of Jews. Proceeding to England, he served in 1886 and again in 1891 as Ilchester lecturer in Græco-Slavonic languages at the University of Oxford. From 1887 until 1919 he was chief rabbi of the Sephardic communities in England. Gaster's published works range over a wide field of interest and include studies on such diversified subjects as Rumanian and Jewish literature, comparative literature and folklore, Bible and Apocrypha, Gypsy lore and the culture of the Samaritans. His *Folk-Literature of Rumania* (*Literatura Populara Romana*), published in 1883, brought him European recognition, and in 1891 there appeared his monumental *Chrestomatie Romana*, still regarded as a classic. He was a pioneer in the comparative study of folktales and a ranking authority on Gypsies. His works include *Græco-Slavonic Literature* (1887), *The Sword of Moses* (1896), *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (1899), *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* (1915), *The Exemplar of the Rabbis* (1921), *The Samaritans* (1925), a translation of the famous Judeo-German *Maaseh Book* (1931), and *Anton Pann: Povestea Vorbiei* (1936). Gaster's collected essays were republished under the title of *Studies and Texts in Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (three volumes, 1925-1928). A bibliography of his writings is contained in *Occident and Orient: Gaster Anniversary Volume* (1936).

**gātanan, gātanan** Literally, a story, a story; formula with which the Hausa story-teller always begins his tale. His audience always answers "Ta je, ta kómō"—Let it go, let it come.

**gato** An Argentine gaucho flirtatious couple dance, known also in Chile, Peru, and Paraguay. It is performed in two styles: one called the *kururu* is a simple walk accompanied by song; the *siriri* is more lively and bouncing. After a particularly arduous and skilful zapateado, the couple pause, turn, and recite verses to each other, typically a proposal on the part of the man and pert refusal on the part of the woman. [crk]

**Gauri** In Hindu mythology and religion, an epithet of Devī in her mild form as the yellow or brilliant one: sometimes an epithet for Varunāni, wife of Varuṇa.

**Gawain** The "perfect knight" of Arthurian legend; nephew of King Arthur. He appears in the earliest sources, and in Malory has certain characteristics of the Celtic solar deity. He is best known in literature through the Middle English *Gawain and the Green Knight*.

It has long been realized that Gawain had mythical antecedents: 1) We are repeatedly told in the romances that his strength waxed till midday and waned thereafter. 2) Several of his adventures are derived from those of the Irish hero Cuchulainn, who possessed marked solar traits, including a diadem of golden hair. 3) Gawain's father Loth has been traced back through Welsh Lluch to the Irish god Lug, Cuchulainn's father, on whom there used to be a red color from sunset till morning—a trait suggested by the sun as it dips to the horizon and rises from it. The Irish prototype of Gawain, then, is the solar Cuchulainn. Since Irish myth did not reach the French except by way of Wales and Brittany, we should expect to find in Welsh literature an intermediate figure between Cuchulainn and Gawain, and this seems to be Gwri Gwallt-eurn, "of the Golden Hair," so called because his hair was yellow as gold. Gwri's history strongly resembles Gawain's. Both were born under circumstances which brought shame to their mothers; both were discovered as foundlings, swaddled in a rich cloth, and their high birth was recognized; both were baptized, one as Gwri Gwallt-eurn, the other as Gauvain or Walwanius; both after a precocious boyhood in care of foster parents were transferred to the charge of a second foster father; both became warriors of Arthur (note that Gware of the Golden Hair is one of Arthur's household in *Kilhwch*). Much other evidence supports the view that Gwri was the immediate original of Gawain. Gwalchmai is simply a name substituted by the Welsh when they became acquainted with a French form of Gawain, Galvain, which itself goes back through the earliest recorded form, Galvagin, to a Welsh epithet Gwallt-advwyn, meaning "of the Splendid Hair." Thus Gawain's name originated in the gleaming rays of the sun.

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**Gawain and the Green Knight** A 14th century English romance by the author of the *Pearl*, the central episode of which is the folklore motif of the exchange of blows. A Green Knight challenges Arthur's knights to a contest in which he will submit to decapitation



provided that he be given the right to deliver a blow in return one year later. Gawain accepts the challenge, and cuts off the Green Knight's head. The Green Knight picks up the head and, bidding Gawain come to his castle in one year to fulfil his part of the compact, rides away. During the course of the year Gawain arrives at the castle of the Green Knight, though he does not recognize his host as the Green Knight. The lady of the castle tests his loyalty and virtue, but Gawain remains true to his knightly vows except that he retains the lady's gift of a magic girdle, which will keep him from harm, instead of delivering it to his host as he had promised. When the Green Knight reveals himself and demands that Gawain fulfil his part of the compact, Gawain submits. The Green Knight gives Gawain a light wound and then explains that the whole plan was a test of Arthur's knights instigated by Morgan le Fay, and that he had given Gawain the wound because he had kept the girdle. [MEL]

**Gaya** In Hindu mythology, an asura whose accumulated merit as a worshipper of Vishṇu alarmed the gods. Granted purity by the deities, he soon cleared the universe of its inhabitants, since everyone touching him was purified and went to Brahmā's heaven. Finally it was agreed by Gaya and the gods that one spot should be set aside as a place (Gayā-petra) in which the sins of any who resorted to it would be washed away. Upon this legend rests the holiness of the town of Gayā in Bihar Province.

**Gaya Maretan** (Pahlavi *Gayōmart*) In Iranian cosmological mythology, the first man whose body was born from the sweat of Ahura Mazda. His spirit lived during the same period of 3000 years in which that of the primeval ox lived, then Ahura Mazda made him corporeal. He was tall, white, and radiant. When he appeared the demon-infested earth was dark and the creatures of evil were battling with the stars. The demons attacked Gaya but he withstood them and lived for 30 years. At the end of that time the fiend, Jāhi, persuaded Angra Mainyu to poison the body of Gaya and to inflict him with hunger and disease. When Gaya died his body became brass and his limbs gold, iron, silver, lead, tin, mercury, and adamant. Spentā Armaiti preserved his seed, which was gold, and after 40 years the first human pair came from it. These were Māshya and Māshyoi who grew at first as a stem with fifteen leaves and later were separated.

According to the *Shāhnāmah* Gaya Maretan was the first king of the Iranians who reigned for 30 years. His son was Siyāmak; his grandson was Hōshang. Siyāmak was slain in a battle with the wicked king, Angra Mainyu, and Hōshang, who then succeeded Gaya Maretan, became the first lawgiver of the Iranians.

**gayap songs** The equivalent in Trinidad of the combite songs of Haiti. The communal work group, the *gayap*, is spurred on in its efforts by singing, the beat set by a drum. Compare COMBITE.

**gbo** The Dahomean (Fōn) word for magic charm. In Dahomey, the charm is the objective and operating manifestation of that aspect of the total religious belief system comprised in the category of magic. The power behind the charm is held to derive in part from certain of the gods, in part from other supernatural

beings. Though all priests are practitioners of magic, there are specialists in manipulating these powers that give magic its force. Gbo may be both good and bad, and though the categories of benevolent and malevolent charms are known, this is often a matter of emphasis, since magic that helps the one who controls it may harm another person; or may be used for good in one situation and evil in another. Dahomean gbo are classified as to form and function. Six categories under the former heading have been recorded, and eighteen under the latter. It is to be doubted, however, if this list is complete. See AKONDA; AKPOU; ALIMAGBA; DIDI; NUDIDA; YEGBOGBA. [MJH]

**Ge or Gæa** In Greek mythology, the earth goddess; the personification of the earth; the goddess of the land and the things produced by it: later supplanted by other, more specifically fertility goddesses. Ge was born of Chaos, and was the first of the heavenly beings. From her came Uranus, the heavens, and Pontus, the sea. Mating with Uranus, she produced many offspring, and, jealous of the rights of these children, made the sickle with which Cronus castrated Uranus. As an earth goddess, Ge was also an underworld deity. The Delphic oracle, at which was located the pit which was the world's navel, first belonged to her; at Olympia in very early times she had another oracle. Her cult was widespread in Greece; in Rome, as Tellus or Terra, she was likewise worshipped as a chthonic deity.

**Geb, Keb, Qeb, or Seb** In Egyptian mythology, the earth god; son of (or parent of) Shu and Tefnut; husband of Nut and father of Osiris and the other deities of the Osirian group: Horus, Seth, Isis, Nephthys. He is represented as a goose, or as a bearded man with a goose on his head, the goose being the hieroglyphic symbol of the god. In the Egyptian cosmographic myth, Shu, the air, separates Geb and Nut, earth and sky: the personation of the earth as male, the sky as female, is unusual, the reverse being the common case.

**gedjōenq** The Iroquois Indian fish dance (termed *kaiqwa* by the Cayuga of the Six Nations' Reserve). Its typical step is an alternate out-and-in twist of the feet, twice or three times successively with each foot, superficially resembling the Charleston, but certainly not influenced by it. The fish dance is an old and formerly ceremonial dance, though now classified as a social dance. The women sometimes use the same twisting step as in the ritual *eskānye*. The choreography is also distinctive: the progression is generally in an anticlockwise single circle, but danced by couples. Men enter in pairs, then pairs of women are inserted. Each song has a short part A and a longer B. A is a warming-up step-pat; B is the fish step with an even drumbeat. When A returns, the drum vibrates and the partners change places. In B they resume the fish step. The tempo, already vivacious, speeds up in the course of each song. This pattern is characteristic of five dances, grouped by the Indians as *gedjōenqhka*—in the manner of the fish dance. The interchange is said to suggest the passing of couples of fish in the water. [GPK]

**gee** In American cowboy square dances, the term for right. [GPK]

**Gefjon or Gefjun** In Teutonic mythology, Frigga's attendant; goddess of agriculture. She presided over all who died virgins, making them happy forever. She married a giant and had four sons. Once she asked King Gylfi for some land of her own. He was amused and granted her all she could plow around in a day and night. Changing her four sons into oxen, she plowed a great area, which her oxen dragged into the sea, where it is now the Danish island of Seeland. Its shape corresponds exactly to the Swedish lake Malar. She later married Odin's son, Skjold, and founded the royal Danish race of Skjoldungs.

**Gège** One of the three major "orthodox" African cult-groups of Bahia, Brazil. The Gège are derived from the Dahomey and Mahi peoples of French West Africa, and are known for their intransigence in the maintenance of traditional values, the excellence of the ritual dancing by their cult-members, and the meticulousness with which the African prescriptions of worship are observed. Because of this insistence on orthodoxy, which exacts an initiation of more than a year as against the requirements of four to six months seclusion by the other African cults, the Gège group has declined in numbers, but continues to hold the deep respect of cult-members of all affiliations. The designation comes from the Yoruban term for the Fón-speaking (Dahomean) peoples, and means The many, or The numerous ones. [MJH]

**Gehenna** (Hebrew *Gehinnom*) The valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, where the city's refuse was thrown and burned; hence, hell-fire and hell itself; the place of future torment of the wicked. It is said that sacrifices of children to Moloch were performed in the valley, and that therefore the place was later turned into an offal-dump. A later explanation states that one of the gates to Gehenna, the burning afterworld, stood in the valley, and that thus the name of hell was applied to the valley.

**Gekka-o** The Japanese god of marriage, who binds the feet of lovers with a red silk thread. [JLM]

**gematria** A cabalistic, cryptographic method of interpreting passages of the Hebrew Scriptures by substituting numerical values for the alphabetic meaning of the letters (each Hebrew letter being also a digit or number). Thus two words whose numbers added to the same sum might be interchanged to give a new reading of a passage. Thus, for example, the angel Metatron was equated with Shaddai the Creator, since both names added to 314. Several methods of determining such numerical values were used besides simple addition, the mathematical process eventually becoming quite complicated. Gematria also partakes of the Pythagorean belief in the virtue and power of certain numbers. The word itself may be a derivative of the Greek *gramma*, letter, by metathesis (compare English *grammar*, magic).

**Gemini** A Latin name of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux: name given to the constellation including the stars Castor and Pollux, and to the sign of the zodiac entered by the sun on May 21.

The two stars, Castor (Alpha Gemini) and Pollux (Beta Gemini), have been recognized as a pair since the earliest times, possibly as long ago as 6000 B.C. in

Mesopotamia. In many places they have been identified with the mythical Twins—the younger and the elder Horus in Egypt, Romulus and Remus in Rome, etc.—or with balancing principles, as the yang and yin in China. In Australia they were the Young Men and the Pleiades the Young Girls; in Africa, the Bushmen called them the Young Women, wives of Eland. The two stars form the heads of the Twins (Italian *Gemelli*, German *Zwillinge*, etc.) and their feet bathe in the Milky Way. Gemini is the third sign of the zodiac, immediately preceding Taurus and the summer solstice.

**gems or jewels** Precious and semiprecious stones. Besides serving as personal adornment or a tangible mark of wealth, at various times among various peoples, gems have served as gods, guardians, healing agents, amulets, talismans, charms, and divining agents. Some beliefs in the magic powers of gems sprang from color affinities, while some peoples believe that there is no inherent virtue in the stones themselves, but rather in the carving or words engraved on them, or in their combination and arrangements. In India gems were most valued in traditional combinations such as the *navaratna* (ruby, pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, diamond, sapphire, cat's eye, and amethyst) or the five-gem *pachcharatna* (gold, amethyst, diamond, emerald, and pearl). The Hindus believe that only perfect gems have virtues and that inferior gems are a source of misfortune and unhappiness. Some students of the attributes of gems say that those from tropical climates are more effective. In 315 B.C. Theophrastus advanced the theory that gems were male and female and reproduced in the ground. If smaller ones were left in the ground they would grow and multiply. In spite of the fact that skepticism began to creep in toward the end of the Middle Ages, as with Pedro Garcia, Bishop of Ussellus, who remarked in 1490 that, "In modern times many gems lack the virtues ascribed to them," many of these same virtues are still currently believed in.

The animal with a luminous jewel in its head (B72.2.3) is a commonplace of folktale, as is the serpent with the jewel in its head (B108.2). Folktale is full of magic jewels (D1071), jewels as recognition tokens (H93), extraordinary jewels formed from tears (D1454.4.2), and jewels containing the separable soul (E711.3). There are also jewel-spitting heroes and heroines, jewel-dropping horses, and jewel-bearing trees. See individual gem-stones; LAPIDARIES.

**genius** (plural *genii*) In Roman religion, a protecting spirit: essentially an indigenous Roman belief comparable to the late Greek concept of the *dæmon* and to the later Christian belief in the guardian angel. The genius came into existence with the man to whose life he was bound and basically was a spirit of generation: the female counterpart was called a Juno. The genius directed a man's life towards good ends; evil actions cheated the genius. There were *genii* of the family, the city, the state, the people, etc. To the public genius of Rome sacrifices were offered on October 8. Place *genii* are usually figured as serpents, although the (personal) *genii* are often winged youths carrying cornucopias and drinking cups. The plural *genii* (singular *genie*) is also applied to the *jinn* of Arabic belief. Compare LARES; NUMINA; PENATES.

**genna** Literally, forbidden: among the Nāgas of India, communal rites by means of which all events of social importance such as the birth of a child or a domestic animal, name-giving, ear-piercing, hair-cutting, marriage, or death, are celebrated. They are accompanied by special food tabus and characterized by a temporary disturbance of the normal social relationships. The social importance of any event can be judged by the social unit affected and by the intensity and duration of the genna. Birth, hair-cutting, and ear-piercing affect only the household, other events such as an earthquake would involve the entire village. The genna involves a social group such as the household, the clan, the village, an age or sex group, and is characterized by a nervous exaltation. Breaking genna causes disaster or death. Compare TABU.

**gentian** Any of a large genus (*Gentiana*) of plants. According to Pliny this plant was named for Gentius, king of Illyria (180 B.C.), who was the first to discover its virtues as a simple. A Christian legend tells of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, who shot an arrow into the air with a prayer that it would lead him to a cure for the plague which was raging among his people. When he found the arrow it had lodged in a gentian plant. Gentian is still used as a medicine. The Swiss mix it with wine to relieve the fatigue of travel, and they use the bitter root in making beer and a liqueur. When mixed in wine it removes aches and colds which have lodged in the joints. The Indians of New England used the root for the stomach, both as a stimulant to the appetite and an aid to digestion. It is also used in cases of intermittent fevers and as an antidote for poisons.

**geomancy** Divining by means of earth or sand: an ancient and widespread custom, still very much alive in China and among the Arabs. The Arabs' method is to read the points made at random in the sand; the joining of these points, or the pattern they form, gives the required meaning or message. Pebbles or grains of sand on paper, hence ink or pencil marks, are read in much the same way.

Chinese geomancy, or Feng Shui, is the art of locating tombs, cities, and houses auspiciously. In early times the tortoise shell oracles were consulted. During the Tsin Dynasty (265-316 A.D.) however the principles of Feng Shui were collected by Kuo P'o who, after devoting his life to drink and women, composed a magic book with which he was successful in seducing a woman in the service of one of his friends. Two schools developed: the first, which has lost its popularity, deduces the laws of consonance and dissonance from the five great stars and the Eight Trigrams or Pa Kua; the second studies the relations between the tombs, cities, and houses and the surrounding landscape. Mountains, hills, water courses, springs, groves, and neighboring buildings can be useful either in channeling the male yang influences or in deflecting them. The pronouncements of the doctors of Feng Shui are the cause of innumerable unhappy and expensive quarrels. [RDJ]

**geranium** Any plant of the genera *Geranium* or *Pelargonium*. Geranium comes from the Greek word for crane and the plant is occasionally called crane's bill from the shape of the fruit or seed pod. There is

a Moslem legend that it was once a common mallow, but one day Mohammed hung his shirt on the plant to dry, and when he removed it, the plant had developed gaily colored flowers and a spicy aroma. In Massachusetts it is believed that snakes will not go near places where wild geraniums grow and that a geranium in the window will keep the flies out of the house. The root of the geranium is used by the Romans as a remedy for infant diarrhea, for internal bleeding, and for kidney troubles. It is used by certain North American Indians as a cure for dysentery, cholera, gonorrhea, and as a gargle for sore mouth and throat.

**Gerda, Gerdr, Gerth, or Gerthr** In Teutonic mythology, one of the jötnar, daughter of the frost giant Gymir and Angurboda, whose beauty attracted Frey from afar. He despaired of winning her, however, as the jötnar (giants) were his enemies. His servant, Skirnir, seeing his master lovesick, offered to plead for him with Gerda, in return for his magic sword. Frey consented to the bargain, so Skirnir borrowed the horse, Blodughofi, and went to seek Gerda in her fire-encircled bower. When he reached her he offered her twelve golden apples and the magic ring, Draupnir, which she refused, saying she had gold enough of her own. Skirnir then threatened her with his sword, but could not influence her at all until he began cutting runes in a stick which would have made her suitorless forever. She then promised to meet Frey in the grove of Buri in nine days. As one of the frost giantesses, Gerda symbolizes the Winter maiden wooed by Spring; the nine days correspond to the nine northern Winter months. Her union with Frey is interpreted as the surrender of frost to Spring.

**Germanic folklore** Folklore comprises things, acts, beliefs, words, and lyric, didactic, or narrative themes transmitted and shaped by tradition. The investigation of the origin, meaning, dissemination, and form or style of these traditional materials comprises the study of folklore. The extent to which they are the immemorial possession of the folk or have descended from higher levels of culture is often an insoluble question. Germanic folklore is noteworthy for an abundance of carefully recorded facts and for excellent investigations of the problems associated with them.

Specifically Germanic qualities in folklore are very difficult, if not impossible, to isolate. Although traditional materials of all kinds—houses, tales, or riddles—exhibit characteristic varieties that are limited to particular areas, these varieties yield no safe basis for generalizations about racial peculiarities. Concepts like the vampire, which is Slavic in origin; the notion of second sight, which is almost exclusively limited to Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and northwestern Germany; or the swan maiden, an idea which seems to be typically Germanic, can be recognized as regionally limited only after long research. Like all instances of the *argumentum ex silentio*, any definition of a theme that involves the assertion that it does not appear in certain places is very risky. Although some proverbs are no doubt Germanic, such a book as *Champion, Racial Proverbs*, rests upon an unproved and unprovable assumption. Some scholars have maintained that long-suffering heroines are characteristically Germanic, but this would be hard to prove. Nor does it seem to be possible to

show that particular forms of folklore are Germanic, although specific stylistic details may be. Beliefs concerning plants and animals found only in Germanic countries are obviously Germanic folklore. Like the mistletoe and the oak, the rowan or mountain-ash is an object of special interest in Germanic countries. The horse has been associated with ancient practices and superstitions, and these may go back ultimately to the ceremonial eating of horseflesh by heathen Germanic peoples. Although these and other specific beliefs can be identified as Germanic, such endeavors do not lead to useful generalizations. In brief, folklore is international, and with the increasing collection of evidence we see that fact more and more clearly.

*Literature:* General treatises are available only in German; see W. Pessler, *Handbuch der deutschen Volkskunde* (Potsdam, n.d. [1936-38]); Adolf Spamer, *Die deutsche Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1935).

*Records of Germanic folklore* The materials of Germanic folklore are of the most varied kinds and extend from the oldest archeological remains of the Germanic peoples down to our own times. The crushed skulls in prehistoric burials may imply fear of the "living corpse," and a small hole found in stone coffins of a later date may imply a belief in an aerial soul. Stonehenge and the ancient carvings on rocks in southern Sweden are yet to be fully interpreted. Split vertebrae in children's graves represent oxen which ancient children, like those in remote Swiss valleys today, used as toys. In the oldest words and the first written records we find folklore. Place names, which often retain ideas older than the use of writing, reveal religious beliefs and cults of varying degrees of antiquity and show what gods were worshipped and where their cults were most popular. They show, for example, that the Scandinavian god Ullr, about whom we can learn very little, was important and that Balder had no cult. Historians, geographers, and travelers—Caesar, Tacitus, Strabo, and early Christian missionaries—record Germanic stories and customs. The *Elder Edda* (a collection of short, highly sophisticated poems composed between the 8th and 11th centuries in Norway, Iceland, and even Greenland) and the more complicated Old Norse scaldic verse from the 9th century on, contain myths and heroic stories. In the *Younger Edda* written in the first half of the 13th century Snorri Sturluson collected and arranged these myths for the use of poets. These literary texts contain much folklore. The *Elder Edda*, for example, tells of the return of the dead from the grave and the raising of a corpse to foretell the future. In all the Germanic lands monks wrote charms and incantations on the margins and flyleaves of manuscripts, jotted down collections of proverbs, and included words with folklore associations in glosses and vocabularies.

Medieval Germanic literature, which is most abundant in England and Germany, contains many bits of folklore. Such poets as Der Stricker, Chaucer, and others retold folktales, and didactic writers collected proverbs as examples of moral advice and for use in schools. The German folk epic (*Volksepos*), with a misleading name that goes too far in suggesting a relationship to the folk and oral tradition, is actually a rewriting of Germanic heroic lore in an intentionally archaic style for a courtly audience. Its themes go back

through a long history of previous literary versions to tales concerning chiefly the kings and heroes of the age of migrations. The story of Siegfried, which we have in the *Elder Edda* and the *Nibelungenlied*, is a typical example of the genre. It preserves a confused mass of heroic traditions dating from the 5th century and earlier about men of such different ages and countries as Siegfried, a hero of the lower Rhine, the Burgundians of the middle Rhine, the Hunnish invader Attila, and the Ostrogothic Dietrich. In Scandinavia the *Nibelungen* story exists in combination with the Odinic religion and the Viking culture. Such mingling of unrelated materials of different ages and tribes is characteristic of the folk epic. The earliest historical figure in these epics is Ermanarich, king of the Ostrogoths in the 3rd century. Later figures are the Merovingian Wulf Dietrich of the 5th century, the Arian Theodoric, emperor of the Goths in Italy in the 6th century, about whom a large cycle of epics developed, and the medieval dukes, Ernst of Swabia and Henry the Lion of Brunswick. In the 13th century the stories of Theodoric or Dietrich of Berne (Verona), as he was called, were carried to the Tyrol, where they became entangled with local legends of dwarfs and the Rosengarten, which may be connected with pre-Christian ideas of life after death. The authors of folk epics eliminated matters that were too fabulous for courtly ears: the *Nibelungenlied* contains no mention of Siegfried's fight with the dragon and the horny skin that he got from bathing in its blood.

After the Middle Ages we find records of folklore in chapbooks, folk songs, books of charms, dream books, witchcraft trials, and the discussion associated with them, and literary references to stories, proverbs, and customs. A few men collected folklore for its ethnographical value and antiquarian interest, especially at the time of the 17th century revival of the Germanic past, but the quantity of material thus saved is small.

In the second half of the 18th century the discovery of Ossian and the publication of Bishop Percy's *Reliques* drew attention to folklore. Goethe collected folk songs in Alsace and, in *Faust*, described the assembling of witches on the Brocken on Walpurgis Night. Around 1800 the Romanticists, who were especially interested in songs and tales, began to collect and interpret folklore. About the middle of the 19th century F. W. L. Schwartz pointed out the important distinction between higher and lower mythology, and thus directed attention to a new class of materials. The higher mythology, which consists in the myths and the cult of the gods, has been destroyed by Christian missionaries. The lower mythology, consisting of stories of dwarfs, cobolds, Tommy Knockers, water, tree, or house spirits, spirits in the growing crops (*Gerstenalle* and *Roggenhund*), and giants, has survived the coming of Christianity and lives on in modern tales and practices. Wilhelm Mannhardt interpreted the dryads, satyrs, and water or field spirits of classical mythology by comparisons with similar creatures in Germanic folklore, and, in his *Golden Bough*, J. G. Frazer extended the comparisons to the folklore of the entire world.

The folklore of former ages survives in modern tradition, and new folklore comes into being. The songs of

Tin-pan Alley gain popular currency and suffer the changes characteristic of oral transmission. "Lili Marlene" sweeps the German armies and crosses the battle lines. Sayings like "Kilroy was here" and the German "Hier wohnt Bertie" become commonplaces.

**Folklore of things** Museums like the open-air collection of houses and other buildings (even a church), domestic tools, and costumes at Skansen (a park near Stockholm) and the village of Dearborn, Michigan, have assembled the folklore of man-made things. The Bucks County Historical Society at Doylestown, Pa., has a good collection of tools belonging to various trades, many of them no longer practiced. Tradition preserves such curious relics as the barber's pole, the barber's basin in Germany, the ivy wreath used to advertise a wine shop, and the cigar-store Indian.

Except in certain fields, investigations concerned with the folklore of things are rare. Studies in the shapes of German villages have shown that the spiral city-plan of Leipzig is Slavic and the longitudinal plan of northern German villages is Germanic. Regional forms of German houses have been identified. The traditional kinds of fences have been collected. Studies in the history of domestic tools like Nils Lid's history of the ski are rare and often lead over into the history of inventions.

**Costume** The special dress worn in various regions, by particular groups, or on special occasions belongs to the folklore of things. Folk-costume is usually the survival of an earlier fashion that has been elsewhere discarded, as for example the buttons on the back of a man's dress-coat that are said to be the relics of buttons intended to hold up the tails when riding on horseback.

**Literature:** J. R. Planché, *A Cyclopaedia or Dictionary of Dress* (London, 1876-79).

**Plants and Animals** Many traditions about plants and animals reflect imperfect observations like the notion that the mole is blind. Others retain old beliefs like the tradition that a bear-cub is born as a shapeless mass of flesh and is licked into shape by the mother. Some are auguries like the forecasting of weather by a goosebone or from the appearance of the woodchuck's shadow on February 2. More general auguries are drawn from the flight of birds or the behavior of domestic animals. For customs concerned with plants and animals and for explanatory stories about them see below.

**Folk medicine** Traditional remedies rest on many kinds of observation of nature. Some, like the use of quinine or digitalis, employ essential qualities that were recognized long before being isolated by modern science. Some employ materials conspicuous for their disgusting qualities. Others involve the concept of sympathetic magic: a red string tied about a wound stops the flow of blood; a sickly child passed through a cleft in a tree is born again; a plant with a leaf or root shaped like some part of the human body yields a remedy for ailments of that part. A tradition of Egyptian medicine, which employed such unusual materials as the powder of a unicorn's horn or of mummy, came to the Romans after becoming the property of the folk, survives in some German medical recipes.

**Literature:** W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine* (London, 1883); J. G. Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of All Nations*

(Washington, 1891); O. von Hovorka and A. Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin* (Stuttgart, 1908-09); I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, *Vår gamle trolldomsmedisin*, I (Oslo, 1928), II (1933), III (1940), IV (1943).

**The folklore of acts, ideas or beliefs, and connected discourse**, which are subjects usually treated independently, is surveyed in dictionary form in H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en ordbog over fysiske almuemål* (Copenhagen, 1886-1914), which lists under the appropriate Danish word its occurrence in superstitions, customs, songs, tales, and selected proverbs and riddles in all the Germanic languages.

Our knowledge of traditional acts, which have not been adequately collected or studied, is rather unsatisfactory. Many traditional acts take the form of customs associated with special events like marriage. Gestures often have a symbolic meaning. Crossing the legs is an act that suggests a hindrance or stopping in various symbolic connections. The origin of the Shanghai gesture of thumb to nose is uncertain. The sign of the fig (thumb thrust between the first and second fingers) is not Germanic. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance men were more demonstrative than today and employed gestures freely. Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* abounds in them. The cinema may encourage the preservation and perhaps also the development of gestures. In Germanic folklore studies like Andrea de Joric, *La mimica degli antichi nel gestire napoletano* (Naples, 1832), are rare.

**Literature:** R. S. Boggs, "Gebärde," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, II: 318-22.

Symbolic acts with juridical meaning are often preserved as folklore. The Germanic taking of a person under a cloak is an adoption rite. Various rites are associated with the notion of blood-brotherhood. Symbolic acts are frequently associated with punishment. A criminal is seated on a broad stone before execution or kisses the rod with which he has been whipped. Infidelity is punished by the Skimmington ride. There are excellent investigations of both capital and lesser punishments like exposure in a boat, rolling in a nail-studded barrel, and the cucking stool.

**Literature:** Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1899); Karl von Amira, "Die germanischen Todesstrafen," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften XXXI* (1922); William Andrews, *Bygone Punishments* (London, 1899); John W. Spargo, *Judicial Folklore in England Illustrated by the Cucking-Stool* (Durham, N. C., 1944). Games involve the display of skill, depend upon chance, or dramatize events and ceremonies of adult life. The last category includes possible recollections of ancient rituals like well-worship, divination, marriage ceremonies, or border warfare. Games exist in five forms: the actors may divide into two lines, form a circle, perform individually the parts of a little play, raise an arch through which others pass, or wind and unwind in serpentine fashion.

**Literature:** Alice B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London 1894-98); E. L. Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel* (Leipzig, 1857), with mythological interpretations; F. M. Böhme, *Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel* (Leipzig, 1897), a rich collection with abundant historical and comparative notes; Johann

Lewalter and George Schläger, *Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel in Kassel* (Kassel, 1911), with exhaustive notes; S. T. Thyregod, *Danmarks sanglege* (Copenhagen, 1931), with musical texts, pictures, and references to English and German parallels. Discussion: Henry Bett, *The Games of Children* (London, 1929); Yrjö Hirn, *Barnlek* (Helsingfors, 1916).

**Customs** Customs are associated with the course of human life, especially with birth, marriage, and death, with domestic activities, and with seasons and particular days. They take the form of symbolic acts or definite traditional procedures.

Customs associated with birth, marriage, and death often retain traces of pre-Christian thought. After a death in a family, the bees are told of the event or a mirror is turned to the wall. Samter points out a striking similarity in the customs associated with birth, marriage, and death and explains it by the idea of rituals signifying a transition from one status to another. Customs may involve animistic thinking which ascribes life to inanimate objects or human powers to animals. Some trace such ideas to the spirits of the dead who survive near their graves as creatures living in the ground or trees. Other customs and stories are explained by the notion of the living corpse. This idea that a mysterious and terrifying life continues in a dead body expresses itself in breaking the skull or bones of a dead man and in deserting or burning a house where death has occurred. Cremation, which is explained in a later rationalization as setting free an aerial soul, probably also arose from the fear of the living corpse and the need to destroy it. Dwarfs and demons appear in shapes that suggest a corpse: they are silent, shrunken, aged, stiff, and discolored. Sympathetic magic, which uses an analogy between two things or events, is often present in customs. Crops are planted when the moon is waxing in order that they may grow better. Customs and superstitions associated with them have a position intermediate between the folklore of acts and the folklore of words. The words explaining such a symbolic or superstitious act as throwing spilt salt over one's shoulder or knocking on wood are not necessarily traditional, although the idea is. Many customs and superstitions have bases in fact: the discovery of a drowned man's body sunk in a stream by floating a loaf of bread on the water utilizes the fact that the loaf also follows the course of the current.

Special customs and beliefs are connected with the seasons and many individual days. Those associated with the seasons are, for the most part, concerned with planting or harvesting crops. The customs belonging to such days as New Year's Day, Valentine's Day, All Fools' Day, Easter, St. John's Day, Lady Day, Hallowe'en, and Christmas may be either pre-Christian or Christian in origin. They have reference to many affairs of domestic and social life. The groundhog's shadow on Groundhog Day and the weather on St. Swithin's Day forecast the weather to be expected. The old idea that March 25 is the beginning of the year is retained in the customs and stories of St. Mark's Day. The fires of St. John's Day represent partially Christianized ritual, and many practices belonging to the days before and after Christmas mingle heathendom and Christianity inextricably.

**Literature:** *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*; John Brand, *Observations on Popular An-*

*tiquities*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1842); Ernst Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig, 1911); T. F. T. Dyer, *British Popular Customs* (London, 1876). Useful miscellaneous material in W. Hone, *Everyday Book, Table Book, Year Book* (London, 1826-27); and R. Chambers, *The Book of Days*: a miscellany of popular antiquities in connection with the calendar (London, 1862-64). Encyclopedic treatment in Paul Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch* (Leipzig, 1910-14).

**Folklore of words** The folklore of words apart from connected discourse is found chiefly in names. Place names, which are most actively studied, reveal fashions of name-giving that disclose the history of migrations, the making of settlements, and the practice of heathen cults. In Scandinavia, the names of rivers and, in Germany, the names of fields have been separately collected and studied.

**Literature:** Publications of the English Place-Name Society. Journals: *Namn och Bygd*; *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*. Discussion: B. M. Olsen, *Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway* (Oslo, 1928).

Collections of family names are available for all the Germanic languages. Some are merely lists, others give etymologies or tell when and where the names have been used. Since names are easily borrowed and are not completely subject to the rules of linguistic developments applicable to common nouns, etymologies are very risky unless supported by abundant historical evidence. The use of family names arose in the late Middle Ages, and those now in use show the manner of life prevailing at the time. The so-called imperative names formed like Shakespeare by compounding a verb and a noun abound in Germany and are found in smaller numbers in other Germanic countries. Since they probably contain, in most instances, a sentence like, "I shake a spear," which was characteristically used by the original bearer of the name or was applied to him, they are better known as sentence-names. Collections of family names and treatises on them are too numerous to mention here.

Many Christian names like Grete, Hans, George, and their derivatives like G. I. Joe, have popular associations that belong to folklore. Although the original meaning of Margareta was very honorable, the contraction Grete had unpleasant associations in Reformation Germany that may be connected with the choice of the name Gretchen in Goethe's *Faust*. These associations, which belong to folklore, are more often felt than listed in formal manner. The use of certain Christian names, especially those of saints, reveals cultural and folklore currents. The originally English Oswald was, for example, carried to Germany by early missionaries and spread from the monasteries in western Germany to Austria, where it is perhaps more popular now than in other regions. The Swiss scholar E. A. Stükelberger has studied such dynamic traditions in Christian names.

Adequate collections of nicknames, especially collections giving the necessary historical information about age, use, and connotation, are lacking. Leonard Bloomfield has suggested orally that many nicknames referred originally to instruments having various uses and were not corruptions of the names with which they are now associated. The name of the instrument has been transferred to the person as a nickname. In other words, the *bob* of *plumb-bob* and the *jack* of *bootjack* may be the

original meanings of the nicknames of Robert and John. Many nicknames have become obsolete, and many have special connotations.

*Literature:* A. R. Frey, *Sobriquets and Nicknames* (London, 1885).

As the lack of a good English equivalent of the French *Maison populaire* indicates, this concept, which is allied to the nickname, is not clearly isolated in English use. Examples are nevertheless abundant in Germanic folklore. Certain names or adjectives are traditionally used with particular places or peoples like Merry England, the mad Irish. The origin and history of such phrases are often difficult to discover.

Plant and animal names often preserve superstitious beliefs. The word *bear* is not Indo-European, but is a substitute for the animal's original name, which was akin to the Latin *ursus*. The use of such a substitute probably reflects an ancient hunter's tabu against mentioning the creature. Allusions to heathen gods in plant names (less often in animal names) do not necessarily go back to heathendom. They may be deliberate archaizing; or, Christian names and may be derived from a post-Renaissance interest in heathen antiquities.

*Literature:* Van Wijk, *A Dictionary of Plant Names* (The Hague, 1912-16).

Names of sickness often contain echoes of superstitious ideas or allusions to traditional themes like St. Vitus' Dance for epilepsy.

*Literature:* Max Höfler, *Deutsches Krankheitsnamenbuch* (Munich, 1889).

*Calls to animals* Calls to animals are traditional. The words for summoning, frightening away, or guiding animals vary from region to region and according to the kind of animal. Cats, dogs, cows, and chickens are spoken to in different ways. The terms *Geel*, *Haw!*, and *W'ho!* are not in universal use in English and have different meanings in different places. Every well-behaved parrot knows "Polly wants a cracker."

*Literature:* H. C. Bolton, "The Language used in talking to Domestic Animals," *American Anthropologist*, X (1897): 65-90; 97-143.

*Oaths, greetings, exclamations, toasts, funerary inscriptions*, and other conventional formulas have a place between the folklore of individual words and the folklore of connected discourse. Except for collections of epitaphs, which are usually the object of sentimental and curious interest rather than of study as tradition, little has been done to collect or discuss these formulas. Such references to the suffering of Christ on the Cross as *Zounds!* and *Zooks!* belong to a fashion of swearing that became obsolete about the end of the 17th century. B. J. Whiting has collected examples of oaths taken on someone's soul.

*Literature:* Julian Sharman, *A Cursory History of Swearing* (London, 1884); Robert Graves, *Lars Porsena or the Future of Swearing and Improper Language* (London, rev. ed. 1936); B. J. Whiting, "By my Fader Soule," *Jour. of English and German Philology*, XLIV (1915): 1-8. *Epitaphs:* William Andrews, *Curious Epitaphs* (London, 1899); W. H. Beable, *Epitaphs: Graveyard Humor and Elegy* (London, [1925]).

Folklore in connected discourse can be conveniently divided into verse and prose, and verse in turn, into children's songs and folk songs. Children's songs exist in many imperfectly recognized categories that cannot al-

ways be separated from games. Arranged according to the age of the child, children's songs comprise lullabies, rimes to count the fingers and toes (*This little pig went to market*) or the features of the face (chinchopper rimes), dandling rimes (*Here we go to Banbury Cross*), mocking rimes (*Georgie Porgie, pudding and pie*), counting-out rimes (*Eenie Meenie Minie Mo*), divinations (*One I love, two I love . . .*), skip-rope rimes, rimes for the days of the week or the letters of the alphabet, and many others. The origin and history of these types and of the individual songs are very obscure. A very curious and important feature of Germanic folklore is the development in English of a canon, which is not too strictly defined, of children's rimes in the collection called *Mother Goose*. Although the contents of this collection vary from edition to edition, there is a generally recognized core of texts. With some obvious exceptions, the interpretations of *Mother Goose* rimes as allusions to events and figures in English history is dubious.

*Literature:* See *Games* above. *General collections of English children's songs:* J. O. Halliwell, *Nursery Rhymes of England* (5th ed., London, 1886); Gammer Gurton's Garland (London, 1810, repr. 1866); G. F. Northall, *English Folk-Rhymes* (London, 1892). *Prayers:* F. Ohrt, *Gamle danske folkebonner* (Copenhagen, 1928), including English parallels. *Counting out rimes:* H. C. Bolton, *The Counting-Out Rhymes of Children* (London, 1888). *General treatises:* Lina Eckenstein, *Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes* (London, 1906); Henry Bett, *Nursery Rhymes and Tales* (New York, 1924). *Mother Goose:* W. A. Wheeler, *The Original Mother Goose's Melody* (Boston, 1892); Katherine Thomas, *The Real Personages of Mother Goose* (Boston, 1930); D. E. Marvin, *Historic Child Rhymes* (Norwell, Mass., 1930).

*Folk song* Folk song falls into the categories of lyric and narrative songs, which are both characterized by traditional words, situations, themes, and music. Comparatively little English lyric song has been collected. The German Schnaderhüpfel, a quatrain consisting of two distichs, of which the first describes a scene in nature and the second a mood, is current in southern Germany and has parallels in Scandinavia and also outside of Germanic territory. Singers often engage in contests of matching these quatrains.

*Literature:* W. D. Hand, *The Schnaderhüpfel: an Alpine folk lyric* (Diss., Chicago, 1936).

*Ballad* The ballad, a narrative song in stanzas, often with a refrain, told in an objective, lyrical manner, apparently arose in the late Middle Ages. It is restricted in its currency to western Europe. In form and subject-matter it differs from Spanish romances and eastern European (Greek or Russian) narrative song. Although the earliest recorded ballads deal with religious subjects, this fact does not necessarily demonstrate a clerical origin of genre. Some ballads have Germanic heroic legends as themes, others are related to medieval romances, and others tell of border warfare or other historical events. Scholars have hotly disputed the extent to which the folk has created and shaped the ballad.

*Literature:* *Collections:* F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882-98); L. Erk and F. M. Böhm, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig, 1893-94); John Meyer, *Deutsche Volkslieder* (Berlin, 1935- ); N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (Copen-

hagen, 1853- ). *Journals: Journal of the English Folk-Dance and Folk-Song Society; Das deutsche Volkslied; Jahrbuch des deutschen Volkslieds.* Discussion: G. H. Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition*; W. J. Entwistle, *European Balladry* (Oxford, 1939); Louise Pound, *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (New York, 1921).

Songs which can be ascribed to known authors and those which exhibit a very humble literary craftsmanship often use the conventions belonging to the ballads. Circulated as broadsides by wandering singers they often give the details of a recent notorious event, especially the execution of a criminal or the circumstances of a disaster. They stand on the fringe of folklore.

*Literature:* Collections: Publications of the Ballad Society; Hyder E. Rollins, *The Pepys Ballads* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929-32); Rochus von Liliencron, *Die Historischen Lieder der Deutschen* (Leipzig, 1865-69). *Folktales* Folktales are of many kinds and can best be separated according to the intentions of the teller. Tales are told to amuse, to impart moral lessons, to explain the origins and shapes of natural objects including plants and animals, to inform the hearer about a historical or supernatural event. Some minor varieties are told for the sake of their forms rather than their contents.

The fairy tale, which does not necessarily include a fairy among the actors and is therefore better called a *märchen*, is the most important variety of tale told for amusement. It has a conventional form, consisting of introductory and concluding formulas and a biography of the hero that ends with his happy marriage. The incidents often occur in a threefold repetition that exhibits slight variations in the three stages. They usually involve magic or supernatural elements. The examples, like Puss in Boots, Cinderella, The Two Brothers, or Faithful John, often have an international distribution. Berendsohn suggests that there is an older type having two actors in which the threefold repetition is less characteristic.

*Jests* Jests, which ordinarily consist of a single incident, can be best classified according to their themes. The noodle story (Three Wise Men of Gotham, Schildbürger), the stories of the literal execution of commands (Eulenspiegel), and tall tales (Münchhausen) often group themselves about a single actor. In similar fashion, stories about witchcraft have gathered about Dr. Faustus. Tales about priests and married couples and stories with realistic emphasis are often closely connected with Italian novelle.

Tales conveying a moral lesson are best represented by the fable, a form that does not seem to have enjoyed much traditional currency among Germanic peoples. *Etiological tales* Etiological tales explain why the bear has no tail or why the aspen continually shakes (Judas hanged himself on it). They apparently belong to a very ancient cultural level, but their number has been increased by narratives based on incidents drawn from Christian history like the story of the baker's daughter who refused to give bread to Christ and hid under a trough, which she must henceforth carry on her back.

*Literature:* Oskar Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* (Leipzig, 1907-12).

*Sagen* Tales partaking of the nature of history are called *Sagen* or local and historical legends. They constitute a characteristic and very abundant variety of Germanic

folklore. The subject-matter includes on the one hand stories of the Devil, water sprites, forest women, giants, dwarfs, cobolds, ghosts, and other supernatural creatures in their relations to men, and on the other hand stories about historical figures. The legend of the Wild Hunt, a ghostly company that races across the sky at various seasons in all Germanic countries, is one of the most impressive Germanic legends. It occurs in an ennobled form in the myth of the ride of the Valkyries. The previously mentioned ideas of animism and the living corpses are frequently found in these legends. The stories about historical figures (Charlemagne and the ring of Fastrada, Martin Luther throwing the inkwell at the Devil, Frederick the Great and the miller of Sans Souci) exhibit the alterations of fact and the additions of fancy that characterize folklore.

Saints' legends belong more to international tradition than to Germanic folklore.

Certain folktales are more interesting for their form than for their contents. The cantefable, which mingles verse and narrative, is rather poorly represented in Germanic folklore. Formula tales appear in the cumulative type of The House that Jack Built and The Old Woman and Her Pig, the circular type represented by rounds, and the endless tale.

*Literature:* Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1946); J. Bolte and G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Leipzig, 1913-32), especially volumes IV and V.

*Riddles* The loosely used term riddle includes many varieties of verbal puzzles. In a strict sense, a riddle is a comparison of two unrelated things like the equating of an egg to a man in Humpty-Dumpty. Its wit lies in the aptness of the comparison and the disclosure that the hearer has misapprehended its meaning. Obscene implications are frequent in riddles. Riddles are often in verse. Other varieties of puzzles are the shrewd or witty question, which calls for information about a Biblical figure (Who was not born and yet died?—Adam), the answer to an arithmetical problem (If a hen and a half lays an egg and a half in a day and a half, how many hens will lay a dozen eggs?), and the explanation of a complicated family relationship, or some other fact. There are also whimsical or humorous versions of such questions: "What did Samson die of?—Fallen arches." The conundrum depends upon a pun: "Why is a cherry like a book?—Because it is red." Another variety of puzzle asks, "What is the difference between... and . . . ?" A few questions offering a choice between something apparently attractive and something apparently disgusting are reported in English, and more occur in other Germanic languages. The apparently disgusting object turns out to be the better choice. Narrative elements appear in the neck-riddle, which is a puzzle set by a man who gains his freedom or his life by setting an insoluble puzzle. Since he chooses to describe a situation known only to himself, no one can guess his meaning. An example is "On Ilo I walk, on Ilo I stand, Ilo I hold fast in my hand.—The man has made shoes and gloves of the skin of his dog Ilo." The story or puzzle of the burning barn uses incomprehensible words to describe an event, usually the burning of a barn or the driving of a goat from a cabbage patch. It may be ultimately related to tabus on words that a particular person must not utter.



*Literature:* Archer Taylor, *A Bibliography of Rid-  
dles* (Helsinki, 1939). *Discussion:* Robert Feisch, *Das  
deutsche Fabelnarr* (Strassburg, 1917); Kenneth Jackson  
and E. Wilson, "The Barn is Burning," *Folk-Lore* XLVII  
(1936): 191-202.

*Charms* are formulas used to cure sickness, heal  
wound, restore stolen property, or effect other bene-  
ficial or harmful results. They consist of an act alone or  
of an act and traditional formulas. The act may involve  
the principle of sympathetic magic. The words, which  
are often in verse, employ various conventions, especially  
the notion of counting down to zero, whereupon the  
want is commanded to vanish as the numbers have van-  
ished, or the comparison to an event, which is usually  
chosen from Christian history, as for example the com-  
parison of the stepping of the River Jordan when Christ  
was baptized to the desired result, the halting of a  
hemorrhage.

*Literature:* F. Gredon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms,"  
*Journal of American Folklore* XXII (1909): 105-237;  
T. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wort-Cunning, and Star-  
craft of Early England* (London, 1864-66); Ferdinand  
Ohrn, *Dänmarks trylleformularer* (Copenhagen, 1917-21);  
Emmanuel Linderholm, *Signelser och besvärjelser från  
medeltid och ny tid* (Stockholm, 1927-40). *Discussion:*  
Oskar Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundrezepte* (Berlin, 1902);  
F. Ohrn, *Trylleord* (Copenhagen, 1922). For individual  
charms see the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberg-  
laubens*.

*Proverbs* are aphoristic sayings that enjoy tradi-  
tional currency. They may be statements of fact like  
"All's well that ends well" or descriptions of scenes like  
"New brooms sweep clean" that are used in a trans-  
ferred moral application to a particular situation. Al-  
though proverbs are often credited to a particular in-  
ventor like Solomon, their origins are almost always  
obscure and ascriptions are very unreliable. Some state-  
ments of fact that do not involve a moral application  
have become proverbial, especially forecasts of the  
weather (Mackerel sky, mackerel sky, never long wet  
and never long dry) and formulations of the law (Two  
words to a bargain). A curious proverbial variety called  
the *Wellerism* couples an assertion with an identification  
of the speaker and often adds a suggestion of the scene  
as in "Everyone to his taste," said the farmer and kissed  
the cow." An investigation of *Wellerisms* current in  
southern Sweden has traced many of them to actual re-  
cent events, but many *Wellerisms* must be explained in  
other ways. Some proverbs are rimed, and many exhibit  
a characteristic structural parallelism. Proverbial phrases  
are usually confused with proverbs, but should be re-  
garded as a separate variety of traditional speech. They  
lack the complete rigidity of a proverb and may vary  
according to tense and person. They frequently contain  
a reference to a custom, belief, or the details of a human  
activity. Examples are "to have an ace in the hole," "to  
be left at the post," or "to put on the screws."

*Literature:* Collections: G. L. Apperson, *English  
Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings* (London, 1929); W. G.  
Smith, *The Oxford Book of English Proverbs* (Oxford,  
1935); K. F. W. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexi-  
kon* (Leipzig, 1867-80); Samuel Singer, *Sprichwörter des  
Mittelalters*, I (Bern, 1944), II (1945), III (1946), with  
invaluable references to medieval versions. F. A. Stoett,  
*Niederländische Sprichwörter* (4th ed., Zutphen, 1923-

25), contains abundant English and German compara-  
tive material. *Discussion and Bibliography:* Wilfred  
Bonser and T. A. Stephens, *Proverb Literature* (London,  
1939); Friedrich Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*  
(Munich, 1922) and *Das deutsche Sprichwort* (Strass-  
burg, 1918); Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* (Cambridge,  
Mass., 1933).

ARCHER TAYLOR

*Geryon's oxen* In Greek legend, the superb red cattle  
of the three-headed (or three-bodied) monster Geryon,  
which Hercules brought back to Eurystheus from the  
island of Erythia in the farthest west as the tenth of his  
labors. Geryon was king of the island (perhaps the same  
as Hesperia, and at any rate west of Spain) and herded  
his cattle with those of Hades. Hercules, building the  
Pillars of Hercules, became overheated by the sun and,  
angered, shot arrows at Helios. Amused, or perhaps  
frightened (for the arrows were poisoned), Apollo gave  
him a golden boat with which he sailed to the island.  
To take the cattle Hercules had to kill Geryon's dog  
Orthros, his herdsman Eurytion, and Geryon himself.  
Many incidents famous locally in Spain, France, and  
Italy occurred on his voyage and return in the golden  
cup of the sun, especially the setting up of the Pillars of  
Hercules and the slaying of Cacus at Rome. The cattle  
were finally sacrificed to Hera by Eurystheus.

*gestures* Folklore is not limited to writing or speech  
for its transmission or preservation. Since gestures are  
motions made or positions assumed to convey or empha-  
size an idea or an emotion, it is natural that certain  
easily made and useful gestures become stereotyped and  
are passed down within cultures and from tribe to tribe  
for many generations.

In gestures particularly, however, the use of identical  
signs in two or more tribes which have had communica-  
tion does not necessarily imply borrowing, for the signs  
which can be made by the human body and its parts are  
obviously limited, and neural response patterns are  
bound to be similar among all races.

Moreover, since some primitive gestures probably  
antedated both writing and speech, and were employed  
when members of different-language tribes first met,  
they persist as important auxiliary communication de-  
vices, especially in such hybrid languages as pidgin  
English, lingua franca, kuan hua, beche le mer, Yiddish,  
Canuck, Swahili, and Romany. A similar intermixture  
of words and gestures is observable in many of the game  
rimes recited and acted by children—dramatized rimes  
which form a sort of international language of their  
own. (See FEENY, MEENY, MINY, MO.)

Interesting and ingenious action-languages, com-  
posed entirely of gestures, have developed in societies  
and groups where oral or written communication was  
tabu, impossible, or unwise.

Among the Warramunga of central Australia, silence  
is a form of mourning required for a year or two of all  
female relatives of a deceased male, even to remote col-  
lateral degrees of consanguinity, with the result that a  
majority of the tribal women are usually condemned to  
keep silent. Consequently, the women have become re-  
markably proficient in a unique gesture language built  
upon elbow positions and motions with some assistance  
from the arms and hands.

Fraser, who cites this (*Folklore in the Old Testament*  
III: 71 E.) and other instances of the imposition of  
silence upon widows in such separated regions as British

Columbia, California, the Congo, and Madagascar, in-  
fers from the fact that the Hebrew word for widow is  
*almanah*—silent one—that a similar tabu anciently  
obtained among the Israelites. He has etymology, paral-  
lels in comparative folklore, and the frequent use of  
gesture by Jewish women, to strengthen his theory. But  
the oldest literary and historical evidence indicates that  
the “silent ones” did not confine the expression of their  
grief to sign language, but “lifted up their voices and  
wept.”

The Warramunga widows perfected what was really  
a parallel system to the wigwagging of Boy Scouts and  
sailors and the semaphores of railroads, two modern  
gesture languages.

One thinks immediately, of course, of the sign lan-  
guages of the American Indians and the several systems  
used by deaf-mutes. A closer parallel to the Warra-  
munga women's language of silence, because it is also  
the result of a religious tabu, is the method of gesture  
communication used by Cistercian and Benedictine  
monks. (See *The Language of Gesture* by Macdonald  
Critchley, N.Y., 1939.)

Related to the more developed gesture languages and  
similarly connected usually with religion either directly  
or indirectly were the formalized stage gestures of the  
ancient dramas of India, Greece, Rome, and China.  
These included postures as well as motional gestures  
and have their counterpart in the meticulously observed  
attitudes of worship depicted on Sumerian seals of the  
4th millennium B.C., as well as the formalized obeisances  
of submission on bas-reliefs of ancient Egypt, Babylo-  
nia, and Assyria. The many *asanas*, or postures, of  
Hindu yoga are little known in the Western world, but  
for the *padmasana*, the Buddha pose of the interlocked  
feet with soles uppermost, which conveys even to the  
uninitiated the idea of complete composure.

Parallel are the many postures, gestures, and signs  
used in the ceremonies and devotions of the various  
branches of the Christian church, especially the Greek  
and Roman Catholic divisions. There are several “rever-  
ences” of which the best known are the genuflections of  
the Latins before the Blessed Sacrament and the meta-  
nics of the Byzantine Catholics in the same presence.

Genuflections of the ordinary sort are a quick bending  
of the right knee until it touches the floor, and are  
made by both laity and clergy upon many stated occa-  
sions. The double genuflection consists of kneeling upon  
both knees, bowing the head, and then rising to one's  
feet: it is made only before the exposed Blessed Sacra-  
ment.

Metanics (from the Greek *metanoia*, repentance) are  
bowings of three carefully differentiated depths: the  
“salutation” which simply inclines the head and shoul-  
ders, the lesser metany which is a bow low enough to  
permit the right hand to descend to the level of the  
knees, and the greater metany which is a complete  
prostration requiring considerable physical agility and  
suppleness since the forehead, hands and feet must touch  
the floor, but no other part of the body. (See *A Catholic Dictionary*, Atwater, 1911, p. 339.)

Ordinands, candidates for ordination as deacons,  
priests, and bishops, must prostrate themselves until  
flat on the ground, or kneel with the head touching the  
ground.

Kissing, as a gesture, has had a long evolution in

Christianity from the early church where it was cus-  
tomary to “greet all the brethren with a holy kiss,”  
through the period when it was correct (as it still is in  
the Eastern Church) to kiss the newly baptized and the  
celebrants of the Eucharist, until later when men could  
kiss only men and women only women, and finally when  
only the clergy exchange ceremonial kisses and the  
people are permitted to kiss the osculatorium—a relic or  
cross carried to them for the purpose. There are many  
other liturgical and extra-liturgical kisses applied to  
the altar, the gospels, the paten, the cruets, palms,  
candles, rings, the hands of celebrants, and the foot and  
knee of the pope.

Moslems have for centuries kissed the sacred Kaaba  
stone at Mecca. Idols of the gods were kissed by early  
Greeks and Romans. The toe of St. Peter's statue has  
been worn down by Roman Christian kisses.

Baptism has been a practically universal gesture in  
many religions and throughout human history for the  
removal of the tabus surrounding birth, including the  
second birth of conversion or initiation.

Originally a part of baptism, the making of the sign  
of the cross was intended to seal the Christian in bap-  
tism and to protect him from demons and witches. In  
early Christian times it was simply performed by draw-  
ing an imaginary cross on the forehead with the fore-  
finger. It was later varied by using the thumb dipped  
in oil or holy water. Today the person who “crosses  
himself” usually does so by holding together the finger  
tips and thumb of the right hand and with them touch-  
ing the forehead, breast, left shoulder, and right shoul-  
der in that order while repeating, “In the name of the  
Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.” Eastern  
Christians use only the thumb and first two fingers and  
make the sign from right to left.

Less obviously religious but with connotations of pro-  
tective magic are the other crosses, such as crossing the  
fingers indicating mental reservations, crossing the  
Gipsy's palm with silver to learn your future, and the  
“cross-my-heart-hope-to-die” gesture of the children,  
a sacred affirmation which may antedate Christianity.

Critchley reports 150 signs and gestures collected from  
American school children, but few of them have any  
great significance for students of folklore, such as  
scratching or shaking the head.

The cocksnook or snook, thumbing the nose in insult,  
is widespread and has many variations. Sometimes the  
fingers are vibrated; again, the second hand is added,  
either side by side or tandem, to double the insult; in  
rare cases the ears are similarly thumbed. There may  
easily have originally been an idea of negating or coun-  
teracting bad magic.

The fig, or fico, made by putting the thumb between  
the index and middle fingers, or even by inserting the  
thumb in the mouth, is closely related to the cocksnook  
in popular usage as an insult or sign of contempt, and  
is of undoubted religious origin, for it is still used in  
some cultures as a means of warding off the evil eye.  
It has obvious phallic connotations and perhaps phallic  
origination. It is significant that it is sometimes used  
to intimate cuckoldry.

The making of the sign of the horns by extending the  
first and fourth fingers while retaining the second and  
third in the palm also indicates cuckoldry: yet it, too,  
is said to counteract the evil eye.

Spitting and pointing are important gestures in primitive and juvenile groups. Puckett reports that some southern U. S. Negroes believe pointing at a grave will result in your getting the finger cut off, or a ghost will chase you, or you will die, but these dire effects can be avoided if you quickly spit on your fingers. In Yorkshire you shouldn't point at the stars.

Scraping the left forefinger with the right is a sign of shame for the person at whom the left one is pointed, and is evidently based on the almost universal idea that the left hand is really "sinister."

The holding aloft of the boxing victor's hand and the "pollice verso" thumb down for the vanquished gladiator doubtless originally had celestial and infernal significance. See MIME. CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Gēush Urvan, Gōshūrūn, or Gōshūrvan** In Iranian cosmological mythology, the soul of the primeval ox which contained the germs of the animal species and of useful plants; the fifth creation and the sole-created animate being. Gēush Urvan is usually described as a bull, sometimes as a female. The ox was slain by Angra Mainyu after living 3,000 years according to the *Būn-dahishn*. In another legend, it was slain by Mithra who plunged his hunting knife into its flank. From its limbs grew 12 kinds of medicinal plants and 55 species of grain. From the seminal energy of the ox came a pair of oxen followed by 282 pairs of animals. Gēush Urvan, its soul or fravashi, went to heaven as the guardian of animals. Compare AUDHUMLA; YMR.

**ghost** A disembodied spirit. The term is usually applied to the human soul after death, and is used interchangeably with such words as phantom, specter, shade, spook, apparition, revenant. See REVENANT.

**ghost dance** A dance of communication with the spirits of the dead. As a masked impersonation it is discussed under DEATH DANCE and CLOWNS. As a mystic communion it usually arises in times of stress. This form at times normally develops in ancient tribal ceremonies, as the Bon Odori, the invitation to the dead in a Japanese dance (Shinto), or the Blackfoot Indian dance for the spirits of the dead. But the successive messianic cults of the American West, culminating in the ghost dance religion, were an escape from the intolerable circumstances, cultural disintegration, and starvation due to the avidity of the white man.

Several revivals preceded the great ghost dance: a southern wave about 1800, started by the Shawano prophet, Tenskwaatawa, and adopted by southern tribes, the Cherokee, the Creeks, as well as the Kickapoo and Miami; on Puget Sound, the dream cult of Smohalla, chief of the Wa'nāpūm; and in 1881 the Indian Shaker church started by a Squaxin, John Slocum or Squasht-un, with its admixture of Catholic ritual. Before 1870 Tāvito, a Paiute of Nevada, initiated a ghost dance wave which affected the adjacent tribes of California and filtered into the Hesi cult. Living conditions were at the proper stage of disintegration among the Modoc, Shasta, Karok and Tolowa; less so among the Yurok, Pomo, Wintun, and valley Maidu. The new religion was distinguished (among the Pomo), as *maru he*, from an ancient ghost religion, *hintl he*; *boli* or human spirits, were distinct from *saltu*, the ancient divinities.

About 1889 the son of Tāvito, Jack Wilson or Wovoka (the Cutter), had a revelation during a fever and an

eclipse of the sun. Like his predecessors he foretold a regeneration of the earth, reunion with the beloved dead, a life of aboriginal happiness without disease, misery, or white men. He preached good will, denounced lying, fighting, or destructive mourning customs. What with the virtual extermination of the buffalo and the prevalence of whisky, the prairie tribes sought salvation in this doctrine and in the dance that brought anticipation of the blessed state and visions of the deceased. It spread first to the nearby Bannock and Shoshoni tribes of Nevada and Wyoming, then to the most receptive Arapaho and other Oklahoma tribes, the Kiowa Apache, Cheyenne, and Pawnee, then to the Sioux of Dakota. Less affected were the Ute and Comanche, still less the Walapai, Havasupai, Mohave and Navaho, not at all the stable Pueblo Indians. Woodland tribes were little affected, except indirectly through the grass dance and dream dance.

All ages—men, women and children—joined. After a purificatory sweat bath and ceremonial painting with sacred red ochre, increasingly larger circles sang without drum, and shuffled left with a dragging step. Each song completed a circuit. Fingers were intertwined, and released only in trance. Hypnotists in the center watched for the first trembling; they waved a feather or kerchief before the subject's eyes crying "hu-hu-hu," till she or he staggered into the center. A spasmodic dance ended in rigidity and final collapse. Strictly, four nights every six weeks were devoted to these ceremonies.

In each tribe native mythology and customs varied the pattern. The Yurok removed planking from graves. The Paiute, who called it *nānigūkwa* or "dance in a circle," did not practice the trance hypnotism. The Sioux, who called it *wana'ghi wa'chipi* or "spirit dance," wore a special ghost dance shirt. They introduced an element of hostility against white men into this peaceable religion. Ample provocation and interference with the religion led to disasters as the massacre of Wounded Knee. The Sioux were the last tribe to adhere.

Among all tribes except the Sioux the effects were beneficial. Though disappointment followed non-fulfilment, the teachings and the psychotherapy brought temporary improvement. [GPK]

**ghoul** (Arabic *ghul*; feminine *ghulah*) A demonic being that feeds on human bodies, either corpses stolen from graves or young children. Ghouls inhabit lonely places, especially graveyards: the Arabic ghoul of the wasteland seems to be a personification of the terror of the desert. The ghoul may be compared with other cannibalistic vampiric creatures: the Lilith, Lamia, Yogini, Baba Yaga, etc. Generally the whole of the Moslem world, from India to Africa, knows the ghoul.

**giants** References to giants are frequent in Eskimo and North American Indian mythologies. Giants may be either human, or animal, or bird in form; usually, but not always, they are males, and almost always they are cannibalistically inclined. The fabulous creatures of Eskimo mythology known as the Tornit are giants; Big Owl of the Southwestern United States is either a huge cannibal bird or a giant humanlike creature. The tale of a giant bird (roc) who carries a boy to a cliff is widespread in North America, as are also the tales of the giant Thunderbirds and of the giant monster who sucks in his victims. Test tales, widespread in native North America, contain references to giants of several

descriptions. In the Eastern Woodlands the Shawnee female deity has four giant "boys" who can smell human beings from afar. On the North Pacific Coast, tales of cannibal giants are especially popular. In one such, a giantess who abducts children is killed, but because her soul is outside her body, she revives; the fugitives however escape. In another cannibal giant tale of the North Pacific Coast and Plains the cannibal is burned; the ashes become mosquitoes. [zwv]

According to a famous legend heard by the Spaniards in Ecuador, a race of giants landed in a distant past near Santa Elena. These giants bored a deep well into the hard rock. After killing their women and those of the Indians, they resorted to sodomy, thus arousing the wrath of the gods who destroyed them with lightning. Fossil bones abundant in that neighborhood were attributed to them. [AM]

**la gielosia** An Italian dance for four couples with mime of jealousy. The folk dance goes back to court *ballo* of the 16th century, a lively dance with hops. The first gentleman dances successively with the lady of the other couples in the row; between changes the group dances *tempi di piva tedesca* with parading for the ladies and turns and jumps for the men. The motif of partner change, a commonplace in European folk dances, has its counterpart in aboriginal dances of the Dinka on the Nile and in the North American Iroquois Indian Alligator dance. It may relate to the licentious exchanges during post-ceremonial feasts. [CFK]

**Gigantes** In Greek mythology, a race of giants sprung from Earth (Ge) when the blood of the mutilated Uranus fell on her: probably a group of early deities or of inhabitants of Greece, like the Cyclopes, of which the myth is a recollection. The Gigantes were monstrous, huge creatures, with serpents for feet: this is post-Homeric, Homer apparently looking on them as a savage race of men. The Gigantes were induced by Ge to attack the Olympians with rocks and brands made of whole trees. According to what the Olympians were told, the Gigantes were invincible so long as they were able to use a certain herb, and even without the herb could not be defeated unless a mortal aided the gods. There were also individual difficulties to overcome, as for example the giant Alcioneus being unslayable on his native land. Ge obtained possession of the herb, but Zeus countered by ordering Eos and Helios not to shine and took the herb in the darkness. Then, with the aid of Hercules, the Olympians defeated the giants, burying them in various places in the earth. Alcioneus was slain by Hercules after the hero dragged him to another land than his own. The Gigantes thus seem to be a sort of earth-spirits, responsible for such phenomena as earthquakes and volcanoes, with which latter they are especially associated. Compare ALOADE; CYCLOPS; GLANTS; MONSTERS; RAKSHASAS; TITANS; TYPHON.

**Gilgamesh** The great hero of Sumerian and Babylonian epic poetry: precursor of Hercules and other folk heroes. See SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY.

**Gilles de Laval, Marshal of Retz (1404-1440)** One of the persons thought to have been the "original" villain in Perrault's version of *Bluebeard*. Another candidate is Commore the Cursed, also a Breton chief, in this case of the 6th century. Stories about Gilles de Retz,

who led an adventurous life, was associated with Joan of Arc in her battles and coronation, and got involved with the alchemists, still persist in Brittany. Objections to the identification are that the fantasies of young women who think they are married to cruel monsters with designs on their lives are recorded in hundreds of folktales and in the records of most psychiatrists. Large black men with blue beards are generally thought to be virile, seductive, and dangerous to women. The particular objection to Gilles de Retz as the villain is that he had only one wife who survived him and that he was scandalously fond of torturing young boys. [wv]

**Gimokodan** The Bagobo (Philippine Islands) afterworld which lies below the earth. Gimokodan is divided into two sections, one red for those killed in combat, the other like the upperworld but with everything reversed. At the entrance to Gimokodan is the Black River where the gimokod (spirit) bathes in order to forget its former life. There, also, is a giant female covered with nipples who suckles the spirits of infants. After the spirits have entered Gimokodan they move about as they did on earth, but only during the hours of darkness. When the afterworld grows light, each spirit makes a boat-shaped dish for itself from the leaves of a tree and is dissolved into a liquid in it. When darkness returns the spirit resumes its form and activities. Compare BELET.

**Ginem** A Bagobo (Philippine Islands) ceremony held in December to thank the spirits for success in domestic affairs and war, to drive off the buso, to ward off illness, and to gratify the spirits so that they will favor the people in the future. Formerly the Bagobo went on a skull raid before the Ginem and the spoils were tied to ceremonial poles and dedicated to Mandrangan and Darago. Today offerings such as clothes and knives are made and the spirits are asked, in return, to grant a good harvest and health. Then the poles, now used without skulls, are decorated, carried into the datu's house, and a chicken is sacrificed. Each magani (a person who has killed two or more persons) then confesses his warlike deeds. A feast, dancing, and songs follow until dawn. In the areas where this ceremony lasts longer than one day the celebration on the succeeding days consists primarily of feasting.

**ginger** The pungent, spicy rootstock of a tropical plant (*Zingiber officinale*). This spice has been cultivated in the East since time immemorial and is now also grown in the American tropics. Probably indigenous to China, ginger is used throughout the world as a spice. It is chewed as an aid to digestion and a cure for flatulence, and in many places to relieve toothache. In Russia a little ginger is sprinkled in warm rum and a piece of cotton soaked in the mixture is placed in the tooth. In Melanesia it is used to win the affection of women. In the Philippines it drives out the evil spirits which cause disease. If a fisherman chews ginger and spits on his bait, catfish will flock to his hook.

**Wild ginger or Indian ginger (*Asarum canadense*)** North American Indians believed would when cooked with spoiled meat prevent ptomaine poisoning. They also used the root to cure sore mouth and earache.

**Gingerbread Boy or Man** The American title of a general European cumulative tale commonly known

as the *Fleeing Pancake* (Z31.3.1; Type 2025). A woman makes a gingerbread boy who springs up and runs away. Various animals, one after the other, try to stop him, until at last the fox catches him and eats him up. The defiance uttered by the Gingerbread Boy to the pursuing animals build up into the cumulative formula. To the dog he says, "I ran away from an old woman, and I can run away from you, I can!" By the time he meets up with the fox, a whole series of pursuers has accumulated: "I ran away from an old woman, a dog, and a cat, and a mouse, and a hen, and I can run away from you, I can!" Whereupon the fox swallows him at one gulp.

**Ginnungagap** (1) In Teutonic mythology, the fathomless abyss between Niflheim and Muspellheim. The cold winds from the abyss turned the streams into blocks of ice which made an incessant thundering as they fell into the chasm. Sparks from Surtr's sword in Muspellheim fell on the ice and made steam which turned into layer on layer of hoarfrost and in time filled it up. Eventually this mass received life, becoming the giant, Ymir. When Ymir was slain, Odin, Vili, and Ve threw the body into the chasm where his body became the earth and his blood the sea.

(2) The name given to the sea between Greenland and America in the 11th century.

**ginseng** An herb (genus *Panax*) native to North America and China. This plant is highly valued as medicine in China, Japan, India, and among some tribes of the North American Indians because of the resemblance of its root to the figure of a man. It has sometimes been confused by European writers with the mandrake because of this resemblance, but it has none of the narcotic effect of the mandrake. It is held in highest esteem in China and commands a high price even today. At one time the Chinese and Tartars fought for possession of the countryside where it grew and one Tartar king is said to have erected a wooden palisade around an entire province to protect his supply. This root was the property of the emperor of China. Those engaged in gathering it were required to furnish 2½ pounds to the emperor free, and for all they collected in excess of this amount, he paid them an equal weight in silver, which was about a quarter of its market value.

During the early days of the China Trade in New England, shipmasters did a thriving business in American ginseng. This was considered inferior to the Chinese variety, but still commanded a considerable price. In Korea cultivated ginseng is considered worthless, but it was grown by a government monopoly for export. They prized the wild variety, however, and believed that only those who led a pure life could find it, and even to look on the root gave strength and vigor.

In China ginseng is the elixir of life and a cure for all of the ills of mankind. It is also taken regularly by those in perfect health who can afford it, to give them strength and vigor, long life, and clear judgment. The root is powdered and taken in tea or wine. In Japan it gives longevity. In India it is a cure for malaria. Among the Indians of North America ginseng was prescribed for the stomach, flux, menses, sore gums, and sometimes as a love medicine. Bowker's *The Indian Vegetable Family Instructor* (1836) mentions that the dry root grated in hot water is good for stomach-ache

caused by wind. In some parts of Indiana the leaves are smoked by persons suffering from asthma.

**gip** An English country dance term. It is an exchange of partners who continually face either toward the center or away from it as they describe a circle. [CRK]

**Gipsy folklore** There is more folklore about Gypsies than there is Gipsy folklore. For instance, they were formerly believed to be Egyptians, hence the name Gypsy or Gipsy. But because they call themselves Romany, the folklore of the Gypsies is discussed under ROMANY FOLKLORE.

**Grle Guairle** The name of a fairy woman of Irish folklore who took on the task of spinning and weaving some flax for a mortal woman on condition that she remember her name. She told the woman her name was Grle Guairle, but the woman forgot it, and was in great dread of the penalty. One day beside a fairy rath she overheard a voice singing:

If yon woman knew my name to be  
Grle Guairle

I would have neither frieze nor canvas.

When the time came, and the fairy woman came with the completed work, the woman greeted her with the words, "Welcome and health to Grle Guairle." So the fairy had to give her the finished cloth, and then went off in a rage. See NAME TABU; RUMPELSTILTSKIN.

**girls' puberty rites** See ADOLESCENCE CEREMONIES.

**Girru** The Babylonian fire god; son of Anu and of Ea; the name is another form of *Gibil*. Girru was a god of metalwork, of the purifying element of fire which destroyed evil. He was identified with the fire in heaven, with the fires in the earth, with the sacrificial altar fire: as god of the latter, he became the intermediary between gods and men, hence the messenger of Bel. Compare HEPHAESTUS.

**gitano** Literally, in Spanish, gipsy; an erotic couple dance of the Gypsies of southern Spain. These Gypsies came originally from northern India by way of Egypt and brought with them their heritage of eloquent arm movement and impassioned mournful song. Groups gather spontaneously in the streets of the Gipsy barrios or precincts, or in taverns. As in the flamenco, performer and spectators are drawn into communal enthusiasm, the audience participating with swaying, hand-clapping, and shouts of *olé*. [CRK]

**Gizō** The Spider of Hausa folklore; hero of numberless animal stories. Gizō is said to be the national hero of the Hausas, noted for his bravado and cunning, his sleeplessness, his rapacious appetite, and his ability to escape the consequences of his own tricks by his wits. He can outwit the lion, the hyena, the jackal, hippopotamus, elephant, the snake, and sometimes man. The praying mantis (*kōki*) is considered his wife. See ANANSI.

**Glas Gaibleann** Literally, a gray, white-joined cow: in Old Irish mythology, the wonderful cow that gave an inexhaustible supply of milk. She was owned by a famous smith of Ireland, some say Goibniu, some say another, and some say Cian owned her. Anyway, the smith was making swords for Cian, who guarded the cow, and Cian was inside watching the making of the swords, that day Balor came off his island to the main-

land and stole the cow. He took her off to Tor Mór, now Tory Island off the coast of Donegal. Cian in disguise went after him to win back the Glas Gaibleann. That night he slept with Ethne, the young daughter of Balor, who loved him and gave him the halter of the cow. And Cian took the Glas Gaibleann back to the smith. Lúg was the child born to Ethne from that night's love.

The Glas Gaibleann still walks in Ireland. *Port na Glaise*, harbor of the Gray Cow, is the name given to any richly fertile pasture, from the belief that if the Gray Cow slept in it, she gave some of her own abundance to the grass. "The Gray Cow slept there," is often said of a fine field. And it is well known that a strange cow often comes to stay with a poor family, giving abundant milk and many calves, until some fool strikes her or milks her into a leaky bucket. Then she disappears as suddenly as she came. Nobody knows for sure if it is the same one, but she is called either Glas Gaibleann, the gray white-loined cow, or sometimes the Cow of the Smith.

**glass mountain** In folktale, the mountain of glass at the end of the world, near the otherworld: a motif (F751) appearing in tales from eastern and central Europe, the British Isles, and Scandinavia. A. H. Krappe (*MLQ* 8: 139-145) held that the glass mountain, a folktale representation of the land of the dead, was originally the amber mountain, the coincidence of the places of appearance of the motif with the old amber routes, and the apparent identification of the land of the dead with the Frisian archipelago, supporting his argument. In later folktales, the glass mountain is one of the tests a suitor, often the dragon-slayer, must surmount in order to win the princess (Types 425 and 530; H331.1.1; H1114). The glass mountain appears also in tales of the lost wife or husband, and here more nearly is related to the land of the dead (compare the Orpheus story). Witches, ogres, swan maidens, and other supernatural beings live on the mountain in still other tales. Quite clearly, it early was a land of the dead, later transformed by story-tellers into a magical place where the princess, for safety, voluntarily or by her father, was placed, and which the hero, using animal claws or thrusting bones into the glass as a ladder, climbed to win her.

**Gluskabe or Glooscap** Culture hero of the Wabanaki Indians of northeastern United States: sometimes identified with Nanabozho, perhaps erroneously so. The consistently altruistic character and human appearance of Gluskabe distinguishes him from the culture heroes of other North American Indian groups. None of the crude buffoonery associated with many North American culture heroes attaches to him; in myths where Gluskabe and Turtle appear together it is Turtle who is frequently the butt for humor. One of Gluskabe's first deeds was to avenge the death of his mother, who had been wilfully killed by Wolf, Gluskabe's younger twin brother. Later Gluskabe is abandoned by jealous neighbors, and his housemates are kidnapped; he rides a whale, overcomes difficulties, and rescues his housemates. After overcoming Jug-Woman, and surviving a trip through dangerous underground rapids, he rescues a friend from Snake, chases a giant beaver which gets away, reduces the size of dan-

gerous beasts, breaks the windbird's wing to regulate the wind, and kills Frog monster, thereby releasing impounded water. In the end Gluskabe retires from the world. Like several other Algonquian culture heroes, he answers requests for eternal life by turning suppliants into trees or stones, but grants more moderate requests made of him by human beings. [Ewv]

**gnome** One of a species of deformed and dwarfish underground beings, whose element is the earth itself, and whose function is usually said to be guarding hidden treasure and quarries. Jewish cabalistic tradition locates them in the very center of the earth. The word was popularized by Paracelsus; in his usage it designated a group of beings who could swim through solid earth as fish swim through water.

**goat** Among the Greeks and Romans the lore of the goat is various. A goat was the prize in the cult of Hera, was prohibited in the cult of Athena, but a goat was sacrificed once a year on the Athenian Acropolis. A worshipper of the Brauronian Artemis called a goat his daughter and sacrificed it once a year. Five hundred goats were sacrificed in thanksgiving for the victory at Marathon. Aphrodite rode a goat and the animal was sacred to her. Goats were sacrificed at the Roman Lupercalia. Dionysus assumed the form of a goat, and Pan, the fauns, and satyrs have goat (or goatlike) bodies.

In Christian Europe goats are thought to have been familiars of witches or of the Devil who comb their beards once a day. The lechery of the goat is part of European proverbial lore. In some places goats are bringers of fertility. They are bride-gifts in Bulgaria and are connected with marriage in South Africa and the Vosges. Ritual intercourse between women and goats is indicated in Semitic and Latin areas. Goats cause eclipses in Burma by eating the sun or moon. Among Jews goats were sacrificial animals. The Americanism, "to get his goat," means to reduce a man to frustration and rage. Goat is a frequent character in Negro folktale. Among the Hausa, for instance, he can outwit both Lion and Hyena. The Yoruba have a legal story in which Goat outwits Leopard. [RJJ]

**goat darce** An impersonation of the he-goat demon, invested with a special repulsive fascination, a predisposition to mischief and licentiousness, and a great phallic potency. This creature evidently originated in Thrace, in the cloven-hoofed Dionysian satyrs and silenoi with attached phalloi. The Greek tragedy developed from the *tragodia*, or sacrificial goat-song, the lewd, satiric *sikinnis* from satyr-plays. Their violent dances were trotting and brutish rather than insane as those of the Maenads. Goat impersonations reappear in medieval morality plays as devils, in Carnivals as goat-demons, particularly recognizable in the modern Thracian *Kalogheroi*. In the New World goat masks are probably a Catholic remodeling of native woodland deities. But Indian fantasy has re-created unique clown-demons in the black-faced *macho cabrillo* or he-goat of the Yaqui *Pascola* and Guerrero *Tecuanes*. [GPF]

**goat that flagged the train** Subject of a favorite American barbershop quartet song, entitled *The Goat*, sung to the same tune as the drinking song, *When I Die*, in close harmony and with echo imitation. The text

tells of a goat that ate three red shirts off the clothes-line, was tied by his owner to a railroad track, but saved himself as the train came along by coughing up the shirts and flagging the train.

**gobadán** The little sandpiper of the Irish shores. There is an Irish proverb to the effect that the gobadán cannot attend to the two ebb tides (i.e. cannot work both night and day).

**goblin** A household spirit who plays the same role in French folklore as the Scotch and English brownies, bogles, and boggarts, the German kobolds, etc. He is very helpful around the house but also of capricious and erratic temper, mischievous and prankish, given to rapping on walls and doors, moving furniture in the night, breaking dishes, banging pots and pans around, snatching bedclothes off sleepers, etc. Food is left out for the goblin, and often doors are left open for him, just as for all household spirits of this kind in other parts of Europe. Goblins frequent homes where the wine is plentiful and the children pretty. They bring the children dainty tidbits but also punish them when they disobey their mothers. They are fond of horses and often ride them in the night, but also often tangle their manes. The recommended way to get rid of a goblin (if he becomes more of a nuisance than a help) is to sprinkle flaxseed on the floor. He is such a good housekeeper that he will be obliged to pick it up, but after a while he will get tired and go away.

**God** The Supreme Being of monotheistic religion, especially the Creator, the omniscient pervasive Spirit of the universe, and the Ruler of all creation of Hebrew and Christian belief. The use of Elohím (a plural form) in parts of the Old Testament, and Adonai (Lord), suggest a development from polytheism to monotheistic belief among the ancient Hebrews. Jahweh, as the Old Testament deity, was also the God of the New Testament, and Christianity recognized in this Being a triune personality: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. See ALLAH; JAHWEH; JESUS.

**god-eyes** The eyes of a god, specifically as depicted in some special way in ritual art representations. The eye of the Egyptian god Horus had a separate existence and bestowed wonderful gifts on mankind, such as oil, milk, wine, honey. The sun and moon comprised the two eyes of the god Rā. But of striking interest are the eyes of certain primitive gods whose whole facial distortions and superlatives of good and evil often reveal what man thinks and expects of his supernaturals. The faces of certain Alaskan Eskimo deities, for instance, and those of most North Pacific Coast Indians betray a concept of the terror-striking supernatural combined with the grotesque, funny, and almost human fellow.

The Huichol Indians of Mexico make symbolic god-eyes by weaving varicolored yarns across small square bamboo frames which are then fastened diagonally on bamboo sticks. These, the eyes of the god, are placed on the altar when a prayer is made, so that the eyes of the god may look on the supplication. They are used especially in prayers for male offspring and good health. The Tepecanos of Mexico have similar prayer sticks called *chimal*. Both are associated with the netted squash-blossom design of the Pueblo Indians which are also associated with male infants. See AI APAEC.

**Godiva (Lady Godiva)** Wife of Leofric, earl of Mercia, about 1040 A.D., who rode naked through the streets of Coventry. The legend is that her husband, lord of Coventry, had imposed severe taxes which caused great suffering among the people. He promised to repeal the taxes if his wife would exhibit herself. She was protected by her long hair and an edict that all shutters must be closed during the ride. One man who violated this edict became known as Peeping Tom. Between the 13th and the 17th centuries the ride was reenacted several times a decade. The legend is associated with motifs from general folklore. Thus Pliny reported that the druidic priestesses danced naked for religious reasons. In communities where nudity is not the way of life rituals performed in the nude bring rain, cure sterility, or are part of the tumescent phase of orgiastic practices. A number of Chinese stories report that some devils are so prudish that they are frightened away by an exhibition of the nude body. The modern nudist movement gives expression to obscure folk impulses not unconnected with ceremonial nakedness. Parades of naked men and women, the nudism of several religious sects, as well as individual exhibitions have been reported in recent times as a device to protest against civil or social injustice. A notable example of this is Saint Francis of Assisi, who on being rebuked by the bishop, snatched off his clothes and walked naked into the streets. Godiva's ride would seem to be more closely allied to this pattern than to the druid priestesses. [RBJ]

**gods** The deities, or beings who are worshipped, of the religions of mankind. Gods are of more than human powers, either specifically over one aspect of existence or over a more extensive area. They may rule such provinces as the sky, the earth, the waters, thunder; or such abstractions as luck, fertility, beauty, war; in any case, their power over such phenomena makes it necessary to invoke them and to propitiate, threaten, or to explain matters to them. The gods may be thought of as human in form, or animal in form (partly or wholly)—theriomorphic—, or as trees—dendromorphic—, or simply as invisible powers of no specific form. Some scholars believe that gods were once localized in individual objects or phenomena and later consolidated related areas to develop into high gods and eventually into monotheistic Creators and Fathers; others hold that monotheism was a much earlier stage of religion than this theory would indicate. See ANIMISM; ANTHROPOMORPHISM; MONOTHEISM; POLYTHEISM.

**Gog and Magog** (1) In *Ezekiel*, Gog is prince of Meshech and Tubal; one of the enemies of Israel. In *Revelation*, and later apocalyptic literature, Gog and Magog are aides of Satan the Antichrist. In both references, Magog seems to be a geographical term, a land taking its name from its prince, Gog. A. H. Sayce identifies Gog with Gyges; hence Magog would be Lydia.

(2) The names given to two 14-foot statues in London's Guildhall. It was said that they were the survivors of a race of giants descended from the daughters of Diocletian, and wiped out by Brut. The two captive giants were carried to the royal palace in chains, the palace standing where the Guildhall was later located. They are known to have been there during the reign

of Henry V, were destroyed in the Great Fire, rebuilt in 1708, and again destroyed in the Blitz in World War II.

**Gohei** Pieces of paper used as charms in temples and houses (Shinto). [JLM]

**Goibniu** The divine smith of Old Irish mythology, who with Creidne, the brazier, made spears and arms for the Tuatha Dé Danann. Literally, his name means forger. He was a famous magician, and served the brew of immortality at the feasts. His Brythonic counterpart is Govannon. See FEAST OF AGE.

**gold** Neolithic remains are rich in golden ornaments. Gold has been consistently the most highly prized of metals through the ages, though others, because of their scarcity, have surpassed it in price. Since gold was so highly valued, it early became associated with religion. It was used to make idols, as tribute, and as offerings to the gods. In India the *Rig-Veda* says the giver of gold receives a life of light and glory; the fifth Mohammedan Heaven was of gold. Vessels of gold are common to all religions. The druids used a golden sickle to gather their sacred mistletoe; in the Middle Ages herbalists emulated them by using golden instruments to gather their herbs.

Aristotle believed gold was to be found principally in rivers which ran to the south, as were also the noblest pearls. Others believed gold was begotten by the sun and that the heat of the underground veins slowly burned everything they came in contact with, turning those substances into gold. In the East Indies and Central America gold is believed to have a soul and many tabus are observed in taking it. In Central America it is gathered after prayer and fasting. In Sumatra, tin, ivory, and other materials may not be carried into a mine, lest the spirit of gold flee. Often mining is done in complete silence. The Dyaks of Borneo believe the soul of the gold seeks revenge on those who mine it. In Malaya they believe a golden roe deer owns the gold and can give or withhold it. They also believe the soul of gold departs when it is taken from the ground. In India it was believed that the griffons mined gold with their beaks and the Indians fought them to collect the gold.

Fighting with griffons was an easier method of obtaining gold than some dreamed up by the alchemists. Some alchemists, like the 18th century German Semler, believed they had succeeded in transmuting the base metals only to find that some kind-hearted assistant had smuggled a little gold leaf into the crucible to please his master. In spite of their fantastic theories and frantic efforts, the alchemists slowly and laboriously laid the groundwork for present-day chemistry. Any high school boy would laugh at the theory that gold was composed of copper and red sulfur, or quicksilver and sulfur, or that it was really quicksilver under the influence of the sun. Obtaining a golden goose, catching a leprecaun, or finding the pot at the end of the rainbow are as yet more practical means than transmutation for obtaining gold.

In early medical practice, gold was a potent curative force. The Chinese believed gold leaf the most perfect form of matter; an unguent containing it was the most powerful remedy of Chinese medicine as it gave renewed life to the human body. Among Western peoples

potable gold (gold dissolved in acid) was a panacea. Astrological healers claimed that gold fused under certain signs would cure appendicitis. Others believed a suitable verse inscribed on gold would cure the patient. Its freedom from rust was one of the principles on which physicians based their theories of gold as a preservative charm. That rubbing a sty nine times with a golden wedding ring will cure it is a belief which persists. See ALCHEMY.

**Golden Bough** The title of Sir James G. Frazer's comparative "Study in Magic and Religion," published in two volumes in 1890 and expanded to a monumental 12 volumes in 1911-15. The Golden Bough is the mistletoe, connected with Balder, Aeneas, etc. Beginning with the ritual surrounding the reign of the priest-king of Diana in the grove near Nemi, Frazer explains many ancient customs and beliefs related to magic, agriculture, kingship, divinity, tree-worship, tabus, totemism, rain, fire, etc., bringing to bear on his argument a tremendous mass of material from ancient and primitive cultures. The titles of the books included in *The Golden Bough* are: *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (2 vol.); *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*; *The Dying God*; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in Oriental Religion* (2 vol.); *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (2 vol.); *The Scapegoat*; *Balder the Beautiful* (2 vol.); and *The Golden Bough, Bibliography and General Index*. In 1936, *Aftermath, a Supplement to the Golden Bough*, included the results of some of Frazer's study since 1915.

**Golden Fleece** In Greek legend, the fleece of the ram on which Phrixus and Helle escaped, and which hung in the grove at Colchis. See ARGONAUTS; JASON; MEDEA.

**goldenrod** A widely distributed North American herb (genus *Solidago*) with erect stalks carrying small heads of yellow flowers, sometimes in clusters. It is the state flower of Alabama, Kentucky, and Nebraska. Some say that where goldenrod grows there is treasure buried, and if it appears near a house where it has not been planted, the inmates will have unexpected good fortune. The stalks are sometimes used in divining water. In New Hampshire they say that if a gall from a goldenrod stalk be carried by a person suffering from rheumatism, he will be free from the pain as long as the grub in the gall is alive. Among the Chippewa Indians it was a cure for pains in the chest, fever, ulcers, boils, convulsions, sore mouth, diseases of the lungs, kidneys, and women's diseases. In Ontario it is used in a cure for hay fever. Elsewhere it is considered good for wounds and bruises, both internal and external. The flowers make a lotion which is soothing for bee stings. In some parts of the United States goldenrod was formerly used as a substitute for tea.

**golden rule** The rule of life given in *Matt. vii, 12*: Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also unto them. Compare SILVER RULE.

**Golden Vanity** A variant title, from popular tradition, of the broadside ballad *The Sweet Trinity* (Child #286). The title is the name of the British ship whose cabin-boy swims to a French galley and sinks it by drilling holes with an auger. *The Golden Vanity* (Child's B version) varies from *The Sweet Trinity* in that the cabin-boy, rather than accepting the captain's



refusal to give him a promised reward, threatens to sink the British ship in the same way and is hauled aboard where they "proved unto him far better than their word."

**golem** Anything incomplete or not fully formed, like an embryo, a needle without an eye, a woman who has not conceived: a Hebrew word used in Ps. cxxxix, 16 to mean "embryo." Adam, created from the dust, was thus a golem until the soul was given to him. In medieval Jewish legend, the golem was an automaton servant attributed to the great rabbis and wonder-workers, probably as a development of the stories of magic about Vergil the Necromancer, who had such an unhuman servant.

The most famous of all the golems was that of Rabbi Löw of Prague in the late 16th century. The rabbi used the golem as his weekday servant, but on Friday afternoons he removed the charm motivating it so that it might rest on the Sabbath. Once, when he forgot to do this, he had to chase the golem until he caught it just in front of the synagogue. There he removed the charm and the golem crumbled into dust. A group of tales about this golem exists, some concerned with the golem's championing of wronged Jews. The golem of Elijah of Chelm was the subject of debate by that rabbi's grandson: Was the golem capable of being the tenth and necessary man for a minyan (the quorum needed for prayer)? A golem of Rabbi Jaffe in Russian Poland was created to light fires and perform other duties not permissible to Jews on the Sabbath. But it exceeded its orders one day and burned up practically everything.

The golem was motivated by a charm, a Shem, or paper inscribed with one of the names of God. This charm was placed in the mouth or inserted in the head of the inert mass, which thereafter could move about and obey commands until the Shem was removed.

**Goliath** A Philistine giant of Gath, six cubits and a span (more than ten feet) tall; the champion of the Philistine army arrayed against Saul (I Sam. xvii). Goliath was slain by David, the shepherd lad, who slung a stone against the armored warrior and thus killed him in single combat. According to Jewish tradition, Goliath fell forward on his face, because this made it easier for David to cut off his head, and because thus the image of Dagon on Goliath's breastplate was shamed. With the help of Uriah, David removed the armor of the fallen giant, David promising Uriah, a Hittite, a Hebrew wife. For this rash promise, God made Bathsheba, David's destined wife, the wife of Uriah. Goliath's brothers, when David fled from Saul and sought refuge with the king of the Philistines, tried to have him executed, but King Achish refused on the grounds that the combat had been open and equal.

**Gomme, Lady Alice Bertha (1852?-1938)** Collector of rimes and games, the wife of George Laurence Gomme, to whom she was married in 1875. She was noted as an able collector of nursery rimes, folk games, and singing games which she brought together in the excellent, annotated *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1891-1898). Other works include *Children's Singing Games* (1894), in collaboration with C. J. Sharp; a collection of *Games for Parlour*

and *Playground* (1898); and with her husband, *British Folklore, Folk Songs, and Singing Games*.

**Gomme, Sir (George) Laurence (1853-1916)** English archeologist and a founder of the Folklore Society in England. His wife was Lady Alice Bertha (Merck) Gomme. He was knighted in 1911. He was at various times editor of *Archeological Review*, *Folklore Journal*, and *Antiquary*. In his *Folklore as an Historical Science* (1908) he attempts to prove the theory, originated by the Grimms, that folklore material may be used to establish historical facts, a theory which is no longer held. Gomme had a very profound knowledge of the past and current history of London, and his book, *The Making of London* (1912), is a classic in that field. Among other works are: *Primitive Folk-Moots* (1880), *Folklore Relics of Early Village Life* (1883), *Chapbooks and Folklore Tracts* (1885), and *Ethnology in Folklore* (1892).

**gong** The chief musical instrument of southeastern Asia; a more or less convex bronze plate, sometimes with a central boss, and with a narrow vertical rim, sounded by striking the center with a stick. While gongs differ from clapperless bells in that the sounding part of the gong is the center, rather than the rim, the uses and magical properties of the instrument are similar to those of bells. Gongs accompany religious ceremonies, drive out evil spirits, rout the demons of disease. In China, when a child had convulsions, a gong was beaten to summon its spirit into one of its garments, which could then be laid beside the child, safe from the demons who had lured it out of the body. Bathing from a gong is also believed to be curative. The winds respond to the voice of the gong and come at its call. Ownership of gongs, because of their magic power and actual cost, enhances social position and influence. Gongs may even serve as a medium of exchange. Drinking from a gong after taking an oath has a binding significance equivalent to swearing upon a sword or upon the Bible. Such is the respect in which certain gongs are held that they may be given names appropriate to their sound and significance.

Gongs are recorded in China from the 6th century and have been known in India and throughout the Malay Archipelago since the 7th and 9th centuries respectively. The oldest type is shallow and without the boss. Male and female distinctions are made in gongs, as in many other instruments, the deep bosses being regarded as male, and shallower ones, female. Sets of gongs played as chimes are characteristic of Javanese and Balinese orchestras which play for dancing, singing, and dramatic performances, and each set has a double range of tones designated as male and female.

As a signaling instrument gongs are played in a system of communication comparable to the African drum language. See BONANG; CAMELAN; REJONG.

**goose** An important bird in the mythology and folklore of the world from earliest times. The hero of the Finno-Ugric flood is said to have traveled in the form of a goose. The Goose god of the Siberian Ostyaks is one of their three high gods. Geb (Seb), the Egyptian god of the earth, was goose-headed. There were sacred geese in the Greek temples. And the sacred geese in the Roman temple of Juno saved Rome from invasion in the 4th century B.C. Livy tells the story about how the

Gauls sent scouts ahead of them into the city by night. They climbed the Capitol hill in silence but were loudly proclaimed by the cackling of the geese in the temple, were taken and killed, and the citizens were forewarned. Because of this a golden goose was carried annually in procession to the Capitol in honor of the birds.

In China a pair of geese is often given as a wedding present to a newly married couple, because geese are said to be faithful to each other. In the Middle Ages in Europe geese were often thought to be the familiars of witches and to serve as steeds for them to the Sabbath. The North American Mandan Indians formerly performed a goose dance at the time for the southern migration of wild geese. The ceremony was intended to make the geese remember the plentiful food of the region and was a supplication for their return in the Spring.

The medieval belief that the barnacle goose was hatched out of barnacles is a living belief today in Donegal, Ireland, where its flesh is eaten, the same as fish, on Fridays. In the English shires the goose is still a feature of the Michaelmas quarter-rent day, September 29. In Herfordshire "one goose fit for a lord's dinner" was part of every farmer's land rent, due on that day. The "goose with ten toes" was the goose *intentos* claimed by Lancashire landlords on every 16th Sunday after Pentecost or Trinity. This did not always fall on Michaelmas. In Denmark, the similar goose feast comes about St. Martin's Day, November 11.

In Maryland rural people sometimes say that the cackling of geese foretells rain. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia wild geese flying low are thought to indicate rain. If it thunders on Sunday new-set goose eggs will not hatch. In East Prussia it used to be considered bad for the geese for the housewife to spin on St. Matthew's Day, February 24.

In folktale the goose plays more roles than can be enumerated. The alarm spread by cackling geese is the incident comprising motif B521.3.2. A goose dives for a reflected star in the night, thinking it a shiny fish (J1791.8). Geese proclaim the beauty of the disguised goose-girl (K1816.5.1). A piece of land measured by the flight of a goose (K185.3) in which a man spreads the goose's wings and carries it over a large area (the domestic goose cannot fly far without lighting) is the motif of a French deceptive land measure folktale. See GOOSE GOD; GOOSE THAT LAID THE GOLDEN EGG.

The wild goose is an important symbol in Hindu mythology. Brahmā is depicted as riding on a magnificent gander, which is thus the manifestation on the animal plane of the god's creative principle, and a symbol of freedom through spiritual purity. The epithet "gander" or "highest gander" indicates the rank of Hindu ascetic, monk, teacher and saint.

The cosmic gander (the divine presence in the universe) reveals itself through a song, which is thought of as the breathing of the supreme being, the rhythm of inhaling and exhaling. This song has the sound of the word for gander, *hamsa*, the two syllables of which mean "I" and "this" or, when heard in reverse, "this" and "I". When the Indian yogi controls his breath through exercises, the "inner gander" is manifested through the repetition of its name, *hamsa*, *hamsa*.

A typical Hindu duality of thought, embracing simul-

taneously the earthbound and the divine, is apparently present in the concept. The twofold nature of the gander, at home on water, earth, or in the air, makes it a logical symbol, according to Zimmer, for "the divine essence, which, though embodied in, and abiding with, the individual, yet remains forever free from, and unconcerned with, the events of individual life."

**Goose, Game of** A dice-and-board game, perhaps as old as ancient Greece, revived in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe, modifications still remaining among the most popular of games. The board is inscribed or printed with a spiral or oval diagram having a starting point and a goal (marked with a goose in the French game of the 18th century). The players throw dice in turn to determine the number of squares or compartments they may move their counters towards the goal. A number of the compartments are special, requiring the player to go back three spaces, lose a turn with the dice, begin all over again, etc. The Game of Goose is thus similar to pachisi and related four-directions derivatives of divination. Adaptations of the game in the 19th and 20th centuries have been numerous, attempts at pedagogical instruction being superimposed in geographical tours and the like. The basic idea has appeared in game after game capitalizing on the latest fads and heroes. See GAMES.

**goose god** One of the three great gods of the Ostyaks of northwestern Siberia; protector of birds, especially of the Ob River. He lives in the mountains in a special nest made of furs and skins, which is the charge and care of a particular shaman. His images are made of copper, goose-shaped. Rich garments are sacrificed to him, which he wears. The goose is revered among the Ostyaks as possessing specific supernatural powers. The geese which appear every Spring out of the sky to settle on the rivers are believed to come from the sleeves of Tomam (the Ostyak mother goddess). The feathers which she shakes out of her sleeves every Spring become geese as they settle earthward.

**goose that laid the golden egg** The stories about the goose that laid the golden egg and was killed by its foolish and avaricious owner (D876), and the golden goose are known in all parts of the world. In western Europe, although the individual feathers of the golden goose bring wealth, greedy persons find that they are unable to pull their hands away from the bird (D2171.3.1), and by further elaboration the owner thus brings all the thieves to the king, makes the sad princess laugh, and is rewarded (H341.1). This is Grimm's story of the *Golden Goose* (#64). In an Indian version, the wife of a Brahman tears the golden feathers out all at once and they become valueless. By the law of substitution other animals such as an ass, ram, or bull take the place of the goose. In the story of the Golden Fleece, for example, this substitution may be observed. Similarly geese are sometimes substituted in the swan maiden cycle of shapeshifters. [RDJ]

**Gordius** In Greek legend, the father of Midas, and king of Phrygia. During a period of stress in the country, an oracle foretold that the king who would end the trouble would appear in a wagon. Gordius, a peasant, soon after drove into town and was recognized by the assembly as king. His wagon, with its yoke and pole fastened by a knot of bark, was dedicated by Gordius

to Zeus on the acropolis at Gordium. The oracle stated that he who untied the knot would rule over all Asia. When the conquering Alexander came to Gordium and was told the story, he drew his sword and cut through the knot, himself claiming application of the legend. The whole story is poorly authenticated.

**Gorgons** In Greek mythology, three hideous maidens, later represented as beautiful, but characteristically terrifying, with serpents in place of hair, golden wings, claws of bronze, and glaring eyes. In Homer, only one Gorgon is spoken of, a monster of the underworld whose head adorned the ægis of Zeus. In Hesiod, these daughters of Phorcys and Ceto were three: Stheno (the Mighty), Euryale (the Wide-springer), Medusa (the Queen), and because of later legend, the latter is meant when Gorgon is used in the singular. These sisters, of whom Medusa alone was mortal, lived in the farthest west, near Night and the Hesperides; later, their residence was located in Libya. In Attic legend, the Gorgon was a monster brought forth by Ge to aid the giants against the gods and slain by Athena, who placed the Gorgon's head beneath the agora. This legend is confused with the one of Perseus, who is said to have performed the burial instead of giving the head to Athena for her shield. A representation of the head of the Gorgon, called Gorgoneion, was placed on city walls and the shields and breastplates of soldiers as protection; when worn as an amulet, it protected against the evil eye. The Gorgons have been considered the personifications of the nightmare; the paralyzing effect of the head and the meaning of the name Euryale contributing to this hypothesis. Compare **ÆGIS**.

**Gotham** A village in Nottinghamshire, England, whose inhabitants during the later Middle Ages acquired the reputation of being born fools. According to a legend, the people deliberately drew down upon themselves this reputation in the 13th century. King John was to pass through the town, and either because the expense of entertaining him would prove too great or because they feared losing some of their good lands as public roads (a customary procedure where the king's troops had passed), the townsmen began doing foolish things to discourage the king from the visit. They drowned an eel in the pond, trapped a bird by building a hedge about it, and performed similar nonsensicalities, with the result that the king would have none of them. This apocryphal story explains the epithet "wise men (or fools) of Gotham," but is undoubtedly a fabrication. Elsewhere, as in the Chelm of Jewish noodle stories, the traditional fools are facetiously called sages, and this is the case with Gotham.

The earliest extant copy of the *Merie Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* was printed in 1630, but editions dating to 1560 or earlier are referred to by contemporaries. As with similar chapbooks, this was a storehouse of traditional tales, some traceable to India, about fools, and all attributed to the people of Gotham. For example, the tale of the 12 Gothamites who went fishing and feared that one of them had been drowned because in counting each forgot to count himself, is known in Russia, Scotland, India, and Iceland. See **NOODLES**; **PENT CUCKOO**.

**Götterdämmerung** The twilight of the gods: German name for Ragnarök, the day of the great battle between

the gods of the Teutonic pantheon and the forces of evil, which will usher in a new regime. In Wagner's opera, *Götterdämmerung*, last in the *Ring of the Nibelung*, it signifies the end of the rule of the gods and the beginning of the rule of love.

**gowk storm** In Scottish, Irish, and British provincial folksay, a spring storm believed to arrive with the gowk or cuckoo (in April). Consequently, any misfortune, turbulent but brief, is often referred to as a gowk storm. *Cuac* is the Irish word for cuckoo; the Old English is *geac*.

**Graces** The Gratiae of Roman mythology; identified with the Greek Charites. See **CHARITES**.

**Græe** In Greek mythology, the three "old women," sisters of the Gorgons whom they protected. Hesiod names only two, but later a third was added, the names being Pemphredo or Pephredo, Enyo, Deino. The sisters had gray hair from birth, the shape of swans, and one eye and one tooth among them. These latter they borrowed according to need, passing them back and forth. Perseus slipped among them, stole the eye, and thus was able to kill Medusa and escape the eyeless sisters with the cap of darkness. Some versions say that he returned the eye and tooth in exchange for the magic cap, shoes, and wallet.

**Grail** In medieval legend and romance, the Holy Grail, or Sangreal, was the dish used by Jesus at the Last Supper; it was preserved by Joseph of Arimathea, who received some of Christ's blood into it at the Crucifixion, and brought it to Britain, after which it disappeared because of the impurity of its guardians. Many knights went in quest of it. Galahad, Perceval, and Bors only were chaste enough in thought, word, and deed, ever to catch sight of it. The story is best known through Malory's *Book of Arthur*, Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, and Wagner's opera *Parsifal*.

The legends of the Grail are among the most widespread of the Arthurian cycle, existing in French, English, German, Norse, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Welsh, and Irish versions. The extant French texts or lost French romances are the sources of all the others, including the Welsh and Irish. The most famous medieval versions are Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval* or the *Conte del Graal* (c. 1180), which is the earliest extant; Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (c. 1205), Wagner's chief source; the *Queste del St. Graal* (c. 1210); and Malory's condensation of the last in his *Book of King Arthur*, erroneously entitled *Morte d'Arthur* (1469).

The Grail legend is extraordinarily confused and perplexing. The French word *grail* means a rather deep platter and is correctly equated with *escuele* and with Welsh *discyl*. But Robert de Borron seems to think of it as a chalice and Wolfram as a stone, on which the names of the guardian knights are inscribed. The custodian of the Grail is variously called Bron, Pelles, Amfortas, or Joseph of Arimathea. The hero who achieves the quest may be Perceval, Gawain, or Galahad. He may, like Gawain, be notorious for his amours, or, like Galahad, a virgin. In view of these and other inconsistencies it is not surprising that scholars have spent as many vain years following various clues to the mystery of the Grail as did the knights of the Round Table in the quest of it. Almost every year a new hypothesis is propounded.

Today the most widely held theories of the origin of the legend are three: the Christian, the ritual, and the Celtic. The first, which regards the phantasmagoric narrative as a deliberate concoction by Chrétien or some contemporary cleric about a eucharistic vessel, can be dismissed on the ground that in the earliest and many later versions the vessel is borne by a beautiful maiden, not by a priest, and the question which Perceval is supposed to ask, "Whom does one serve with the Grail?" has no conceivable relation to sacramental mysteries. If this was designed as a holy adventure, nothing could be more uncanonical or fatuous.

Jessie Weston put forward the plausible theory that the basis of the legend was a pagan fertility cult. The Maimed King was a sort of Adonis, whose sterilizing wound brought desolation on the land. The Grail and the bleeding spear were sexual symbols, the question test an initiation rite. As to the Waste Land, the theory is supported by the specific evidence of the texts, but the rest must be abandoned, both because no ritual of the sort can be cited from any country of Western Europe, and because Grail, spear, question, and many other features can be more adequately explained on the Celtic hypothesis.

This third view has the advantage of antecedent probability since the Grail stories form a part of the Arthurian cycle. Once grant that we are dealing with a highly conglomerate body of fiction, the product of generations of Irish, Welsh, and Breton reciters and of later French men of letters, and we can not only understand the gross disharmonies of the tradition, but also account for nearly every feature. It is impossible in limited space to offer proof for the following statements but the evidence may be found in the bibliography.

An Irish tale, *The Prophetic Ecstasy of the Phantom* (before 1056), tells how a king of Ireland met the sun god Lug, was invited to his palace, found Lug already arrived there before him, and was served with huge portions of meat by a crowned damsel, the divine personification of Ireland. She supplied the king with drink, asking Lug, "Whom shall this cup be given to?" Not only is this sequence of events dimly recognizable in Perceval's visit to the Grail castle, not only is the question echoed in the meaningless question test, but also Lug's lightning spear is the prototype of the bleeding lance, and Ireland personified is one of the prototypes of the Grail bearer, for both these stately damsels assume elsewhere a hideous shape. From Irish sagas too we get examples of kings (Nuada; Conn of the Hundred Battles) whose maiming or whose union with an evil woman brought calamity on their realms, as in the case of Wolfram's Amfortas.

In the Welsh stage of the tradition Lug was supplanted as host by the sea god Bran, who like Chrétien's Fisher King was wounded in the foot by a spear in battle; the drinking vessel gave place to a platter of plenty, "the *Dysgl* of Rhydderch; whatever food was wished thereon was instantly obtained." There is every probability that this dish was one of the magic possessions of Bran, who was famous for his hospitality and whose followers, as they feasted for 80 years, never grew older. Certain it is that one French romancer calls the Grail King Bron, three others declare that the Grail supplied whatever viands one desired, and still another describes twelve knights feasting in the Grail castle who,

though over a hundred years old, seemed to be only 40. Wolfram, too, says that whatever a man held his hand out for in front of the Grail, he found ready, warm dishes or cold, flesh of wild or tame; and that if one looked upon the talisman for two hundred years, yet no sign of age but gray hair would appear. Moreover Bran possessed a horn of plenty; "the drink and the food that one asked one received in it when one desired." This reappears in Arthurian romance as a *cor beneit*, blessed horn, and in corrupt form as the name of the Grail castle, Corbenic or Cambenoyt. Mistaken for the *treisbenoit corps* of Christ, the mass wafer, it was also responsible for the many eucharistic associations which gathered about the Grail.

Other Welsh elements contributed to the legend. Kilhwch's arrival and reception at Arthur's court parallels the account of Perceval's at the same court, as narrated by Chrétien de Troyes some 80 years later. Kilhwch's adventures include the quest for several magic vessels—a cup, a dish, a horn, a caldron—and though no precise connection can be made, we seem to have foreshadowed here the quest theme of the French romances.

Essentially, then, the Grail legend represents the interweaving of a score of strands from Irish and Welsh myth and fable. W. P. Ker was right in asserting: "Everything in the poets that is most enthralling through the mere charm of wonder, from the land of the Golden Fleece to that of the Holy Grail, is more or less nearly related to mythology."

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ROGER S. LOOMIS

**Gráinne** In the Finn cycle of Irish heroic story and romance, the daughter of Cormac mac Art, promised wife of Fionn MacCumhal. She fell in love with Diarmuid of the love spots. Once she had seen him she could not quench her love, and persuaded him (though he was unwilling) to elope with her. After the famous pursuit and Diarmuid's tragic death, Gráinne loathed the sight of Fionn. But Fionn wooed her with gentleness until finally she became his wife. She was mocked for her "heart of woman that changes like water." Gráinne typifies the glamorous, tragic, passionate, and realistically human Irish heroine. Deirdre and Gráinne are the two contrasting heroines of Old Irish literature.

**grāma-devatā** The guardian village gods of India. Among the jungle tribes these deities are the tribal gods of mountain or forest. The worship of the grāma-devatā is animistic and dates from pre-Aryan times. Beliefs about them are vague, but generally they are considered spirits of good and bad and the cause of all unusual events. The object of their worship is propitiation, since they are beings of uncertain temper and of various func-

place. In some places they are the smallpox or cholera goddesses.

Their shrines are often only a pile of stones under a tree, a boundary stone, or a little brick building containing a rough figure of the deity, or sometimes a rude stone platform under a tree, bearing a pile of stones or an iron spear representing the deity. Frequently there is a permanent shrine and a temporary one is erected for a festival. In this a clay image, stone pillar, or roughly carved figure is placed. A small, portable, metal image of a brass or earthenware pot filled with water and decorated with margosa leaves is sometimes used in festival processions.

The priests or *pūjārīs* are usually drawn from the lower castes because the aboriginal inhabitants are believed better able to deal with these godlings. There is no uniformity in their worship. Daily, weekly, or annual offerings are made. These include rice, flowers, fruit, incense, camphor, milk, spirituous liquor, goats, and pigeons.

The *grāma-devatā* are primarily female, and symbolize the facts of village life. They are often identified with the Earth Mother or with the Mothers whose worship prevails in western India. In Mysore they are called *Amma* (plural *Ammanavarū*), *Māramma*, or *Māriamma*. In Orissa they are *gramdevatī* or *thakurānī*. In the north they are also called *gānu-devī*, *gānu-devatā*, *dih*, and *dihvār*.

Local worship includes an enormous miscellany of village deities and Brāhman gods. In areas where Brāhman influence is strong, an attempt is made to connect these gods with Śiva and Viṣṇu as avatars and in many places this absorption is almost complete. The best known among the *grāma-devatā* include Āyānar, Bhairon, Gaṅgām Deo, Hanumān, Māriamma.

**Gran** In Teutonic mythology, a magic sword which insured victory in battle. Odin thrust it into the Branstock oak in Volsung's hall and Volsung's son Sigmund alone could withdraw it. It never failed Sigmund until Odin broke it during the battle with the Hundings. His wife, Hjordis, saved the pieces and later gave them to their son, Sigurd, who had them reforged by Regin and used it to slay the dragon, Fafnir.

**Grandfather** The culture hero of the Cariri Indians of eastern Brazil, sent to earth to help the people by Touppart, the Cariri supreme deity. One day Grandfather was taking care of the children while the adults were off hunting. He changed them into peccaries and took them all into the sky with him up a tree, which he made the ants cut down. The Cariri tried to recreate the tree, but could not; the children tried to descend by means of a rope made of their girdles, but it was too short and they fell. Grandfather remained in the sky, but sent the people the gift of tobacco, to which they still make offerings.

Grandfather is the one who gave the Cariri enough women. In the beginning there was only one woman for the whole lot. The men begged Grandfather for more. He sent them hunting, cut up the one woman into as many pieces as there were men, and gave each man a piece to hang in his hut. The next time the men came home from hunting, each found a fine wife cooking food in his hut. See WOMEN.

**grandmother's funeral** In the United States, the traditional excuse for not going to work in order to attend the baseball game: said to be the standard excuse of the office boy to his employer, especially on the opening day of the baseball season in April.

**grand right and left** An American square dance term. Partners face each other, join right hands, and walk past each other, thus bringing each face to face with another lady or gentleman with whom each joins left hands in passing. They proceed half way around, giving right and left hands alternately, and then promenade to places. [CRK]

**grapevine twist** An American square dance figure. The leader guides the whole line of eight dancers in a series of loops between couples and around. [CRK]

**grass dance** A strenuous social dance performed by men's societies of the North American Plains Indians. It evidently originated in the Pawnee *irusha*, and thus goes back to the Dakota *heyoka* and Omaha-Osage crow-belt. It has lost the fire symbolism of the *irusha*. The Crow Indian hot dance is like the grass dance and has also lost the exhibitions of immunity to fire, characteristic of the Arikara hot dance. The grass dance has retained many elements, such as feasting on dog meat, the crow-belts or bustles, roach headdresses, pipes. There is a whistle-bearer, and a whip-bearer for urging lagging dancers, sometimes a sword-bearer. It added the boasting and the give-away features of the Calumet ceremony, such as giving horses and blankets to the poor and old, formerly also, as bravado, a throwing away of wives.

A bunch of grass at the belt is the special emblem of the grass dancers. Members of the several societies dance in turn, singly or in pairs, exhibiting their full agility in bends and jumps accompanied by cries. The singers in the center beat a large drum. The grass dance became widely adopted, notably by the Sarsi, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Arikara, Hidatsa, Arapaho, Pawnee, Omaha, Iowa, Ponca, Kansa, Dakota, Menomini, and Potawatomi Indians. Among the Chipewewa and Winnebago it is an intrusive dance during the dream dance. Its spread preceded the ghost dance by several decades, and was motivated similarly by economic conditions and as an outlet for energies in times of distress. Its fine songs serve as a further attraction. Among the tribes that have retained it, it has lost its ceremonial features, and is an occasion for display and merriment. [CRK]

**grateful dead** The motif (E341 ff.; Types 505-508) of a very widespread group of folktales, which typically begin with the hero, as he starts on a journey, coming upon a group of people ill-treating or refusing to bury the corpse of a dead man who had died before paying his debts. The hero gives his last penny, either to pay the man's debts or to give him decent burial, and goes on his way. Within a few hours a traveling companion joins him (occasionally in the form of a horse or other animal, but usually in human form), who aids him in some impossible task (or a series of tasks and adventures), gets him a fortune, saves his life, marries him to a princess, etc. Sometimes the companion helps the hero on the condition that they divide all winnings. Sometimes this proves to be half the princess, or a first-born

child. But he relents and relinquishes his half when the other is about to fulfil the promise. The story ends with the companion's disclosing himself as the man whose corpse the other had befriended. (See Gerould, *Grateful Dead*, Folklore Society, 1908). See TOBIT.

**grave and graveyard** Primitive peoples are apt to consider the grave as the home of the departed and try to make it comfortable. Huts are often erected above the grave (South America, Philippines, New Guinea, East Central Africa) or underground chambers are provided (West Africa, ancient Crete). To the grave today relatives bring flowers, and in some cultures food and drink (Russia and China).

The shape of the grave and of the mound, barrow, or tomb above it varied. It might be shallow or deep, fenced against wild animals or leveled to hide it from cannibals, ghouls, and marauders. In the grave the body might be left sitting, squatting, or prone on side or back. The direction in which it was faced or headed was important and varied greatly—Moslems toward Mecca, Christian Europeans toward the West, migrant tribes toward the homeland of their ancestors. Solomon Islanders were always buried with their feet turned inland.

Gravestones, earlier considered shrines to the ghost, are now mere markers, but vary from large and elaborate stones to small wooden signs. Inscriptions and epitaphs defy death, hope for immortality, and usually praise the deceased. Graveposts (American Indians) may be upright or prone and are rudely carved and dressed to resemble the dead man.

Urns, now pots for growing plants, once served as burial receptacles for bones and ashes, as in many burials in the very old (900–400 B.C.) Hallstatt, Austria, burying ground. Willow, cypress, and yew trees are thought appropriate for graveyards. The willow's pendent branches express sorrow; the upright conical cypress, hope; the yew's evergreen leaves, eternal life. In China for centuries cypress and pine have been planted on graves to strengthen the souls of the departed.

Graves are sacred ground, not to be carelessly trodden. Graveyards are to be avoided at night when ghosts may stroll.

The word cemetery, now preferred euphemistically to graveyard, means literally sleeping chamber, and was first used of the catacombs of Rome, then of the consecrated ground around a church, now of any graveyard.

Certain sects controlling cemeteries exclude persons of another faith or no faith, also murderers and suicides. Poor persons buried at civil expense are interred in an undesirable section called the potter's field, after the land bought "to bury strangers in" allegedly with the blood money of Judas (*Matt.* xxvii, 7), although some scholars hold that the name of this cemetery, Akeldama or Field of Blood (*Acts* i, 19), is a Christian corruption of Akeldamach, Field of Sleep. See BURIAL; CAIRN; CREMATION; FUNERAL. CHARLES FRANCIS POTTER

**Gray Goose** An American Negro ballad, probably of pre-Civil War origin, preserved as a work song among convicts of the Texas State Penitentiary. It is one of the few animal ballads of America and shows the West African pattern of the animal that outwits or outlasts

its enemies. The goose survives shooting, cooking, and sawing, and finally flaps off honking with a string of goslings behind it. The refrain, "Lawd, Lawd, Lawd," is sung by the chorus when it serves as a gang song.

**Great Bear** The constellation usually known as Ursa Major, the Big Dipper, Charles's Wain, etc.: subject of etiological myth and folktale among almost every people, ancient and contemporary, on whom it shines.

In the cold fierce winter a big bear used to devour the game of the Iroquois Indians. The hunters could not catch it; always, just as they came upon it, it would disappear and leave no track. No one ever got close enough to shoot an arrow. One night three brothers in a certain village dreamed that they found the bear. In the morning they took the three dreams for a sign and set out secretly to search for him with their little dog, Jiyeh. Often they saw the bear, but it always vanished in the snow leaving no trail. They did not stop to rest, either night or day, but always kept following the bear or its shadow through ice and snow and pitiless winds, until they came to the edge of the world where it touches the northern sky. There they stood and looked. They saw the icy mists and white clouds and the bear running through the snow on the mountains. So they climbed the paths into the cold north sky. Finally they saw the bear ahead of them, shouldering his way through the clouds and weaving a great invisible net as he traveled. At last they saw him crawl under the curved arch of a cave to rest. They had him at last, they thought. They meant to capture him asleep in the cave. But the bear heard them. He woke from his sleep, rose up with the net in his paws, gathered the hunters into it, and flung them into the sky. There they are yet with their little dog, forever following the great bear of the north who forever escapes.

The four stars in the bowl of the dipper comprise the bear; the three stars in the handle are the brothers, the perpetual hunters. The Iroquois also see the little dog following them. The arch of Corona Borealis shows the mouth of the cave the bear crawled into to rest.

This story of the bear and the hunters is known, with certain definite variations, among North American Indians from the Alaskan Eskimos to the Arizona pueblos, among the Sioux of the Plains, the Nova Scotia Micmacs, and the North Pacific tribes. See URSA MAJOR.

**Great Mother** The fertility goddess of Anatolia, known by various names throughout the region, and best known as Cybele. She was the source of life, and as such was identified with the nature, earth, and fertility goddesses of surrounding cultures, e.g. of Crete, Egypt.

**Great Spirit** The erroneous notion that among the Indians of North America there existed a general belief in an overruling deity, the "Great Spirit," is a popular fallacy of the 19th century which still persists to some degree. Although the concept of a supreme deity, either otiose or active, may have been aboriginal for some tribes, actually all groups recognized a number of supernatural beings and attributed power to a variety of animate and inanimate objects. Supernatural power for success in war, hunting, gambling, curing, witchcraft, oratory, and other pursuits could be obtained from a host of beings. Even though prayers might be addressed to one deity in particular in such major annual ceremonies as the Sun dance, the Big

House, or the busk (and even this was not always the case), no tribe can be said to have concentrated on the worship and propitiation of a single high god. [Ewy]

**Great Tellings** Long pseudo-historical narratives of the Mohave Indians; specifically, migration myths and war tales. The Mohave word for them is *ich-kanava*. There is no clear central theme; their great emphasis is on geographical detail, place names, the long marches, and the settlements, interwoven with infinite detail of food, itinerary, and the thoughts of the characters. A complete and uninterrupted recital of one of these narratives would take more than 24 hours. They are believed to have been revealed in dreams.

**Green Corn dance** A corn-ripening celebration held by American Indians at the time of the edibility of the first green corn, thus a specialized form of corn dance. It adds, to the thanksgiving motive of a harvest dance, a supplication for the continued prosperity of the plants. The Cherokee *se'lu* and Iroquois *oneont'oeng* are specific short corn dances that constitute part of the longer all-day sequences of the respective green corn ceremonials, *agohundi* and *ahdake'wäo*. The *agohundi* and Creek *busk* included the administering of medicine to avoid sickness from the eating of the unripe corn. This curative feature has superseded the original function among these two tribes, though other agricultural tribes, as the Iroquois, Delaware, and Pueblos, have adhered to the original significance. See CORN DANCE. [CPR]

**Greensleeves** An English love song of the Elizabethan period, mentioned by Shakespeare and by Beaumont and Fletcher, and contained in *The Dancing Master* of 1686 and in *The Beggars' Opera*. The bass of the melody is the *Passamezzo antico*, an Italian basso ostinato tune of the 16th and 17th century group of such tunes. The melody has been used for a number of other settings both folk and non-folk. A waits' New Year's carol dating from a black-letter collection of 1642 is among these.

**Gregory, Lady Augusta, née Perse (1859-1932)** Irish folklore student and playwright, wife of Sir William Gregory. She helped found the Irish National Theatre Society, and became director of the Abbey Theatre at Dublin. Her *Our Irish Theatre* (1914) is the story of this movement and theater. Her somewhat free renderings of the ancient Irish legends are, as a result of her poetic gift and sure choice of language, perhaps the most readable expositions of the stories. Among her works are: *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902), *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904), *A Book of Saints and Wonders* (1907), *The Kiltartan History Book* (1909), *Seven Short Plays* (1909), *Irish Folk History Plays* (1912), *The Kiltartan Poetry Book* (1919), *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (1920), *Three Last Plays* (1928), *Coole* (1931).

**gremlin** Any airborne supernatural being (spirit, demon, *hup*) whose function is to cause pilots and aircrew (especially military) trouble and inconvenience. So far as is known, these little people first began taking to the air during World War I, particularly among the R.A.F. However, it was 1922 before anyone dared mention their name. According to a letter to *Time* (Sept. 28, 1913) from a member of the British Air Commission, who prefers to remain anonymous for reasons of per-

sonal security, on a routine R.A.F. flight in that year, the pilot called the weather station at Le Bourget field, Paris, for a weather report and was warned, "Gremlins sur la manche." The warning did not make sense, but when his radio went out shortly thereafter he realized its implications. Some people say that the name derives from Old English *gremian*, to vex.

There is little agreement as to their description among those who have seen these little people. In *Punch* (Nov. 11, 1942), an article entitled "Gremlins, Aircrews, for the use of" says: "The standard Gremlin stands about twenty inches high and weighs some seventeen pounds in still air. In appearance it is rather like a North American Jack rabbit crossed with a bull terrier... (has) large ears which are usually covered with a rudimentary growth of hair, the facial expression being reminiscent of an A.C.2 who has just been advised that his 48-hour pass has been cancelled." W. E. Woosnam-Jones's article (*Spectator*, Jan. 1, 1943) says: "They stand about a foot high when in a fully materialized condition, and are usually clad in green breeches and red jackets, ornamented with neat ruffles. They always wear spats and top hats, although the Fleet Air Arm reports a marine species with web feet and fins on their heels. Oddly enough gremlins have no wings and always fly as passengers." *The New York Times Magazine* (Apr. 11, 1943) mentions "The six-inch tall Gremlins with horns and black leather suction boots..."

However, all airmen, both flight and ground personnel, are agreed that the gremlins possess prodigious strength, a high degree of technical proficiency, and a working knowledge of aerodynamics, advanced mechanical engineering, and meteorology of a very high order. Of them, the motto, "The difficult we do immediately, the impossible takes us a little longer," is indeed a reality. For instance, the article from *Punch* mentioned above tells of gremlins having bodily inverted a Sunderland bomber on patrol over the Bay of Biscay, and the navigator's gremlin which "is a mover of mountains, islands, aircraft-carriers (and)... under extreme conditions it will reshuffle all the stars in the heavens." Woosnam-Jones claims that gremlins have placed the runways of every training airport in Britain on hydraulic lifts, and just as the pupil-pilot is about to make a perfect three-point landing, the duty gremlin pulls a lever either raising or lowering the runway as much as ten feet.

Heretofore, the gremlin has been looked on as a new phenomenon, a product of the machine age—the age of the air. This is undoubtedly an error. After three years of experience, observation, study, and thought on the part of the author, it appears that gremlins comprise a rather cosmopolitan citizen army of spirits. Whether banded together by loss of their homes through war damage, or merely from a natural curiosity concerning airplanes, they continue to prod man and keep him alert, as they have done in the past. Some gremlins are technicians who have been imparting knowledge to man since the beginning of the world; these are probably recruited from the ranks of fallen angels who admittedly know more of the workings of the universe than man will ever learn. Others are craftsmen and artisans such as the dwarfs who provided the knights of the Middle Ages with wondrous steel blades, helmets, and weapons. Some have special knowledge of

a particular element, such as the upper and lower air (and here we might mention the spandule which is a gremlin found only above 10,000 ft.). Lastly there is the rank and file of demons and imps who drink up fuel, bore holes in airplane wings and other parts, jab gunners and bombardiers just as they have their sights lined up, and the like. This theory was not arrived at exactly by logic: The author was examining a parted cable which bore obvious tooth marks in spite of the fact that the break occurred in a most inaccessible part of the plane, when he heard a gruff voice inquiring, "How many times must you be told to obey orders and not tackle jobs you aren't qualified for?—This is how it should be done," whereupon another cable parted with a musical twang. The voice was obviously "big brass" and a flashlight beam revealed an awed gremlin surveying the neat new break as a rear-end suggestive of an Inspector-General passed from sight. It was a neater job.

In spite of all that has been written, not all the activities of gremlins are destructive. Many times gremlins have banded together to assist a pilot fly home in a small percentage of the plane he was issued only a few hours before. [JWH]

**griffin** See GRYPs.

**grigri** The term for magic charms used by French writers, applied especially to those of West Africa. All reservations entered on the use of the word *fetish* apply in equal measure to employing this term in meaningful description. [MJH]

**Grimhild** (1) According to the *Sigurd* and *Volsunga Sagas*, the wife of Giuki, king of the Nibelungs and mother of Gunnar, Gudrun, and Hogni. She was an accomplished sorceress and continually brewed potions to make others carry out her wishes, as when she gave Sigurd the drink of forgetfulness, which made him forget Brynhild and marry her daughter, Gudrun.

(2) According to Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*, the mother of Gunther and Gutrune by king Giuki, and of Hagen, by the dwarf, Alberich. She was sometimes confused with Kerimhild.

**Grimm, Jakob Ludwig Karl** (1785–1863) and his brother **Wilhelm Karl** (1786–1859), German philologists and mythologists, the founders of scientific folklore study. The brothers were close companions throughout their lives, living together even after the semi-invalid Wilhelm married in 1825. They collaborated mainly on *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (vol. I, 1812; vol. II, 1815; translated into English in 1884 as *Household Tales*, but popularly known as "Grimm's Fairy Tales"); *Deutsche Sagen* (1816–1818); and *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (vol. I, 1854); but they published many other works separately or in collaboration. In the *Household Tales*, the Grimms not only produced a remarkable collection of the disappearing folklore of their people, but created a great literary masterpiece, important to the history of the German language and possessing few rivals in other countries.

Jakob Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835) laid the scientific basis for folklore research and won the name of father of folklore science. In his *Rechtsaltertümer* (1828), a study of old Teutonic laws, he discussed a kind of proverb which constitutes the body of popular law in non-literate societies. Jakob Grimm's great and exhaustive work *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819–1837), con-

taining his formulation of Grimm's Law (of the consonant changes in the Indo-European languages evolving to the Germanic languages), is generally considered as having laid the foundation of German philology. The work of Wilhelm Grimm, in revising the tales in the light of a growing knowledge of popular language and of variants of the stories, continued through enlarged and improved editions of the collection until 1857. Wilhelm's essay "On the Nature of Folk Tales" appeared in the second edition in 1819. In 1822 the brothers published a volume of commentary and comparative study of the tales, which formed the third volume of their folktale study.

The final statement of the Grimms' theories of folklore study was made by Wilhelm in 1856. The two chief ideas were: 1) that those tales which closely resemble each other were undoubtedly derived from a common Indo-European ancestry; and 2) the tales are broken-down myths and can be understood only through an understanding of the myths from which they derive. These two main theories are no longer accepted. But two others, made merely as suggestions and not developed further by Wilhelm Grimm, have been worked out and adopted by later scholars. These suggestions were: 1) that situations existed which were "so simple and natural that they reappear everywhere"; and 2) that peoples borrowed folklore materials from one another. These two principles were to become basic in the science of folklore.

**Grotta songr** The Grotti Song or Quern Song, preserved in the *Edda* of Snorri Sturluson. See FRODL.

**groundhog** or **woodchuck** A marmot (*Marmota monax*); the American species is known either as groundhog or woodchuck. The animal is associated with Candlemas Day (February 2). On that day, the weather is a most important affair, for on that date depends the good or bad luck for sowing and planting according to omens. If the groundhog comes out of his hole on February 2 and sees his shadow, he will go back in and stay six more weeks. So if the day is sunny, winter will continue and the result will be bad crops; if it is cloudy, the groundhog will see no shadow, and the reverse will be true. These notions prevail on the Continent and in England and are nowhere more popular than in the United States. Here the groundhog or woodchuck is the prognosticating animal; in Germany, it is the badger; previously in Europe and the United States, it was the bear.

In Missouri, Groundhog Day was officially established as February 2 by Act of the Missouri Legislature. However, in Arkansas and in Missouri and elsewhere, a hot controversy arose between individuals and in the press disputing this date. Old-timers cling to February 14 as the proper time for sowing and planting. To them, this date is Groundhog Day and not the usually accepted February 2.

The groundhog appears in some animal tales, for example in the Cherokee story, "Origin of the Groundhog's Dance" (James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, p. 279). It is essentially a *pourquoi* tale, but suggests the cleverness of the groundhog. In New England very many stories center about the woodchuck. [CFS]

**grues** Shocking quatrains of a gruesome nature are gleefully recited by adolescents and occasionally used as



fillers by newspapers and cheaper magazines and joke-books. They are concerned with the horrible fate or bloody misadventures of some enfant terrible, and run in popularity cycles with a current juvenile hero, Little Willie or Little Bertie. Robert Louis Stevenson is alleged to have named them "grues" which is credible, since in Scotland the noun "grue" means a fit of shivering. One of many variants widely circulated in the United States runs:

Little Willie on the track  
Didn't hear the engine's squeal:  
Now the engine's coming back,  
Scraping Willie off the wheel.

Another evidently of English origin is:

Prigged her mother's pickled peaches,  
Dotty did, and died with screeches:  
Heed this touching tale! It teaches  
Mothers shouldn't pickle peaches.

Short gruesome anecdotes of a similar character but done in prose have recently had considerable circulation in such cycles as the Little Moron tales and the Little Audrey stories. [CFF]

**Grundtvig, Nikolai Frederik Severin (1783-1872)** Danish theologian, historian, student of Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon, and poet; father of the folklorist Svend Hersleb Grundtvig. The elder Grundtvig was given the titular rank of bishop in 1861. Grundtvig had some influence on the educational development in his country, establishing schools in which the national poetry and like studies formed a part of the curriculum. He has been called the Danish Carlyle. Among his works are: *On the Songs in the Edda; Northern Mythology* (1808); *Decline of the Heroic Life in the North* (1809-1811); *The Rhyme of Roskilde*; a collection of religious poems called *Songs for the Danish Church* (sic) (1837-1841); and an anthology of early Scandinavian verse (1838).

**Grundtvig, Svend Hersleb (1824-1883)** Danish philologist and collector of Danish and Scandinavian folklore, was a son of Bishop N. Grundtvig. The son collected seven volumes of old folk songs, published as *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (1853-1912), their publication being continued by Axel Olrik after Grundtvig's death. He published a collection of Danish sagas, *Danske Sagn* (1854-1861), and three volumes of folktales, *Danske Folkeeventyr, efter utrykte Kilder* (1876, 1878, and 1884). From 1869 to his death Grundtvig was professor of Scandinavian philology at the University of Copenhagen.

**Gryps or Gryphus** In Greek mythology, a griffin; a monster with the head and wings of an eagle, the body of a lion, and sometimes the tail of a serpent, dwelling in the country between the Hyperboreans and the one-eyed Arimaspians. The griffins were enemies of horses and were constantly at war with the Arimaspians who tried to capture the gold guarded by the griffins. The chariot of the sun (sometimes those of Jupiter and of Nemesis also) was drawn by griffins. The idea of these creatures probably was brought from the East, perhaps from Indo-Iranian mythology. Wherever they appear in legend the griffins are always guardians of mines and treasure, as for example Scythian and Indian gold.

**Gu** An important god of Dahomey Negro religion; god of metal and war; son of Mawu and Lisa. At birth

his body was solid stone from which projected a sharp metal blade. He was sent into the world to help man cope with his environment. He gave man tools and implements, taught him their uses and manufacture (i.e. iron-working). He is conceived of as a power rather than as an animal or anthropomorphic deity; for instance, Gu was the tool in Mawu's hand when she created man, the sharp tool which shaped him.

**guabina** A couple dance of the interior of Colombia, characterized by a step-hop in 2/4 time against the 3/4 tempo of the guitars. Holding a kerchief between them, the dancers circle around a hat, advance, recede. [GPK]

**guardian spirits** Guardian spirits are a projection of the belief that the things people want are hard to get and are protected by a spirit or god or power which will be helpful if approached properly but can become dangerous and is frequently unfriendly. In China each plot of earth has its guardian, sometimes assisted by a wife and now and again by a servant. These are the generalized guardians of place propitiated by peasants in moments of great or small crisis. They are important in getting good crops and they conduct the soul of the farmer within a few hours after death to the next higher official in the divine bureaucracy.

Hidden treasures, like the gold of the Nibelungs, are guarded by dragons, gods, ghosts, spirits, demons, or other powers. Mountains, streams, marshes, forests, and seas have each its own guardian, which must be propitiated before a stranger is permitted to penetrate. Each individual also has his genius or guardian spirit. Some peoples have thought of these as two spirits, a good and a bad, associated with the "spiritual soul" and the "physical soul." When these two are not in accord they lead people to do things which are pleasant but wrong. [RJJ]

Throughout North America, Indians of almost every tribe sought to acquire supernatural spirit teachers, or guardian spirits, who through songs and advice, bestowed supernatural gifts for war, hunting, gambling, curing, oratory, and other pursuits upon the human being fortunate enough to establish contact with them. In many Indian tribes young boys nearing puberty were sent out, naked and without food, to fast and try to acquire a guardian spirit who would bestow power upon them through dreams and visions. Vision-questing took different forms among the different tribes; in some, youths were told to spend anywhere from two to four days in the woods, alone, or in a little perch in the trees; in other tribes they were made to dive in bottomless pools to acquire a guardian spirit. Some tribes allowed vision-questing during the winter only, others, at any time of the year. Girls, during their first menses, when they were isolated and semi-fasting in a hut built for that purpose, were also likely to acquire a guardian spirit. Such spirit might also appear to a child or youth or even to adults in dreams; young people, especially, were closely asked about their dreams by older relatives. At times a guardian spirit might appear, even though no fasting had been undertaken; the spirit was quite likely to have the shape of an animal, or snake, or bird, and later change into human form. It might give a song, and later return to see that the human being had learned the song properly, or to teach him or her additional songs. Usually the power

gained through instruction from a guardian spirit was not used until a person was nearing middle age, and often the source of power had to be kept a secret, or the power itself would be invalidated. A person could usually have more than one guardian spirit, if he were so blessed by the supernaturals. In many tribes the shamans, during curing ceremonies, called on their guardian spirits to come and help them; these would appear as animals, advise the shaman of the cause or seat of the illness, and otherwise help him; they would be summoned for this purpose through songs which the shaman had previously learned from them. The acquisition of a guardian spirit or spirits was probably one of the most important of all events in an Indian's life, and until he acquired one through fasting or dreams, he was always constantly urged to try and do so by close relatives. To refuse power from a guardian spirit on the grounds that the spirit knew only evil was extremely dangerous, but was sometimes done. [EWV]

✍ The concept of the guardian spirit is not as developed among South American Indians as it is in North America. The relationship between a man and a spirit is limited to the shamans. The Guiana and Amazonian *pagé* have at their service one or several spirits who help them in their profession. The ancient Charrua of Uruguay, however, seem to have had toward guardian spirits an attitude very similar to that of the North American Indians. The young men of the Charrua went into the wilderness and exposed themselves to severe hardships until they had a vision of a spirit who became their protector through life. The Island Caribs also established a close association with spirits who were their special guardians. It is still a debatable question whether the *wauki* (*guauqui*) or "mystical brother" of the Inca emperors were guardian spirits or not. [AM]

**Guatavita, Lake of** A lake in Colombia famous for the ceremonies of the gilded man (El Dorado). Every year the chief of the region, gilded with gold dust, and accompanied by his noblemen, went on a raft to the middle of the lake to make offerings to a snake god. [AM]

**Gudrun** (1) In the *Volsunga Saga*, the daughter of Grimhild and Giuki, king of the Nibelungs. She married Sigurd, after her mother had brewed a magic potion for him which made him forget Brunhild, his betrothed. Her brother, Guttorm, killed Sigurd to obtain the Nibelung gold. Later Gudrun married Atli, king of the Huns and Brunhild's brother. He also coveted the gold. He invited her brothers to visit him, and then treacherously attacked them. Gudrun fought with her brothers in the fight, but all of them were killed. In revenge, she slew her two sons by Atli, fed their hearts to him, and then killed him also.

(2) In the *Gudrun Lied*, a 13th century German epic, the daughter of Hilde and Hettel, king of Hegelingen. She was very beautiful and had three suitors: Siegfried, king of the Moorland; Hartmut, a prince of Normandy; and Herwig of Zeeland. Herwig made war against Hettel and won his consent to marry his daughter at the end of a year. Learning of this, Siegfried attacked Herwig's lands, to draw him off. But while Herwig and Hettel joined forces to attack Siegfried, Hartmut kid-

napped Gudrun. Whereupon Herwig, Hettel, and Siegfried were then unified and set off together to rescue her. Gudrun was captive in Hartmut's castle for 13 years, and because of her persistent refusal to marry him, his mother made the most menial of servants of her. She was finally rescued by Herwig and her brother Ortwin.

**Guinevere** In Arthurian legend, Arthur's queen, lover of Lancelot. She figures variously in medieval romance: Geoffrey of Monmouth presents her as Guenhuvara, ward of Cador of Cornwall, but of Roman descent; as Wenhaver in Layamon's *Brut* she is blood kin to Cador; in the 13th century *Arthur and Merlin* she appears as Gvenour, daughter of Leodegran of Carohaise. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Guenhuvara was left in the care of Mordred, Arthur's nephew, while Arthur was warring on the Continent. At Rome Arthur learned that Mordred had taken both the kingdom and the queen. Malory's 15th century *Book of Arthur* develops the love story of Lancelot and Guinevere in fullest detail to the moment of their betrayal to the king. Guinevere was sentenced to be burned at the stake, was rescued by Lancelot, was later restored to Arthur, during his subsequent wars, took the veil, and was eventually buried with him (legend says at Glastonbury).

✍ Guinevere may have been a historical person or a creature of myth. In Welsh literature she is called Gwenhwyvar, which, except for the first element meaning "white," is of uncertain origin. The story of her abduction by Melfas, King of the Summer Land, told by Caradoc of Lancarvan before 1136, and the story of her abduction by Meleagant, told by Chrétien de Troyes about 1170, seem to show that she had inherited the role of a Celtic Persephone. Her rescue by Lancelot and his four combats with Meleagant probably reflect the struggle for the possession of a vegetation maiden by the rival forces of winter and summer.

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**guitar** A flat-bodied stringed instrument plucked with the fingers, descended from the lute, which originated in the Orient and reached Europe with the Moors at about the period of the Crusades. It is the characteristic instrument for accompanying much of the folk song and dance of Spain and Italy, of the Gipsies, of Latin America, and of North American folk singers of the southern mountains and the western plains. Related popular instruments of the lute family include the Russian balalaika, the Hawaiian ukulele, and the Japanese samisen, all used to accompany folk and popular dancing and singing.

A connection between the guitar and witches and devils has been made in many areas. Tuscan witch songs include one about a witch who was changed into a guitar called La Magdalena, which was not restored to human likeness until after the passage of a century, when a wizard musician played upon it. Among American Negroes, playing the guitar is a part of the procedure in making a bargain with the Devil. Preparations include filing the nails, arming oneself with a bone of a black cat, and playing the guitar at the crossroads

at midnight. The approach of the Devil is announced by music which draws near to the player and accompanies his guitar. He must continue playing without looking up while the Satanic visitor exchanges instruments with him, clips his nails to the raw quick, and then withdraws. Thereafter, the Faustlike character has complete mastery of the guitar and is endowed with the gift of invisibility and other supernatural powers, for which he has given his afterlife to the Devil.

The guitar furnishes the chief accompaniment for flamenco music, for the bolero, and the South American *chacarera*, the son of Mexico and South America, the Portuguese *fado*, the cowboy and lumberjack songs of North America, the ballads, lonesome tunes, and country blues of the southern Appalachians, etc.

**Gula** In Babylonian mythology, the goddess of healing, a creative goddess, and a preserver of life; in later myth, daughter of Anu; consort of Ningirsu (Ninib), and associated with Shamash in invocations. She controlled death, being able to restore life, and diseases; hence, she is sometimes a destroying goddess, using disease to kill. Her feast was late in April. Compare BAU.

**Gum Baby** See TAR BABY.

**gumbo-ya-ya** Literally, everybody talks at once: term (equivalent to contemporary American *yateta-yat-yat*) applied in derision to the traditional "spend-the-day" gatherings of Creole women, where gossip was the main course served. *Gumbo-Ya-Ya* is the title given by the Louisiana WPA Writers' Project to a compilation of Louisiana folklore studies including Creole, Cajun, and Negro material.

**Gummere, Francis Barton (1855-1919)** American educator and philologist, and a specialist in traditional ballad. Son of Samuel James Gummere, president of Haverford College, he was graduated at Haverford at the age of 17. He tried clerking, then law, but finally settled on teaching, which was the chief profession in his family history. At Harvard he became a pupil of Francis James Child. Later he studied at the universities at Strasbourg, Berlin, Leipzig, and Freiburg. In the field of popular ballad study he is mainly known for a theory of the "communal origin" of the English and Scottish ballads, a theory which goes back to Jakob Grimm, but which Gummere developed further. Among his works are: *Germanic Origins* (1892), *Old English Ballads* (1894), *The Beginnings of Poetry* (1901), *The Popular Ballad* (1907), *The Oldest English Epic* (1909), and the chapter on ballads in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (volume II, 1908).

**Gungnir** In Teutonic mythology, Odin's infallible spear, on which oaths were taken.

**Gunnar** According to the *Volsunga* and *Sigurd Sagas*, the son of Grimhild and Giuki, king of the Nibelungs, and brother of Gudrun, Hogni, and Guttorm. When Sigurd came to live with them, they became fast friends. After Gunnar became king, Grimhild suggested Brynhild as a suitable queen. Because Gunnar could not ride through the ring of fire, however, Sigurd, who had been drugged into forgetfulness of his betrothal to Brynhild, assumed Gunnar's form and wooed her. After their marriage, Brynhild recognized Sigurd, and Gunnar became jealous, but refused to kill him, as they had

sworn brotherhood. After Sigurd's death, all was explained, and when Brunhild killed herself, Gunnar allowed her to be burned on Sigurd's funeral pyre. Atli claimed Gudrun as atonement for the death of his sister, Brunhild. When Atli heard of the Nibelung gold, he laid plans to acquire it, and invited Gunnar and his court to visit him. Gunnar accepted, in spite of warnings, but consented to hide the gold in the Rhine. They were treacherously attacked, and after an epic struggle, were all slain, including Gunnar who refused to reveal the hiding place of the gold. Compare GUNTHER.

**Gunther** (1) According to the *Nibelungenlied*, king of Burgundy and brother of Gernot, Geisler, and Kreimhild. He was a noble warrior with whom Siegfried was allied. When Gunther went to woo Brunhild, he was appalled at the feats of strength demanded of him to win her hand, but Siegfried, in his invisible cloak helped him to succeed. On their wedding night, Brunhild, who was beginning to suspect trickery, bound Gunther in her girdle and hung him on a clothes peg for the night. The next night Siegfried again put on his cloak and gave her such a thorough beating that she never regained her great strength, and, believing that it was Gunther, remained a faithful wife until her death. Gunther took no part in the murder of Siegfried, and mourned his loss. After Kreimhild's marriage to Etzel, he went to visit them, was forced to defend himself against her plotting, and was finally beheaded on her order.

(2) According to Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*, king of the Gibichungs, brother of Gutrune and half-brother of Hagen. When Siegfried came offering friendship or combat, he welcomed him to the court. Hagen wished Gunther to marry Brunhilde, and to this end, gave Siegfried a potion to make him forget Brunhilde and marry Gutrune. This was so successful that Siegfried offered to assume Gunther's form and woo Brunhilde for him. Gunther became suspicious when Brunhilde recognized Siegfried after their marriage and allowed Hagen to kill him, repenting too late. Gunther was killed by Hagen in combat for the possession of Siegfried's ring. Compare GUNNAR.

**Gunuko** One of the principal deities of the Nupe of Northern Nigeria, who has been retained in the New World, where he figures in the African cults of Brazil.

[MJH]

**guru or gosāin** In India, a spiritual leader or teacher. Among the members of the Vallabhāchārya sect of Vaishnavism, the guru is supremely important, the mediator between God and the sinner. Any who malign a guru are struck dumb and become serpents. The gurus, who are of the line of Vallabha, follow and reenact Krishna's early adventures with the gopis.

**Gusi cult** A religious cult of the Dusun of Borneo, characterized by the worship of Chinese green porcelain jars, regarded as sacred. Old jars (chiefly Chinese) are regarded as valuable by many of the peoples in Borneo and the Philippine Islands, but the Dusun believe that certain of them are inhabited by spirits and are thus sacred. A type of jar called *gusi* is especially revered. These are pot-bellied in shape, greenish-brown in color, and often have a finely crackled glaze. The *gusi* are so highly valued that as much as two to three thousand dollars is paid for a single one. *Gusi* are kept in a

especially enclosed area in Dusun homes and offerings are made to them in cases of illness and annually at the festival of Mengahau. The spirits inhabiting them are those of ancestors: beneficent when well treated, evilly disposed if ignored.

In both Borneo and the Philippine Islands jar burial was apparently common at one time and porcelain jars were imported from China for this purpose. The Spanish cut off the trade in an effort to divert the wealth of the Philippines to their own uses. Consequently jars increased in value until a man's wealth came to be reckoned by the number of jars he owned. These were handed down from one generation to another and tales gathered around them concerning their origins and powers. References to them abound in the folktales of the region. In the interior of Luzon, Mindanao, and Palawan, tribes still reckon the bride price wholly or partly in these jars and one of them is considered payment in full in place of a head when settling feuds.

**gusla** The characteristic instrument of southern Slavic folk music; a primitive one- or two-stringed fiddle played with a crude, often home-made bow, and held against the thigh. It is played by itinerant musicians called *guslari*, who use it for accompanying long heroic ballads or extemporized songs.

**gut bucket** The receptacle catching the drip from the cask in a barrel house: term applied to the type of early jazz and to the musical timbre characteristic of music played in saloons of the period during which jazz developed.

**Gutrune** In Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*, Gunther's sister, whom Siegfried is persuaded to marry instead of his betrothed, Brunhilde. This is accomplished by a magic potion of forgetfulness which Hagen gives him. In the main, Wagner's story follows the *Volsunga Saga*, rather than the *Nibelungenlied*. Compare GUDRUN; KREIMHILD.

**Gwau Meo** In Mala (Solomon Islands) folklore, the culture hero son of the sun worshipped as a ghost: literally, red-head. Red-haired Gwau Meo arrived as an immigrant at Mala in an outrigger canoe with a group of followers. The band settled inland and populated the island.

**Gwydion** In Brythonic mythology, a son of Dôn, brother of Amaethon and Govannon, brother and lover of Arianrhod, and by her father of Dylan and Llew Llaw Gyffes. Gwydion is interpreted as a Brythonic culture hero—bringer of gifts from the gods to man. This construction stems from the story of Gwydion's theft of

the swine of Pryderi, who is interpreted as an other-world god of earlier mythology. MacCulloch suggests that Gwydion is a later anthropomorphism of some ancient swine god, all the more so because a swine was one of the temporary shapes into which Math transformed him for helping Gilvaethwy abduct Math's virgin foot-holder, Goewin. Gwydion was a powerful magician, and is credited with originating April Fool's Day, from the fact that it was on April 1 he conjured up the armies to fool Arianrhod into bestowing arms on Llew Llaw Gyffes. It was Gwydion who helped Math create Blodwen, the flower-wife, for Llew. The Milky Way is conceived of as the track made by Gwydion seeking Llew after his treacherous death.

**gyertyás tánc** The Hungarian candle dance. On the evening following a wedding the guests follow the best man, bride, and groom in a long line, little fingers linked. A candle is held in the remaining fingers of the right hand. With a balancing step the line progresses slowly to the left in circular and serpentine formations. Thus it falls into the tradition of open rounds or link dances (former fertility rites) that extend all along the Mediterranean from Catalonia to Palestine. The symbolism is emphasized by the bearing of the matrimonial candles. See CANDLE DANCE. [GPK]

**Gyges (1) or Gyes** In Greek mythology, one of the Hecatoncheires, the hundred-handed giants.

(2) The first king of the third dynasty of Lydia (reigned 716-678 B.C.) who dethroned Candaules. In Plato (*Rep.* II, 359) the shepherd Gyges discovered a brazen horse in a chasm, and a body within the horse. He took from the body a ring which had the power of making him invisible. With its aid he entered the queen's chamber, there murdered the king, and took the crown for himself. In Herodotus (I, 8-13) is found the better known story. King Candaules induces Gyges despite the latter's reluctance, to enter the bedchamber so that he may appreciate the queen's naked beauty. She spies him and next day offers him the choice of the crown or instant death. Gyges was proverbial for his riches and made many presents to the Delphic oracle.

**Gypsy Laddie** A Scottish-English ballad (Child #200) telling of the elopement of the lord's wife with the Gipsy Johnny Faa. The spell the Gipsy casts is so strong that she refuses to return to her husband, though with the Gipsy she must sleep in the barn. The ballad reflects some of the feeling against Gipsies in early 17th century Scotland, Gipsies being banned from that kingdom in 1609. Several American versions, often garbled (compare BLACK JACK DAVID), are known.

## H

**habañera** A Cuban dance of African origin, slow and voluptuous and with a characteristic rhythm in 2/4 time. From Cuba it went to Spain, thence to Brazil, Haiti, and all Spanish America. The tango is its offspring. In Brazil it is popular in both forms. As a dance for several couples it is called *contradanza criolla*, of which the music is in 6/8 time, in two parts of eight measures each. [GPK]

**Habdalah, Havdalah, Abdalah, or Abdalta** Literally, separation, distinction: in Hebrew religion, the prayers and benedictions recited to mark the division of times of different holiness; specifically, the Sabbath-closing ceremony, when benedictions are said over wine, spices, and a freshly kindled light, and a longer benediction is said in order to emphasize the distinction: originally a synagogue ceremony, later performed in the home.

In rabbinical law, no work might be performed after a holy day until Habdalah benedictions had been recited. Such blessings were said over wine or some other beverage, excluding water. The spices (myrtle is prescribed as one) are meant to solace the Sabbath's oversoul, which grieves at the passing of a holy day.

The light, according to some, had to be newly kindled from wood or stone friction. The candle has to have multiple wicks, two as a minimum: this derives from the plural form "lights" in the benediction. According to Jose ben Halafta, by the beginning of the first Sabbath fire was as yet uncreated. Man became wise at the close of the Sabbath, took two stones, and recited the benediction over the fire he thus made. The benediction over fire is not part of Habdalah observance after those festivals when light is permitted, and is thus probably a rekindling ceremony. It is customary to examine the fingernails during the fire benediction, to see the fire reflected in the winecup or on the nails. Among the reasons given are that the nails, constantly growing, symbolize the wish for the growing prosperity of the week to come, and that the blood, emblem of life, may be seen through the fingers. It is also said that one looks at the fingernails for, even should one forget to kindle the post-Sabbath fire, the starlight reflected by the nails would be a reminder. The curing water from Miriam's well may be drawn at the time of Habdalah; at this time Elijah the prophet appears also.

Among the Jews of Russia, Galicia, and Baden, a girl drinking of the Habdalah wine will grow a mustache. Sprinkling the wine on the tablecloth brings good luck. In Kiev, where distilled spirits replaces the wine, the liquor remaining after the service is spilled into a pan and lighted with the Habdalah candle. Good luck ensues if it is burned away completely; some pass their fingers through the flame, putting them into the pockets to bring a full week. If the Habdalah candle burns to the end, one's sons-in-law will be meritorious. Compare FIRE.

**Hachiman** The Japanese God of War, originally the deified Emperor Ojin (4th century A.D.). [JLM]

**hactcin** The Apache Indian term for supernatural beings, personifications of the power of objects and natural forces; the creators of Earth and Sky, or the children of the Black Sky and Earth. Among the Jicarilla Apache the term is *hactci*; Lipan Apache, *hactci*; Navaho, *hactce*; Mescalero Apache, *gahe*; White Mountain Apache, *ga'n*. The *hactcin* or *ga'n* are a class of supernatural beings comparable to the Pueblo *kachinas*, and like the *kachinas* are represented in Apache ceremonies by masked dancers. See GAHE. [EWV]

**haddock** In Christian legend, the fish of St. Peter, so called because the two black spots near the gills are said to perpetuate the finger and thumb prints of Peter when he took the tribute money out of its mouth. It is also sometimes called the Lord's fish, in the belief that these same two spots are imprints of the thumb and finger of Christ from the moment when he grasped and broke the two fish to feed the multitude. Both stories are common in the British Isles.

New England and Prince Edward Island fishermen, however, claim the spots are the Devil's finger marks, and that the black lines along the haddock's sides were made by the Devil's fingers as the fish slipped away. In Scotland it is thought unlucky to burn haddock bones, because once a haddock warned a fisherman that he would be a stranger to any pot on any hearth where haddock bones were ever burned.

**Hades, Aides, Aidoneus, Pluteus, or Pluton** In Greek mythology, the god and ruler of the underworld: Hades or Aides being his name (originally poetical) as ruler over the shades; Pluton, the more popular name and the one used in the mysteries and in ordinary reference, indicating his role as the wealth-giving god of the earth. Pluton was the son of Cronus and Rhea, and after his father's overthrow he and his brothers Zeus and Poseidon cast lots for the dominion of the parts of the universe. Zeus won the sky, Poseidon the water, Hades the "darkness of night" of the underworld and the earth; the surface of the earth and Olympus were under the dominion of all three.

The principal myth concerning Hades is the rape of Persephone, though he appears in many other myths and legends, e.g. that of Hercules. As king of the underworld and its ghosts, Pluto is not at all synonymous with the Devil or Satan of Judeo-Christian belief. He is not an enemy of mankind, not a tempter, but rather a neutral, inexorably just ruler, whose realm includes a place of torment (Tartarus) and a paradise (Elysium) as well. He was disliked by mortals, hence the several euphemisms like Polydectes (the gatherer of many) and Pluton (the god of wealth). He had a helmet of invisibility given to him by the Cyclopes. On the island of Erytheia and in the lower world he possessed large herds of oxen. His worship as Hades

existed principally at Elis, where his enclosure and temple were opened once a year; there was minor worship of the god throughout Greece and Italy.

In Rome, Pluto became as well Dis pater (Dis being equivalent to Dives, the rich) or Orcus, the latter being a slaying god or angel of death, Dis the ruler of the dead.

Hades was represented as a more dismal, graver Zeus, carrying the key to the gates of the underworld or the staff with which he drove the shades to his realm, and accompanied by Cerberus. As Pluto, his agricultural aspect, he appears with the pronged fork and cornucopia. Sacrifices to him were black, and were made with faces turned away; the cypress and narcissus were sacred to him; he was invoked by striking the earth with the hands.

The name Pluton or Pluto is of later origin, first being used in the fifth century B.C.; earlier he was nameless; in Homer, he is only Aides. With the popular use of Pluto as his name, Hades became attached to the house and the kingdom over which he ruled. There were two traditions regarding its location: one placed it in the farthest west; one had it underground. A later synthesis made the entrance to the underground Hades in the west, although there were local traditions about other entrances, as for example an entrance near Sparta. At the founding of new cities, the Etruscans would dig a hole, supposed to lead to the underworld, and, at a stated time each year, would remove the covering stone to permit the ghosts to rise. In Hades, later tradition places both Tartarus and the Elysian fields. Hades was surrounded by the five waters or rivers: Styx (the Hateful), Acheron (the Woeful), Pyriphlegethon (the Fiery), Cocytus (the Wailing), and Lethe (Forgetfulness). Across Styx, the shades of the dead (only of those actually buried, however) were ferried by Charon, passed Cerberus at the gate which was opened only to those entering and only in the instance of Eurydice ever opened to permit a ghost to return to the realm of light, were judged by Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, and sometimes Hades himself, and assigned either to Tartarus or to Elysium. See AFTERWORLD; UNDERWORLD.

Hadhayōsh or Hadhayaōsh (Pahlavi *Sarsaok*) In Iranian mythology, the ox upon whose back men traversed the sea Vourukasha in primeval times: literally, ever pure. At the resurrection ambrosia will be prepared from a mixture of the fat of Hadhayōsh and white haoma.

had'i'hi'duus The singing rite of the Iroquois medicine-men's society, corresponding to the Menominee and Chippewa *midewiwin*. Membership is by dream or cure. All meetings are held in secret at the home of the patient. There used to be magic tricks as a feature. Today there are throwing songs, sung during the throwing of sharp points (*gai'don*) at the patient, then introductory songs of the medicine-man, then songs by twos for the round *xe* or *ganpyague*. These refer to the animal tutelary of the members. The dance is a side shuffle to the right, facing the center of the circle. The songs, many of them captivating, reveal their antiquity in the narrow range of tones and scant melodic material. They are accompanied by squash-shell or large gourd rattles (*onyasa' gasta'wepša*) as is

common among many Indian medicine societies. The *i'duus* are associated with the Little Water Medicine society and follow upon the treatment by that group. [CFK]

hadiwanyásoenq The Iroquois marriage dance, one of the few performed in a straight line. With a step-pat the bride and groom progress side by side across the room, then face about and return. It is now known only to older people. [CFK]

hadj or hajj The pilgrimage to Mecca required of every free Moslem at least once in his life; those who have made the journey are called by the title *hadji*. Among the Koranic statutes concerning the pilgrimage are laws describing the pilgrim's habit, the clipping or shaving of his hair, the trip to Mount Arafat near Mecca, and the circumambulation of the Kaaba.

hadudo or xadudo One of the two major categories of Dahomean marriage forms. The meaning of the word "taking a friend into custody" (literally, friend-keep) describes it as one form of those matings wherein the ritualized payments are not made to the family of the girl, and the man's obligation to the woman's parents are at a minimum. In consequence, the children of matches of this type remain under the control of the mother and her family. This dual division of marriage types is of great significance for an understanding of the forms of New World Negro mating, since it gives an institutional basis in aboriginal tradition for the forms of common-law marriage found everywhere among the lower socioeconomic strata of New World Negro societies. See AMASIADO. [MJH]

Haferbock A field spirit of German folklore: literally, the oat goat.

hag An ugly or malicious old woman, believed to be in league with the Devil or the dead; a witch or sorceress; a she-devil. Occasionally a hag is young and beautiful in appearance, but still a witch or she-devil. The "secret, black, and midnight hags" whom Macbeth questioned were ancient females in league with the dead. The word comes from Old English *hægtes*, witch, Middle English *hagge* or *hegge*, akin to German *hexe*, witch.

Hags are said to "ride" people at night; especially do they like to ride handsome young men. They press upon one's stomach or chest, causing great discomfort and nightmares. *Hag-ridden* means distressed by nightmares, or victimized by hallucinations of having been literally ridden. There are countless stories of hags riding people, like horses, in the night, and traveling so far and so fast that the person wakes in the morning not only unrested but exhausted. If this goes on long enough, the victim will weaken and die. Mississippi Negroes prescribe sleeping with a fork under the pillow to keep from being ridden.

In Irish folklore the hags (*calilleacá*) are women ancient, wise, of extraordinary eyesight and supernatural powers. The term for this reason is sometimes also applied to the ancient fairy queens like Aine and Clíodna. The Hag of Beare and the Hag of the Cats (*Cailleac na gCat*), who was fed by her cats, are among the many famous individual Irish hags. Almost all the Celtic hags were mythological cairn and mountain builders.

The extraordinary longevity of hags is attested by an Irish folktale about a hag found sitting by a mountainous pile of bones. They were the bones of animals she had eaten, one of which she had killed each year of her life. Sometimes hags fight each other; at such times the air is full of stones and rocks, and it is wise to stay indoors. The Irish say that sometimes a hag will come into a house where spinning (or some such work) is going on late at night, and will help with the work. Hags are said to be prevalent on the nights of the Beltane and Midsummer bonfires.

For the horrible hag who is transformed into a beautiful woman by the act of love, see *LOATHLY LADY*; for the harvest hag, see *CAILLEAC*; *FIELD SPIRITS*; *HARVEST DOLL*. See also *INCUBUS*; *WITCH*.

**Hagbard (or Hagbart) and Signe** Title of a Danish ballad recounting the tragic story of the irresistible love of Hagbard and Signe. The legend, based on an epic now lost, is found in Saxo Grammaticus in both prose and verse forms. Hagbard, betrothed to Signe, was hanged by his father (King Sigar) before the eyes of his love, and Signe in despair set fire to her bower and followed Hagbard into death. Haki, the Viking king, and brother of Hagbard, "came running up from the sea" and killed Sigar in revenge. Hagbard and Signe are sometimes called the Romeo and Juliet of the North, or the Tristan and Iseult of the North. The legend, in both prose and ballad forms, contains the famous motif of the hero disguised as a woman entering the chamber of his beloved, and the symbolic idealization of loyal love in Signe's death.

**Hagen** (1) According to the *Nibelungenlied*, Gunther's uncle. He urged Gunther to welcome Siegfried, and when war threatened, he persuaded Siegfried to help. When Siegfried's wife, Kreimhild, and Gunther's wife, Brunhild, quarreled, however, he sided with Brunhild, and promised to avenge her. He persuaded Kreimhild to sew a cross over Siegfried's vulnerable spot under pretense of protecting him, and killed him. When Kreimhild began giving away Siegfried's gold, Hagen stole it and hid it in the Rhine. He advised Gunther against allowing her to marry Etzel, as this would give her a means to be revenged, and against visiting Etzel's court after they were married, but she accompanied him and fought valiantly against the treacherous attacks of Kreimhild's followers until only he and Gunther were left. She had her brother, Gunther, beheaded and brought the head to Hagen, demanding that he tell her the hiding-place of the gold, but he only laughed at her, whereupon Kreimhild caught up Siegfried's sword and beheaded Hagen too in front of the court.

(2) According to Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung* the son of Grimhild and Alberich, and half-brother to Gunther and Guttrune. He was charged by his father with recovering the Ring for the dwarfs. He plotted against Siegfried and finally killed him. He also killed Gunther in a dispute over the Ring and was about to take it from Siegfried's lifeless finger when the arm shot up accusingly and frightened him. When the Rhine Maidens recovered the Ring, he pursued them, and was drowned.

(3) According to the 11th century German poem, *Gudrun*, the son of King Sigeband, who at the age of seven was carried off by a griffon. Hagen escaped and

took refuge in a cave where he found three little girls who had also escaped from the griffons. He provided for them for several years by slipping out while the griffons were away and killing small game with a little bow and arrow he had made. One day the body of a slain warrior was washed ashore, and Hagen took the armor and weapons and slew the griffons. Then the children signaled a passing ship, only to find that it belonged to one of his father's enemies. In a berserker rage Hagen threw thirty of the warriors overboard, and frightened the others into taking them to his home. As his father died, he became king and married Hilde, one of the maidens. They had a daughter, also named Hilde, who was very beautiful, and he was loath to part with her. Hettle carried her off by stealth, but Hagen overtook them and they fought. Both of them were wounded, and in the end he consented to the marriage as Hettle had proved himself a brave warrior.

haggis Sheep's heart, liver, onions, suet, oatmeal, boiled in its stomach: Scots traditional holiday dish.

**Hag of Beare** (*Cailleac Béara*) A famous hag of Irish and Scottish folklore. Her name is reported as Dirri or Digdi. She is associated especially with Dingle in West Kerry and is sometimes also called the Old Woman of Dingle. She is called the Hag of Beare because she had fifty foster children on the Island of Beare off the west coast of Ireland in Bantry Bay.

Her many lovers, her great age, and her renewal of youth are the features of her story. There is a West Connacht proverb which says: "Three great ages: the age of the yew tree, the age of the eagle, and the age of the Old Woman of Beare." All the books say "she had her youth seven times over and every man she lived with died of old age." There is a lost story about her great love for Fothad Canainne, one of the Fianna. When questioned about her age she would say she saw yon mountain when it was a lake, or such and such a lake "when it was a small round well." In Donegal there are stories about reckoning her age by counting the bones of the beeves she had killed, one each year of her life. This story is also told in Donegal about Aine.

The great wisdom of the Hag of Beare is pithily summed up in the words: "She never brought mud from this puddle to the other puddle.—She never ate food but when she was hungry." Once in a boat in freezing weather she saved her sons from freezing to death by making them bail water first in then out of the boat to keep warm.

Like the ancient Irish goddess Brigit, who later became identified with the abbess of Kildare, the Hag of Beare too is subject of the transition from goddess or semideity into nun. The word itself, *cailleac*, means veiled woman and lends itself to the double interpretation of hooded hag or veiled nun. For a hundred years the Hag of Beare wore the veil that Cummine (of the monastery of Clonfert) blessed on her head, and after that old age came upon her. Probably she is best known today because of the beautiful poem, *The Lament of the Old Woman of Beare*, translated by Kuno Meyer out of a 10th century manuscript and included in his small volume of *Ancient Irish Poetry* (London, 1911). It begins: "Ebb-tide to me as of the sea." It is a realistic grieving for lost youth and beauty: "... Every acorn

has to drop./ After feasting by shining candles/ To be in the gloom of a prayer house./ . . . Gray is the hair that grows through my skin/" are snatches that give the flavor of it.

The Hag of Beare is mentioned in rural Ireland for participating in farm activities, mowing contests, etc. She is credited with imparting the knowledge that the best flails have a hazel handle (*colpán cuill*) and a holly striker (*buaill teán cuilinn*). There are stories about how she used to hire helpers for half a year, stipulating that they would receive no pay unless they could keep up with her in the work. None could ever keep up with the Hag, and many a fine young man she killed with the work, or put to death because he could not keep up. In the story of Big Donag MacManus and the Hag of Beare is mentioned the *darbdaol* (chafer) in the handle of the Hag's reaping hook which enabled her to outdo all others. Big Donag caught onto this, pulled the handle off the tool, the chafer fell out and ran off in the stubble. See BEETLE.

Many place names in Ireland are associated with the Cailleac Béara. She leaped from many a mountain top to another with an apronful of rocks, which would spill and cause some natural formation credited to her. Many a huge rock is her bed or chair; many a cairn is her grave. In Scotland too she figures as legendary place-maker. The Hebrides were formed from loose rocks which fell from her apron. She is also responsible for the Isle of Mull. The whirlpool of the Corry-vrecken between Jura and Scorva is also attributed to her; the one spot especially where the waters "boil up white" is called the Cailleac.

For further lore and legend about the Hag of Beare, see Eleanor Hull, "Legends and Traditions of the Cailleac Béara," *Folk-Lore* 38: 225 ff.

**Hahgwehdiyu** The Good Creator of Iroquoian mythology; son of Atanaisic, or Sky Woman, and twin brother to Hahgwehdaetgah, the spirit of evil. Hahgwehdiyu shaped the sky with the palm of his hand, put his dead mother's face in the sky to be the sun, set the moon and stars in their places, gave to the earth the body of his mother, so that now Mother Earth is the source of all life. He created the rivers and the valleys and put forests upon the hills. He brought the animals and the birds from the land of the sun to inhabit the earth, and he planted the first corn, which was the gift of the crow. But Hahgwehdaetgah, the dark and evil twin, was forever striving to destroy what his brother wrought, brewing earthquakes and hurricanes to beset the world, and ushering in the West to darken the sun. Finally they challenged each other to combat, the winner to rule the earth. Their weapons were the huge thorns of the giant crab-apple tree, sharp as arrows. They fought for many days; but Hahgwehdiyu won, and banished his brother to the pit under the earth, or the underworld. See GA-GAAH; TWINS.

**hair gray before beard** A folktale motif (H771) classed with the huge group of riddles asked to test cleverness. A man, who is asked why his hair turned gray before his beard, answers that it is twenty years older.

**hair of the dog that bit you** A folktale motif (D2161.4.10.3), one of a large group dealing with magic cures and magic healing powers, and representing a

general widespread belief that a disease or wound can be cured by the same thing (or person) that caused it (D2161.4.10). The classic example occurs in the story of Telephus whose wound would not heal until the same spear (see *ACHILLES' SPEAR*) that gave the wound was brought to heal it.

Quite generally throughout the United States and Canada it is said that a hair of the dog that bit you, applied to the wound, will cure it. In Newfoundland it is the liver of the dog that did the biting which must be applied to the bitten place. In some parts of rural England it is believed that fat simmered from the snake that bit you will cure snake-bite.

United States southern Negroes say "it takes dog to cure dog": not only is some of the hair of the dog that bit you taken and tied against the bite, but an oyster is applied to the cut from an oyster shell, and a drink of whisky is given to cure the effects of excessive drinking.

The phrase *a hair of the dog that bit you*, used to mean a small drink of whisky to cure a hangover, has been traced in English as far back as John Heywood's *Proverbs*, first printed in 1546: "I pray thee let me and my fellow have/ A haire of the dog that bit us last night." Compare *IPICULUS*.

**Haitsi-aibab** or **Heitsi-eibib** A culture-hero—transformer of the Hottentots, child of a magical birth and killer of the monster called Thrower-Down (Gā-gorib). Gā-gorib used to sit on the edge of a great pit and dare passers-by to throw stones at him. The stone always flew back and killed the thrower, who then fell into the pit. When Haitsi-aibab heard about his, he went to see. But he refused to throw a stone at Gā-gorib, until he diverted the monster's gaze; then he aimed under the ear, and the stone which hit Gā-gorib under the ear killed him and tumbled him into his own hole. The people lived in safety forever after.

In another version of the story reported by W. H. I. Bleek (*Reynard the Fox in South Africa* or *Hottentot Fables and Tales*, London, 1863) the two had a prolonged struggle and chase round and round the perilous rim of the pit, striking and shoving and yelling "Push the Haitsi-aibab down!"; "Push the Gā-gorib down!" Haitsi-aibab at last fell into the hole; but he prayed it to hold him up, and the hole pushed him up a little way. The third time he asked to be held up, it ejected him altogether. So the chase began again and the pushing in and getting out were repeated until at last Haitsi-aibab pushed Gā-gorib in, and "he came not out." This same story is also told with the Hottentot deity Tsūi Goab for hero, or with the Hottentot trickster Jackal for hero. The frequency of the cairns in South Africa identified as Haitsi-aibab's graves is explained by stories of his multiple deaths and resurrections. Frazer relates that travelers passing these cairns, in the narrow passes of the mountains, add another stone and say, "Give us plenty of cattle."

**hajnaláltüz tánc** Literally, dawnfire dance: a Hungarian women's dance performed the morning after a wedding. It is still danced at Kazar in Nograd County. The girls and bride dance around a fire of straw and the bride jumps through to be thoroughly smoked, i.e. symbolically purified. A fire jump by any other girl signifies her intended marriage in the course of the year. [CRK]



*Halfchick Tale in Spain and France*; FFC 111), the story is as follows:

Halfchick, a half-grown runt of a chicken, comes across some money while scratching in the manure pile. He starts off to buy some grain from the king. He comes to a river, discusses his errand, and the river decides to accompany Halfchick. The river is hidden in Halfchick's anus. So too with a wolf, and a fox. The king, who wants the money and doesn't want to give grain for it, invites Halfchick to stay overnight, putting him in with his chickens. He thinks the chickens will kill the puny creature. But Halfchick lets the fox out and in the morning all the king's chickens are dead. The next night Halfchick is put in with the horses, and the wolf is let out. On the third night, Halfchick is put in the oven. Out comes the river; out goes the fire. The palace is flooded. The king gives up and sends Halfchick away with the grain and with the money.

The five significant episodes in the tale are the origin of Halfchick, his purpose in making the journey, his helpers (animal and otherwise) and the things they do, the place in which he hides them, and his victory. Though the earliest known reference to the tale is French (1759), it seems to have originated in Castile, spread to the Spanish coast, from there to Brittany and America (Boggs discusses five Spanish American and two American Indian variants), from Brittany eastward and southward in France. Indicative of the change occurring in the variants, and of the essential elements remaining constants, is the Cochiti (New Mexico Indian) tale of Half Rooster (R. Benedict, *Tales of the Cochiti Indians*, BBAE 98, pp. 182-184). Half Rooster complains to the king that his spoon has been stolen. The king is afraid of the big rooster and tries to have him killed. But hidden in Half Rooster's anus are Lion, who kills the wild horses, Bear, who kills the bulls, Wolf, who kills the mules, Grinding Stone, who smashes the santos and pictures in the church, Fire, who melts the ice they pack around Half Rooster to freeze him, and Water, who quenches the fire they build to burn him. The king "took him to his house and he lived with him forever."

Of two literary versions examined by Boggs, that of Fernán Caballero was reprinted by Andrew Lang in *The Green Fairy Book* and became a familiar selection in school readers of the United States. Halfchick here is half a chick who travels, against the advice of his mother, to see the king in hope of finding a court surgeon to cure him. But Halfchick refuses to help river, wind, and fire. At the court, he is thrown into a pot by the cooks and boiled to a worthless lump. He is tossed away. The wind whips him to the top of a tower where he becomes a weathercock, at the mercy of wind, rain, and sun.

**half-horse, half-alligator** A frontiersman; a Mississippi or Kentucky River boatman: a term braggingly self-imposed to imply strength, bravado, and invincibility. He was a man of marvelous exploits, marvelous strength and spirit, absolutely fearless, full of antics and horseplay, noise, roar, and brag. He could "wade the Mississippi, leap the Ohio," and perform many like feats.

**half right and left and half promenade** An American square dance term. Two couples cross to each other's

places as in right and left through (8 counts); partners then cross hands with the right above the left, walk back to their own places, each couple keeping to the right in passing. When in their own places, without releasing hands, the gentleman turns his partner round into her place on his right (8 counts). [GRF]

**Hallewijn or Heer Halowyn** The title of a Dutch ballad, deriving from the Apocryphal tale of Judith and Holofernes (whence Hallowe'en), known in all parts of Europe from Italy to Scandinavia, Hungary to England: probably composed not earlier than the 15th century. The ballad, as derived from its ancient source, shows the closest correspondence to the original in the Netherlands version, for only in that ballad does the heroine tell Halloweijn's mother that she is carrying the head and then bring the head to her father's hall. All Biblical reference is however lost. In the ballad, the girl is lured from her castle by the music of the knight. He threatens to kill her as he has her sisters. In the various versions, she kills him, or she is killed and avenged by her brothers, or she is rescued by the brothers.

In the German versions, the knight is Ullinger, Ulrich, etc., and the girl is killed and avenged or she escapes. The Hungarian *Molnár Anna* is an offshoot of the German. The English *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* or *May Collin* (Child #4) has preserved in some versions the supernatural character of the knight, a mischievous, malevolent nature added as the ballad migrated through Scandinavia. In France Renaud is the killer; in Italy the ballad is known as *Monferrina*; in Spain and Portugal it is *Rico Franco*. The death of the girl is avenged by her three brothers in the Czech ballad *The Murderer*. The ballad is said to be very popular in Poland. Taken all in all, the *Hallewijn* ballads may be the most widespread in Europe.

**Halloween or Hallowe'en** All Hallows Eve; the eve of All Saints Day. See ALL SAINTS DAY.

**haltia** The protecting spirit of the Finns. The word is derived from the Gothic *halita*, to rule over, and is often found in combination, as for example: *kodin-haltia*, a household fairy; *vedenhaltia*, a spirit of the water; and *metsänhaltia*, forest ruler. Every forest possesses such a ruler. Sometimes the *metsänhaltia* is in the form of an old man with gray beard and with a coat of lichens. He can stretch his body so high that his head will reach the level of the highest tree. The *mets-haldijas* is known among the North Estonians. His cry in the forest is an evil omen, perhaps of death. The most important spirit of this kind is the Finnish *talon-haltija*, the guardian of the home, sometimes representing the person who first died in the house. Besides the spirits of the dwelling-house, there are guardian spirits of each kind of house also: guardian spirits of the bathing-house, the granary, the stable, and others. [JE]

**hamadyrad** In Greek mythology, a tree nymph; a dryad; specifically, an oak-tree nymph as contrasted with a fruit-tree nymph. Later, scholarly contrast was made between dryad and hamadryad, the dryad being simply a tree nymph, the hamadryad being one whose life was in the tree and who died with it, but this distinction was not made by the people. Compare NYMPH.

**Hanswurst** The vulgar and low-comedy attendant of the smooth hero in folk comedy in Europe is given the name of a popular dish: Dutch, Pickle Herring; Italian, Macaroni; French, Jean Potage; German, Hanswurst; English, Jack Pudding. [RÖJ]

**hantu** Generic name for the ghosts and evil spirits of Malay belief. There are many varieties of hantu, among them the storm fiend, *hantu ribut*; the deep-forest demon, *hantu rimba*; the grave demon, *hantu kubor*; and the tiger demon, *hantu belian*.

**Hanukkah** The Jewish Feast of the Maccabees or Feast of Dedication, an eight-day festival occurring on the 25th of Kislev (December): known also as the Festival of Lights or Feast of Illumination. According to a Talmudic legend, after the destruction of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, when the priests reentered the sanctuary only one small cruse of unpolluted oil was found, and it lasted the eight days until a new supply of sacred oil could be obtained. The feast was instituted in 165 B.C. by the Maccabees and the elders of Israel to celebrate the dedication of the altar, previously defiled by Antiochus. However, Hanukkah occurs at the time of an ancient pagan festival and of what was a more ancient Jewish winter solstice observance.

The Hanukkah lamp, lit at this season, gives the festival its popular name, the Festival of Lights. The Shammaite or older tradition lit all eight lights on the lamp on the first night and reduced the number by one on each following night; the Hillelites lit one light the first night and increased by one each succeeding night. There are traditionally as many lamps as there are entrances to the house. The light is intended to illuminate the house outside and is not meant for general lighting; reading by this light is forbidden.

**Hanumān** In Hindu mythology and religion, the monkey god, son of Vāyu and the monkey nymph Anjānā. Hanumān was the ally of Rāma in his battle with Rāvana and helped him regain Sitā whom Rāvana had carried off. During one of the battles with the demon, the Rākshasas greased his tail and set it on fire, but he swung around and burned their capital city, Lankā. He collected medicinal herbs to restore the wounded and killed the demon Kālanemi. Rāma rewarded him with the gift of perpetual life and youth. He is represented in monkey form with a yellow complexion and an endless tail.

In modern Hinduism, Hanumān is worshipped as a village deity. Originally he may have represented the genius of the monsoon. He is worshipped by women who desire children and by wrestlers. Apes are still considered sacred in India and weddings of apes are occasionally performed as a religious service. See GRĀMA-DEVATĀ. Compare BHAIROṆ.

**haoma** The plant of life and of Indo-Iranian sacrifice; also, the drink prepared from it which gives strength to men and gods: the equivalent of the Indian soma. Haoma gave the gods immortality and men the gift of spiritual life. It gave children to women and husbands to girls. The plant received its healing power from Vohu Manah. When deified, it was the son of Ahura Mazda.

Its supra-terrestrial form, the white haoma, was identified with the gaokerena tree. The actual plant, the

yellow haoma, is said to grow on the summits of mountains from which it is brought by the birds of heaven. A haoma plant contained the fravashi of Zoroaster whose father, a priest, absorbed it and thus produced Zoroaster.

**Haoshyangha, Hōshang, or Hūshang** According to the *Avesta*, the first ruler and a member of the first royal house of Persia: said to have ruled over the daēvas. According to the *Bundahishn* he was the grandson of Siyākmak and the great grandson of Gaya Maretan. He was the first lawgiver and the culture hero who introduced the use of fire and metals. In early Iranian myths, he performed a sacrifice on the top of the great iron mountain, Hara Berezaiti, and obtained divine protection and the kingly glory (khvarenah). The demons fled to the darkness after he had slain two thirds of their number.

According to the *Shāhnāmāh* he invented blacksmithing and the making of tools such as axes and saws, and taught men how to irrigate land. On a mountain top he struck with a stone a dragon whose smoke was bedimining the world, and thus caused fire (lightning) to appear. That night he held the feast of Sadah. He domesticated animals (sheep, asses, oxen) and ordered the destruction of beasts of prey. He was succeeded by Takhma Urupi (Tahmūrath), the son of Vivanghvant (according to the *Avesta*), or by his son (according to Firdausi).

**Hāp, Hāpi, or Apis** Literally, the hidden: in ancient Egyptian religion, the sacred bull of Memphis, symbol and incarnation of Ptah-Osiris. This bull was the offspring of a virgin cow who had been impregnated by lightning or a moonbeam. In death it was known in Ptolemaic times as the powerful god Serapis (Osiris-Apis); in the Memphite Serapeum, uncovered in 1851, 64 mummified bulls were found. The bull was chosen by its special markings, and succeeded to its post of honor after the death of the preceding Hāp. Those who inhaled its breath became thereby able to prophesy. It is conjectural whether the calf worshipped by the Israelites in the desert during the exodus from Egypt was identical with, or an image of, this bull. See BULL; HAPY.

**Hapiñuñu** Female spirits of the Quechua and Aymara Indians of South America. They are said to fly about at night and catch people with their long hanging breasts.

[AM]

**happy hunting ground** A popular term for the hereafter in references by whites to American Indian concepts of life after death. That the Indians believed in a hereafter is well attested, but their own descriptions of the activities which go on in such a land seldom include references to hunting. In the land of the dead all is quiet in the daytime, when the dead are invisible; at night, however, fires are kindled and the dead devote themselves to dancing, gambling, and other social activities. The culture hero, or a notable deity, or a "chief," presides over the land of the dead, and the spirits live under his direction much as people do on earth. The Blackfoot, a northern Plains tribe, believe that the land of the dead is located in some sand dunes to the north of them, and that it is good to die and go there while in the prime of life because the dead are not rejuvenated, but live on in the hereafter at the

same age they were when they died, and subject to the same infirmities. Other tribes also localize their land of the dead: the Valley Maidu of California say that their dead go to the Marysville Buttes, visible in Maidu territory, for example. But for the great majority of tribes the land of the dead is merely "across an ocean" in the West (most frequently) or the South, East, or North. Mortals visit the land of the dead occasionally; the Orpheus tale, which is widespread over North America, recounts the visit of one or more men in search of a dead relative to the land of the dead, and the return of these mortals to earth. Accounts of visits by human beings who "die" temporarily and go to the hereafter, and then return to life, usually with a prophecy of some sort, also often contain descriptions of the land. Among some Eastern Woodlands tribes the path to the land of the dead contains obstacles difficult to negotiate, and some spirits fail to reach the hereafter; this may or may not be a native concept. No idea of punishment after death for misdeeds during life, or any concept of heaven and hell, seems to have existed in native North America, although several Eastern tribes have now taken over the idea of punishment and reward after death. See AFTERWORLD. [EWV]

**Happy or Hapi** (1) In Egyptian religion and mythology, one of the four sons of Horus who dwelt in Amenti; a mummiform spirit with the head of a dog or a cynocephalus ape, who protected the embalmed lungs of the dead preserved in the second Canopic jar.

(2) The god of the Nile; an obese bearded man with the breasts of a woman; the Greek Nilus. Both the great stomach and the breasts are symbols of the fertility of this water god; the lotus or the papyrus carried on his head, and the water he poured from vases are likewise fertility symbols. Sometimes the god is dual: as the red god of the lower Nile he wears the papyrus; as the blue god of the upper river, he wears the lotus. Hapy was worshipped especially at the annual inundation; the mysterious resurrection of the life-bringing river caused him to be identified even in early times with Osiris.

**Hare** The Hare, Great Hare, or White Hare is a character who, among several Algonquian tribes of eastern North America, is credited with forming the earth, and ordering and enlarging it. A curious identification of the Great Hare and a humanlike culture-hero-trickster, Nanabozho, occurs in specific tribes such as the Ojibway and Menomini. In these groups the culture hero first appears as a hare, and as Hare, is the chief actor in many of the definitely trickster tales. Among the Potawatomi White Hare (Wabosso, Maker of White) is one of four brothers, Nanabozho being the first-born of the four. Wabosso, seeing the sunlight, went north, assumed the form of a White Hare, and became a powerful magician. To Nanabozho, however, and not to White Hare is given the credit by the Potawatomi of instituting the Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society. The Ojibway of the present time, in recounting culture-hero and trickster tales, identify Hare with Nanabozho, but can offer no explanation for this identification. [EWV]

**Hare and the Tortoise** Title of one of Æsop's fables (Jacobs #68) in which the Hare and the Tortoise run a race. Sure of winning, the Hare lies down and takes a nap before he reaches the goal, oversleeps, and is passed

by the persevering Tortoise, who thus wins the race. This incident (and its moral) comprises the motif (K11.3) of the story as it has spread all over Europe. It is known among the Ainu and in other parts of eastern Asia, and is common also throughout Indonesia.

It is a popular story among almost all peoples of Africa, from whom it has passed into the possession of New World Negroes. The Negro versions, almost universally stress the superior wit of the weaker participant; Tortoise is portrayed in the role of Trickster who wins by his wits instead of by plodding. The Ibo people of Nigeria tell how Frog wins the race against Deer; Turtle beats Antelope among the Bulus.

South Carolina Sea Island Negroes tell this story about Hare and Cootah, and have a version also about the race between Race-Horse and Cootah, who wins by planting his relatives, one at every mile along the course and one at the end post, or about Mr. Deer and Mr. Terrapin, who wins by the same ruse and remarks at the end, "I kin head you off with sense." In two Bahama Negro stories the race is between Lobster and Conch, or between Horse and Conch, and the prize is to marry the king's daughter. These stories combine both patterns: *Conch is smart enough to plant his relays, but both Lobster and Horse are oversure and foolish enough to stop and feed en route. Thus Conch with his one foot wins over Horse with his four, and Lobster with his ten. There are also Apache, Cherokee, and Ojibway Indian versions of the tale.*

**Harmonia's necklace** In Greek mythology and legend, the unlucky necklace made by Hephestus and given to Harmonia by Cadmus of Thebes as a wedding gift. It was inherited by Polynices and given to Eriphyle so that she might persuade her husband Amphiaras to join the expedition against Thebes. After bringing misfortune to other owners, it was dedicated by Amphoterus and Acarnan to Athena Proncea at Delphi. Even then the misfortunes did not cease, for it was stolen from the temple by Phayallus for his mistress, whose death occurred when her son went mad and burned the house down with her and her treasures inside.

**harp** A plucked stringed instrument, the only one in which the strings extend vertically from the soundboard instead of paralleling it; in many civilizations since antiquity the most highly honored of instruments both for religious and secular musical ceremonies. The earliest harps were bow-shaped, the resonator forming a continuation of the arc, and were derived from the primitive musical bow. Such harps were played in Sumer before 3000 B.C., and have been found on an archaic Greek figurine, on relics of ancient Egypt and the earliest known civilization of India, in Africa and Java. Later harps were angular, the resonator set at an angle to the neck. Instruments of this form were seen in Mesopotamia about 2000 B.C., were introduced into Egypt and Greece from Asia and into the Far East from Turkestan in the 4th century. They spread among the Arab peoples from Persia in the Middle Ages. The angular harp known in northern and northwestern Europe before 1000 A.D. is of disputed provenience. All ancient harps lacked the fore-pillar, which forms the third side of the generally triangular frame of most instruments since the Middle Ages. The number of strings varied greatly and may have been more important for

the significance of the number than for musical effect—for example, five, for protection from harm; seven, for sanctification.

In Egypt, as in Sumer, the harp was the chief and most treasured instrument. Numerous forms were played, varying in size from a 7-foot type played standing, to a small portable type carried against the shoulder. Certain examples were provided with a leg or foot to be rested on the ground as the seated player touched the strings. Ornamentation was elaborate and symbolic, with painted and mosaic designs, often involving the lotus, sphinx-head carvings, and shapes associated with Isis or Osiris. That the instrument served a religious function is indicated by the fact that the players depicted in the tomb of Rameses III are priests. In the Old Kingdom, players were always men, to whose use the large standing harp continued to be restricted, but women in later eras played the smaller harps.

In Greece, the harp (*magadis* or *pektis*) was considered a dreamy, intimate instrument suited to women, and the accomplishments of the hetærae included playing it, though other women did not scorn it.

The translation of Hebrew terms for musical instruments has for centuries confused the knowledge of music in Biblical times. Probably the *nevel*, a triangular stringed instrument used for marching, was the harp of the ancient Jews, and the *kinnor*, generally translated as harp, was a lyre, played for light entertainment and pastime by harlots and by shepherds. It was this instrument that was played and, according to legend, invented by David, the shepherd king. However, the so-called harp of David persists in story, in art works, and on down to the Negro spiritual, *Little David, play on your harp*.

In India, the traditional inventor of the harp was Narada, a semi-divine sage and astronomer. The archaic harp of India was probably called *vinā*, though the name is now applied to a type of zither and has been used for other instruments.

The history of the harp in Europe is complicated by the ambiguity among chroniclers of the 8th to 14th centuries in the use of the words *chrotta* (Latin), *crot* or *crut* (Irish), and *rotta* (on the Continent), which are variously interpreted as harp or lyre, and by the difficult evidence of the worn representations of a stringed instrument on Irish stone crosses of the 8th and 9th centuries, also cited as either harp or lyre. The confusion is further confounded by the Welsh term *crwth*, equivalent to Irish *crut*, which may have been the ancient harp of the bards but in more recent times refers to a bowed instrument influenced by the violin, and by the Scandinavian *harpa*, which was probably a lyre, plucked in its earliest form and later bowed. National pride has occasionally subverted scholarship in the controversy. Regardless of etymology or construction, the instrument is fixed in the mind of the folk as a harp, and is so conceived in their stories and songs.

Gaulish bards chanted to the accompaniment of the plucked strings and their instrument appears on Gaulish coins. The highly trained and revered bards of the Welsh and Irish peoples improvised their lyric, epic, and satirical poetry to its music, long before the Roman Conquest. Psalms and hymns were accompanied by the *crut* in the hands of early Irish churchmen. In Anglo-Saxon England, scop and gleemen carried their wel-

come in their harps. Thus, in the guise of a harper, Alfred the Great entered the camp of the Danes on the Isle of Athelney. Irish minstrels with their wire-strung harps were famous on the Continent in the early Middle Ages, and Saxon harpers were known in France in the 13th century.

The harp was the favored instrument of royalty and nobility, believed to have strong powers over its listeners, and to dispel the spirits of evil. In Welsh custom there were three types of harp (*telyn*)—the king's, the bard's, and the gentleman's. Every important family owned a fine harp. The *Leges Wallicæ* listed three necessities for a man's home—a virtuous wife, a cushion for his chair, and a well-tuned harp. The harp was sacred to the free and might not be handled by slaves. The well-to-do Anglo-Saxon also owned and played a harp, which could not be taken from him for payment of debt or punishment.

In Ireland, where the festival harp (*cláirseac*) has become the national emblem, harp stories and traditions abound. The legend of the origin of the harp is that a woman walking on the beach came across the skeleton of a whale with the wind singing so sweetly through its sinews that she was lulled to sleep. Her husband, finding her so, observed the principle of the enchanting sound and made a harp to imitate it. It is also an Irish belief that the Milesians brought a harper with them to the island.

In both Ireland and Wales the fairy folk were believed to be expert harpists, and their music, seldom audible to the ears of men, was irresistible but ominous.

Even the tuning key of famous Irish harps was an object of value, often jeweled or otherwise ornamented, and theft or sequestration of the key was almost as strictly condemned as if it were the harp itself.

Like bagpipers, Irish harpers were outlawed as spies and spreaders of sedition in certain periods of history. Queen Elizabeth, while maintaining an Irish harper at court and sanctioning the appearance of Welsh harpers at an Eisteddfod, enacted laws against the passage of such musicians into disturbed areas. The Cromwellians systematically destroyed Irish harps. During the Jacobite period, harpers attended the Stuarts.

In Teutonic story the harp is one of the instruments connected with the motif of the singing bone, being so used in certain versions of *The Twa Sisters* (Child #10), in which the harp, strung with the hair of the drowned girl, sings the murderer's guilt. Another story expresses the compulsive power of the harp. Horaut the Dane, a minstrel, could play so that not only the guests in the hall but the furniture and tableware danced madly.

The widespread conception that angels in heaven play the harp may derive from the *Book of Revelation*, which says that harps will sound in the New Jerusalem. Chaucer's *Pardoner*, however, labelled the instrument as the Devil's.

The collection of Welsh and Irish harp tunes has amassed some thousands of airs, many of them still familiar. Much of this music was saved from extinction by the revival of the Eisteddfod, the Granard Festivals in Ireland in the 18th century, and particularly the great Belfast Harp Meeting of 1792, at which Edward Bunting began to note down the tunes of the aged blind harper Denis Hampson and others. Many of the airs used by Thomas Moore are those collected by Bunting, including *Let Erin Remember* (*The Little*

*Bold Fox*), *The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls* (*Molly My Treasure*), and *The Minstrel Boy*. *The Foggy Dew* is believed to have been originally a harp tune, as is *Robin Adair*, said to be composed under the title of *Eileen Aroon* by a famous Irish harper named O'Daly.

The Æolian harp, sounded by the wind, harks back to David's kinnor, which sang over his bed in the night breezes. The 10th century Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunstan, who was a harper, experimented with wind-blown harps and found himself under suspicion of practicing magic. However, early in the 19th century romantic spirits found delight in such instruments in their gardens, parks, and homes.

Harps among primitive peoples are either of the musical bow type or European derivatives introduced after contact with conquerors. Bamboo bow-shaped harps are found in Borneo, Malaya, and Africa, and are often associated with women's ceremonies. The Wahehe of Africa have a harp story similar to those of the singing-bone theme. Among the Indians of Central and South America small wooden harps, possibly surviving from a Spanish type, are still in use. The Cáhita call theirs *arpa*; the musical bow is called *arpita*. The Yaqui use harps to accompany pascola and deer dancers. The oldest of the pascolas addresses the harp while he inserts a ceremonial stick into its holes, telling it the names of all the animals in the woods. Masks are not worn when the harp and violin accompany the dancing, as they are for dances to the indigenous drum and flute. Probably the use of harp and violin was begun under missionary influence, and a difference is observed in handling them.

A very primitive form of the harp is used in central Africa, where the sound box is a bark-covered pit, and the frame a limber stick stuck into the ground beside it, with a string bending it toward the bark surface. The string is plucked to sound the instrument. As in the case of most primitive instruments, the cycle of development is from such large, earth-bound forms to smaller and more portable types. Compare LYRR.

THÉRÈSE C. BRAKELEY

**Harpalyce** (1) In Greek legend, the daughter of Harpalycus, reared on the milk of mares and cows after her mother died and trained by her father in the manly arts. Partaking of the virtue of the milk she drank, she was too swift for horses to overtake. After she turned brigand when her father died, she had to be trapped in a snare by shepherds, who then killed her.

(2) In Greek legend, an Athenian maiden who died for love of Iphicles. In her honor a song contest was held in Athens.

**Harpies** In Greek mythology, rapacious wind goddesses commonly depicted as repulsively ugly; usually considered to be personifications of the storm winds, but indicating to some degree a possible origin in ghost belief. They are sometimes confused with the Erinyes, and, because of their form, with the Sirens. Homer mentions only one Harpy, Podarge, the mother by Zeus of the magical horses Balios and Xanthos. Hesiod names two, Aello and Ocypete, fair-haired daughters of Thaumias and the Oceanid Electra. Later tradition makes them hideous creatures, birds with hags' faces, clawed talons, hanging breasts, and bears' ears. Poseidon, in some myths, is their father or their lover. They caused the sudden disappearance of the daughters of Pandareus,

and gave them to the Erinyes as servants. The best-known story in which they appear is that of Phineus.

**Harpocrates** In later Greek and Roman religion, the Egyptian god Horus as a child; the god of silence. In his aspect as an infant, Horus was depicted by the Egyptians with his finger in his mouth, a childish attitude by convention, but mistaken by the Hellenistic Greeks who took the pose to indicate that the god commanded silence, finger to lips. Harpocrates was a very popular god from the XXVI Egyptian Dynasty through the late Roman Empire, and was perhaps figured more often in homes and temples than any other Egyptian god of the period. See HORUS.

**Harris, James Rendel** (1852-1941) English philologist, paleographer, and Biblical scholar, educated at Cambridge University. Harris was a professor at Johns Hopkins University (1882-85), at Haverford College (1886-92), lecturer at Cambridge University (1893-1903), professor of Theology at the University of Leyden (1903-04), and later lecturer at Oberlin College. He received many honorary degrees from universities in various countries. Harris traveled in the East a great deal, searching for manuscripts. He is important in the field of folklore mainly for calling attention to a great number of significant similarities in the patterns of folktales. Among Harris' writings are: *Picus Who Is Also Zeus* (Cambridge, Bulletin John Rylands Library, 1916), *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (1903), *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (1906), *Boanerges* (1913), and *The Ascent of Olympus* (1917).

**Harris, Joel Chandler** (1818-1908) American writer. He was born in Georgia, practiced law, and later became a journalist. The Uncle Remus stories, on which his fame rests, first appeared in the *Atlanta Constitution*, with which newspaper he was connected from 1876 until 1900. His best-known book, *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings: the Folklore of the Old Plantation*, was published in 1880. He also wrote *Nights with Uncle Remus* (1883), *Mingo and Other Sketches* (1883), and *Brer Rabbit*. His Atlanta, Ga., home is now an Uncle Remus Memorial.

**Hartland, Edwin Sidney** (1848-1927) British writer and folklore scholar, son of a Congregational minister. He became a county court registrar in 1869 and rose to a similar position in high court, which he held to 1924. His *The Science of Fairy Tales* (1891) is considered important in the folklore field. It includes an able treatment of the story of Lady Godiva. His great work, *The Legend of Perseus* (3 volumes, 1894-96), is a comparative study of folktales from all over the world, as well as of numerous beliefs and customs. Hartland was chairman of the Folk Tale Section of the International Folklore Congress in London in 1891, president of the British Folklore Society in 1899, Frazer Lecturer at Oxford University in 1922, and received the Huxley Medal in 1923. Among other writings are: *English Fairy and Other Folk Tales* (1890), *Notes on Cinderella* (International Folklore Congress, Chicago, 1893), *Primitive Paternity* (1910), *Ritual and Belief* (1914), *Primitive Society* (1921), *Primitive Law* (1924), and his editing of Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*.

**Hārūn al-Rashid** (c. 765-809) Harun the Orthodox, the famed Caliph of Bagdad of the *Arabian Nights*. His

reign was a brilliant one; his court overflowed with poets, musicians, sages, and practitioners of the arts. Charlemagne and Hārūn made gifts to each other as the respective masters of the Occident and Orient. The nocturnal wanderings of Hārūn and his vizier, incognito in the streets of Bagdad, are a traditional source of tale and anecdote in the Arab world. His reputation as a devout and just ruler is a popular one; history reveals him as a much more petty person.

**haruspices** In ancient Rome, a class of diviners from omens, specifically from the entrails of slaughtered animals. As a class they did not have the position or dignity of the augurs, who were important officers of the state. The haruspices were said to be practitioners of an Etruscan art, and drew their predictions not only from the sacrificial animals (which had to be of spotless purity) but also from portents of all kinds, as for example lightning. There was in later Roman times a college of haruspices, which had however no official status.

**Hārūt and Mārūt** In the Koran and in Moslem tradition, two fallen angels. They descended to earth to test their powers to resist temptation and succumbed to the charms of the daughters of men. Given the choice between eternal damnation hereafter and a limited punishment on earth now, they chose the latter. They hang head downward in a well in Babylon, teaching magic and such arts to men, but only after fair warning to the men of the troubles to which they may look forward. Hārūt and Mārūt may have entered Moslem legend from the Iranian Haurvatat and Ameretat, of the Persian Amshaspands, who were probably the successors in Iranian mythology of the Aśvins.

**harvest dances** Communal dance celebrations of a successful harvest are observed by agricultural peoples the world over, from the Sohorai of the East Indian Mundas to the Ayriwa of the Peruvian Quechua Indians. Often there is a series of festivities, from the first-fruits to the final harvest and storing, which often coincides with the first deer hunt, as in the Papago wíikita.

The nature of the fruits depends upon the climate: the South American Mataco and Choroti Indians center their rituals around the algarroba harvest, Indians from the Andes to the Iroquois around maize. Mediterranean peoples rejoice over the vintage, Lithuanians over the maturing of the rye. The Iroquois have a typical succession, from June to early November, of feasts for the spirit of the strawberry, raspberry, bean, green corn, and ripe corn, and a final thanksgiving for all crops, with prayer for continued prosperity. This sequence used to be spread throughout the Southeastern tribes.

The date depends not only on the nature of the produce, but on geographical location as well. Maize ripens among the Mexicans in June, among the Iroquois in September; hence, the ancient Aztec festival for Xilónen, goddess of young corn and beans, fell in June; Iroquois Green Corn feasts fall on Labor Day or thereabouts. Similarly, the Peruvian vintage *fiesta de la vendimia* comes in March instead of September.

The dances, usually open to all, take many forms, but two recur with special frequency—the human chain formed by linked hands, following a leader in serpentine formation, as in the Iroquois and Delaware green bean dance, the Venezuelan Cumanagoto harvest dance, and

the ancient Aztec dances for Xilónen and for Cinteotl, god of maize; secondly, actual or symbolic skirmishes, during the Aztec festival for Cinteotl during the 11th month, Ochpaniztli, by priestesses with flowing branches, during the Creek busk by two parties of warriors, in the Meskwakie bean dance as simple opposition (cross-overs) between men and women. Both types are common in vegetation rites.

Ceremonial procedures include, besides invocations, secular and religious dances, also the offering of first-fruits, sometimes human sacrifice, and in some cases the use of emetics and purificatory bathing. They always conclude with a feast on the proffered fruits, in fact to the point of gorging on food and drink while there is plenty.

The religious significance may include propitiation and thanksgiving to all supernatural powers, not only to the food spirits; thus peace between the people and the spirits. In many instances this meaning has been retained. In Europe it has been submerged in an alien religion or has given way to simple merrymaking. Pagan harvest festivals have been identified with church holidays both in Europe and Latin America: Corpus Christi, St. John's Day, St. Matthew's Day, the feast for the dead (Halloween). In the United States Thanksgiving Day is a staid relic of these orgies. See BREAD DANCE; BUSK; CORN DANCE; GREEN CORN DANCE; SERPENTINE; STICK DANCE; SWORD DANCE. [GPK]

**harvest doll** The last sheaf of the harvest, dressed in a woman's dress and decked with ribbons, regarded as the embodiment of the spirit of the crop: often in northern England called the harvest queen, also kern baby, i.e. "corn doll." In Northumberland this puppet is attached to a long pole and carried home by the harvesters and set up in the barn. In some communities it goes home on the last load. In some communities the harvest queen is a fairly small and carefully fashioned image; in others it is heavy and grotesque. In parts of Germany especially, it is thought the heavier the better.

In Scotland we find the harvest maiden or the hag—the Old Wife or the Old Woman (see CAILLEAC). In Wales too she is the Hag or *wrach*. In Brittany she is called the Mother Sheaf.

In Germany it is the Corn Mother or Harvest Mother or Old Woman who inhabits the last sheaf (sometimes even the Old Man). In Holstein the puppet is carried home in the last wagonload of the crop and drenched with water, as often also in England and Scotland. In parts of Prussia the last sheaf is the Grandmother, dressed in a woman's dress and decked with flowers. In Denmark the harvest doll is more specifically named, as Rye Woman, Old Barley Woman, etc. In Poland the last sheaf is made into a puppet called Baba, or Grandmother; and in some localities the woman who binds the last sheaf is herself called the Baba, is dressed in the sheaf, is carried home in the last wagon and drenched with water, and treated as all representations of the grain spirit are treated.

Gradually, almost everywhere, the ancient belief in the last sheaf as the spirit of growing grain incarnate has given way to its use as a mere emblem of abundance. In some places these observances have passed away altogether; in some places they still survive. See KORN-MUTTER; KORNWOLF.

**Harvest Home** An old harvest celebration still observed in some parts of rural England, participated in by one and all who have helped with the harvest, and observed on the last day of bringing the harvest home. It was frequently also called the Ingathering or Inning, and in Scotland was known as the Kern.

The last load of rye, beans, or other crop is decked with ribbons, flowers, or green boughs, and accompanied by men, women, and children all singing and shouting. The Harvest Home song, sung en route, goes something like this:

Harvest home! Harvest home!  
We've plowed, we've sowed,  
We've reaped, we've mowed,  
And brought safe home  
Every load.

The Harvest Queen (see **HARVEST DOLL**) is either carried home on the wagon or is carried high on a pole by one of the harvesters. The load as it enters the farm gate is often met with a volley of apples, and the Harvest Queen and the reaper carrying her are drenched with buckets of water. At the feast which ends the day the head reaper is crowned with a garland and the evening continues with eating, drinking, and all kinds of merrymaking, dance, and song. This is but one of the harvest thanksgiving celebrations observed all over the world. See **CAILLEAC**; **SAMAIN**.

**Hasan of Bassorah** Title and hero of one of the tales of the *Arabian Nights*; a story belonging to the world-wide swan-maiden cycle and compounded with the quest for the lost bride. The long journey of Hasan to the islands of Wak Wak, during which he overcomes many perils by both his own and his helpers' wisdom and ingenuity, forms the core of the story; but aside from the colorful descriptions of the various lands and the contrived drawing out of the plot, there is little interest or use of folklore materials. In the beginning of the long tale, however, a considerable group of common folktale motifs appears.

Hasan the wastrel is enticed by a Persian alchemist to go to the top of a steep mountain for the purpose of obtaining materials for the touchstone that will change base metal into gold. During their voyage to the land of the mountain a storm at sea is allayed by Bahram's, the alchemist's, ceasing to maltreat Hasan. After an eight days' journey from the coast they come to the mountain. Hasan permits himself to be sewn into a skin and a roc carries him to the peak. But when he throws down the magic wood, Bahram flees.

Hasan throws himself into the sea, the only way to escape from the mountain; he is washed ashore and finds himself at the palace of seven princesses of the Jann, enemies of the alchemist. He is adopted as their brother, and when Bahram returns the following year with another victim Hasan slays the Persian. The princesses leave on a visit, giving Hasan the freedom of the palace and its keys. Of course, there is one door he must not open. Eventually he does open the forbidden door, climbs the stairs, and comes out on the roof. From this height he spies on ten bird-maidens, and falls in love with their chief. The maidens put on their bird-robcs again and fly away. Hasan begins to waste away in his helpless love, but on the advice of the youngest of the seven sisters, when they return, he

waits for the new moon, when the bird-maidens come back. He steals the garment of the maiden of his choice, she being left behind when the others fly away. He marries this princess, for she is the daughter of a sovereign of the Jann.

Hasan hides the bird-garment, returns with his wife to visit his mother. After three years, when they have two sons, Hasan leaves his wife to see his "sisters" again, warning his mother not to reveal the hiding-place of the garment or to permit his wife to leave the house. But the princess goes to the bath, seemingly a harmless occupation; there she is admired by all and is called before the caliph's wife, who wishes to see the beauty everyone is talking of. The princess convinces the caliph's wife that she would appear much more beautiful if she had her feather dress. Hasan's mother is ordered to produce the shirt, and the wife flies away with the children as soon as she gets her hands on the garment. As she departs, she tells the mother that she is going to the islands of Wak, where Hasan may come to claim her if he can. With the aid of his "sisters," their uncle, and a chain of friends, Hasan eventually recovers his bride in the Amazonlike land of Wak Wak, stealing to attain his end a cap of invisibility, and a staff to summon the Jinn. These he later gives to his helpers, after he has returned the seven years' distance to his home.

The many motifs in this tale mark it as a late fabrication. The accidental obtaining of the magic cap and rod, although parallels to the duping of original boy-owners of such magical objects exist in other folktales, has no integral connection with the plot. Among the several motifs the following are notable: voyage to inaccessible place carried by huge bird (B31.1) (wrapping in animal's skin or flesh); the forbidden chamber (C611); the swan maidens (D361.1); flight to magic land (D531; Type 400); the island of women (F112); cap of invisibility (D1361.15); magic staff (D1421.1).

**Hasapiko** A modern Greek folk dance performed by men and women in no set order, holding shoulders in a line moving in anticlockwise circle, as in the *kolo* and the *hora*. The chief step is a hopping double and simple, also a sort of grapevine. The leader often crouches and turns. [GRK]

**hashish or hasheesh** An intoxicating preparation of the tops and sprouts of Indian hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), chewed, smoked, or drunk; known also as *bang* (Persian), *bhang* (Indian), *fasukh* (Moroccan), *dakhd* (South African). The celebrated Assassins of the years of the Crusades were addicted to hashish, from which their name derives. It affects the senses so as to cause delirium: heat is not felt and events are exaggerated. It is used for example by Eastern men to slow the orgasm and thus to prolong coition. Penzer, following a suggestion of Gibb, believed that the magical passage of time in Oriental stories, where a long time seems to have passed in only a few minutes, may be a reflection of the hashish experience.

**Hathor** Literally, either the house above or the house of Horus; an Egyptian cosmic goddess, often represented as a cow with the solar disk and plumes between her horns, or as a woman with cow's horns between which was the solar disk; identified principally with Isis, but also identified with many other earlier goddesses of

**Egypt.** As the sky goddess she was queen of heaven, creatrix, a Great Mother. She became identified with Ishtar-Ashtar, the cow and moon goddess of fertility of Mesopotamia, and was perhaps originally identical with her. An early version of the Osiris myth equates Isis with Hathor; Horus beheaded Isis and the missing head was replaced by that of a cow. As with all the cosmic-fertility goddesses of the Fertile Crescent, the confusion of the crescent-shaped horns with the moon symbol makes it impossible to say whether the original province of the goddess was cosmic (moon) or fertility (cow's horns).

Hathor, the goddess of fertility, was also the female principle, the patroness of women and of marriage. She was likewise goddess of love and mirth, of social pleasures, of beauty. The moon goddess, she was a deity of death, a tree spirit of the sycamore groves near the necropolises; she gave nourishment to the soul (ba) of the departed. In mythology, she fed Horus, and the pharaoh, who was the embodiment of Horus.

The seven Hathors were deities of fate, appearing at the cradle and casting lots to determine the course of the future life of the infant. In this role they appear, for example, in the folktale of the Egyptian Empire, *The Enchanted Prince*.

**Hatim Ta'i** A famous and generous Arab chief whose exploits are told and retold in Persia and India, especially in Bengal. [MWS]

**Hatto** The name of two archbishops of Mainz, Germany (901-913 and 963-970). The legend of the mouse-tower of Bingen, a building standing on an island in the middle of the Rhine, is told of both. During a famine, Hatto's granary was full, but he would not distribute the grain to the people. At last he was forced to take notice of their muttering. He announced that on a given day his barn would be thrown open to all. When the barn was filled, he had the doors locked and set fire to the building, burning the starving crowd inside. Immediately a vast army of mice appeared and began to converge on the bishop, who fled before them to take refuge in the mouse-tower. But to no avail; the mice entered and ate him to death. This is a local form of the widespread northern European tale of the mouse-tower: the mice are apparently the avenging souls of those killed by the bishop; the mouse-tower (*Mäuse-turm*), as Krappe points out, is undoubtedly a *Meuturm* (customs tower) to which the legend has been attracted. See *MOUSE-TOWER*.

**Hatuibwari or Hasibwari** The supreme being of Arosi (Melanesia), represented as a winged serpent with a human head containing four teeth and four eyes. He is male but has breasts from which he feeds all created things. Hatuibwari lives on sacred hills. In legend he came from the sky and created a woman from red clay and the heat of the sun. From her rib he made the first man. According to Fox this legend is not the product of the introduction of Christianity into the area.

**Haul on the Bowline** The oldest of the short-haul chanteys, going back at least to the time of Henry VIII. After 1500 the bowline was no longer important in working a ship, but the song remained to serve in the hauling of other lines. The title words were always sung uniformly, but the others were varied as the

chanteyman chose, often slyly giving navigation hints to inexperienced officers.

**haunted house** A house, tenanted or untenanted, which is frequented by ghosts, specters, phantoms, and the like. In the British Isles, haunted houses and castles are common and the "goings on" of their nocturnal company have given rise to many and varied traditional tales. Castles in Scandinavia are likewise haunted. In short, wherever or whenever the dead return, they haunt their former homes. Although Clough says, "America needs more and better haunted houses," there is no dearth of them in the United States from Maine to California and from Texas to Minnesota. [ORS]

**Havgan** In Brythonic mythology, the opponent of Arawn, king of Annwn, for the sovereignty of that wonderful land. Havgan could be overcome only by a single blow, a second would revive him. Pwyll, fighting in behalf of Arawn, gave him his mortal wound. Havgan begged for another, to end his suffering, but Pwyll refused to give it. Thus Havgan was killed and Annwn was saved for Arawn.

**Havmand** The merman of Danish folklore, usually bearded and very handsome. He lives in the sea or inhabits rocky cliffs along the shore. He is usually regarded as a friendly being, unlike many other Teutonic water spirits, such as the nix, Halvenmann, the Icelandic Skrimd, etc. But the *Havfrue*, the mermaid of Danish folklore, has a dual nature. She is very beautiful, sometimes friendly, but sometimes also predatory and seductive. Fishermen who see her through the sea must expect stormy weather to follow. Sometimes she comes piteously shivering to their fires to seduce them into accompanying her. She takes home the unfound bodies of the drowned.

**haw** In American cowboy square dances, the term for left. [CRK]

**Hawk and the Nightingale** A fable ascribed to Aesop, but told by Hesiod in his *Works and Days* in the 8th century B.C., said to be the earliest known of the Greek fables. A Nightingale, caught by a hungry Hawk, begged to be let go, pleading his tininess. But the Hawk replied that the little bird he had was better for his hunger than a big bird yet to be caught. See *MED IN THE HAND*.

**hawthorn** A thorny, spring-flowering shrub of the rose family (genus *Crataegus*) with white or pink flowers and small pome fruits or haws, sometimes called white thorn to distinguish it from the blackthorn. In ancient Greece it was used for the marriage torch and girls wore crowns of hawthorn at weddings. In Rome it was a potent charm against witchcraft and sorcery, and the leaves were put in the cradles of newborn babies. In Christian legend it formed the Crown of Thorns and was therefore considered to have many miraculous powers. A sprig of hawthorn was proof against storms at sea, lightning ashore; and in the house it was proof against spirits and ghosts. But in Ireland and parts of England bringing it into the house was considered unlucky, and in some localities it even brought death. The staff of Joseph of Arimathea which sprouted when thrust into the ground was also believed to have been hawthorn. According to Teutonic legend it was believed



to have sprung from lightning and it was often used for funeral pyres.

Among the Celtic peoples it was unlucky, if not fatal, to cut down these shrubs, as in the case of Tim MacDougal who reluctantly accepted some much needed money to cut down a bush. The next morning his baby was stolen and the following day his wife ran off with the money. When the baby's clothes were returned, he knew that the little people were displeased, so he took shoots of the bush he had destroyed and planted them in a circle around a wild thyme bed. The next day he found that they had grown, and in the center he found his baby. In Ireland hawthorns are believed to be frequented by fairies, and are therefore sometimes called "gentle bushes." To cut one down brings death upon the cattle or the children, and loss of memory to the feller. Their scent is sometimes said to have the sweet, enchanting scent of death. The boughs are fastened to the outside of barns on May Day to keep out evil spirits and ensure plenty of milk during the summer.

In England, before the calendar reform, hawthorn was used to decorate the doors on May Day and in Northamptonshire a hawthorn branch was placed in the ground before the house of the prettiest girl of the village. The crown of Richard III was found in a hawthorn bush at Bosworth, and was later placed on the head of Henry VII. Thereafter Henry adopted the thorn as his device.

A distilled water made from the thorns was said to draw out thorns and splinters from the flesh. The flowers steeped in wine and distilled are good for pleurisy, stomach and all internal pains. The powdered berries in wine are a good tonic and a cure for dropsy and the stone. The hawthorn is the state flower of Missouri.

hay (1) In most of Great Britain, France, Germany, Bohemia, Spain, India, and the United States, it is considered good luck to see a load of hay approaching. Many believe that if you make a wish and do not look at the load again, the wish will be granted, but if the hay is baled you may have to wait until the bales are opened. Not to wish on a load of hay is bad luck. However, in some parts of England, it is unlucky to meet a load of hay in a country lane and you must spit on the load to regain your luck. Crossed scythes are frequently left on the top of the rick to prevent spontaneous combustion. In parts of England, feeding cattle a little stolen hay on Christmas Eve will make them prosper during the year. Some Northumberland churches are strewn with hay in the summer. There is a belief that to add hay flowers to your bath will cure toothache.

(2) or hey An old English country dance: a serpentine figure performed in a circle (same as grand right and left). The straight hay is the same, executed in a straight line; the straight hay for three is a figure 8 featuring the intertwining of three dancers. [GPK]

Hayagriva Literally, horse-neck, or great wrath king: in Tibet a Dharmapala with a horse's head growing from his hair; first of the eight dreadful gods called *Drag-gshhed*. To the Mongols Hayagriva was the protector of horses. His Tibetan name is *rTa-mgrin*. In Hinduism, Hayagriva is a Daitya who, according to

one legend, stole the Veda as it slipped out of Brahmā's mouth while he was asleep. In another legend, Vishnu assumed this form to recover the Veda which two Daityas had carried off.

Hayicanako The Old Woman Underneath Us; the supporter of the earth in the mythology of the Tlingit Indians and certain Athapaskan tribes. Either she supports it herself or tends a post made of a beaver leg, on which the earth is standing. When the earth shakes it is a sign that the old woman is hungry, and the people throw grease in the fire, which melts and runs down to her. See ATLAS MOTIF.

Hayk The national epic hero of Armenia; a handsome giant with a strong arm who led his people from the plain of Shinar and the tyranny of Bel to the cold but free mountains of Armenia where he conquered the native Urartians. Later he met the forces of Bel and defeated them by arranging his smaller forces in a triangle. His symbols are the bow and triangular arrow. He is the eponymous hero of the Armenians who call themselves the Hay and their country Hayastan.

hazel A bushy shrub or small tree (genus *Corylus*) yielding an edible nut. In Celtic legend, especially Irish, this is the tree of knowledge. The salmon in Connla's well ate the nuts of this tree and was the wisest of beings. The druid who fostered Fionn MacCumhal told the young Fionn to cook a salmon from a certain deep pool in the River Boyne, but forbade him to taste it. While turning the fish, Fionn burnt his thumb and put it in his mouth. Thus he received the gift of inspiration, for this was the salmon which had eaten the nuts which fell into the pool from the nine hazels of wisdom. The hazel was the ninth tree in the Old Irish tree alphabet and symbol of the ninth month (Aug. 6 to Sept. 2). It represented all knowledge of the arts and sciences; and a hazel wand was carried by the heralds as a badge of office. In Fenian legend the dripping hazel was an evil tree without leaves, dripping poisonous milk, and the home of vultures. This tree represented the evil, destructive uses of knowledge.

Hazel twigs and forks are the most universally popular divining rods. In some localities, however, these rods must be cut on St. John's Eve or Night. In addition to this, in Brandenburg one must approach the tree in darkness, walking backwards, and cut the fork silently, while reaching between the legs. In Berlin they say a divining rod is only good for seven years, and must be cut by an innocent child of the true faith on St. John's Night. Before the 17th century hazel rods were used for discovering thieves and murderers as well as water and treasure. To test a divining rod, hold it in water: it should squeal like a pig.

In Prussia they say that if you cannot catch a thief, beat a piece of his clothing with a hazel switch and he will fall sick. In Wales hazel twigs are woven into a wishing cap which will grant the wearer's desire. Also, a shipmaster who wears such a cap will weather any storm. In France, hazel rods are used for "beating the bounds." A hazel breastband on a harness will protect a horse from fairy bewitchment and evil spirits. In Ireland the cattle are driven through the Beltane and Midsummer fires and their backs singed with hazel

wands to protect them from fairies. These rods are very powerful for driving the cattle during the year.

The hazel is the tree of Thor and in the dominion of Mercury. The kernels of hazel nuts mixed with mead and honied water are good for an old cough; mixed with pepper they clear the head. In England, a double hazel nut carried in the pocket prevents toothache. A cross fashioned from the wood and laid on a snake bite, while reciting a diminishing rime, will draw out the poison. Binding the legs and feet of a horse, who has over-eaten, with hazel rods and reciting a formula in his right ear will relieve him. See WITCH HAZEL.

**heart-case** One or more of the *Persicaria*, some species of which are so called because of heart-shaped markings on the leaves: believed to yield a substance beneficial in heart disorders. See PANSY; PERSICARY; VIOLET.

**heart saved from cremation** A motif in the mythology of the Yuman and Shoshonean Indians of southern California, in which the death of the creator or culture hero is caused by poisoning or by Frog swallowing his excrements. Great was the mourning for the god; great was the mourning that death had come upon mankind. The people prepared to cremate the body of their god, but Coyote coveted the heart. The people tried to circumvent his plans, but Coyote leapt onto the pyre at the last minute, tore out the heart, and ate it. The Juaneño Indians (Shoshonean) long retained a mourning ceremony which dramatized this myth. When an initiate among the Juaneño died a certain ritual was enacted by one called the *ano* (coyote) or the *takwe* (eater), who cut a piece of flesh from the dead man's shoulder and ate it. The hearts (i.e. souls) of the dead whose flesh was thus ritually eaten by the *ano* or *takwe* were "saved" to fly into the sky and become stars. The Pomo Indians performed a similar ritual.

**heaven** The afterworld in the sky where the souls of the blessed live in company with divine beings. Heaven is the term applied also to the region of the sky where the afterworld is located; in some cosmographies there are several discrete heavens, varying in excellence or in suitability for the various human occupations. See AFTERWORLD; ASGARD; ELYSIUM; PARADISE; VALHALLA.

**heb-sed** A jubilee festival of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs, during which the king renewed his vigor by magical means and transferred it to the earth: believed to be a substitute for an earlier ceremony at which the enfeebled king was murdered. During the ceremony, the pharaoh ran a prescribed course while carrying a flail, a doubly meaningful ritual of fertility. The coronation was repeated, and the lotus and papyrus, emblems of the two kingdoms, were entwined about a stake. The existence of two tombs for some of the Egyptian kings has led to the conjecture that a symbolic killing of the pharaoh may have occurred at the heb-sed.

**Hecate** In Greek mythology, an underworld divinity of triple aspect: perhaps a Thracian goddess, perhaps Hellenic in origin. She is not mentioned in Homer, but in Hesiod her powers are already very great: she bestows wealth and success, good luck and advice, is powerful in earth, sea, and heaven. Apart from her eminence in her own cult, flourishing principally in Asia Minor, she appeared as companion and cousin of

Artemis. The best known of several genealogies made her the daughter of Perses and Asteria; as a Titan, she alone kept her powers under the rule of Zeus, having helped him against the Gigantes.

By a transference common in mythology, she became, as a goddess of plenty, an infernal deity, terrible in aspect and often snakelike, the queen of ghosts and mistress of black magic, the keeper of the keys of Hades. She and Helios alone witnessed the rape of Persephone, and Hecate was sent by Zeus to find her, accompanying Demeter with a torch. When Persephone was found, Hecate remained as her companion. She thus became ruler of the shades of the departed, dispatched phantoms and the like from the underworld at night. Hecate wandered about in the dark, accompanied by the souls of the dead and by her hell-hounds. Dogs howled at night when they heard this company approach.

Hecate was to antiquity the great goddess of magic, more important than her daughter Circe. Second as a magician was the Hermes Chthonius later confused with Hermes Trismegistus. The greatest of the magical incantations of antiquity are connected with Hecate. She haunted the vicinity of crossroads, and became the divinity of roads. Triple statues of Hecate Trioditis (Roman *Trivia*) were set up at places where roads crossed, facing in the several directions. Similar statues were erected before houses to keep out the evil spirits. Such representations were believed to be oracular. Food was set out before them at the end of every month (Hecate's suppers), and at night she appeared to taste of it. Dogs and honey and black ewe-lambs were sacrificed to her.

A further evolution made Hecate, already a goddess of plenty and of the night, become the moon goddess: this is considered by some to have been her original aspect. Hecate was represented as carrying a torch and a scourge; sometimes her three heads would be those of a dog, a horse, and a lion; sometimes the triple aspect would be named for Selene, Artemis, and Hecate. She was identified variously with Demeter, Rhea (or Cybele or Brimo), Artemis, Persephone; her worship was connected with that of the Cabeiri and the Curetes and with Apollo and the Muses, and had as its principal locations Samothrace, Ægina, Argos, and Athens. Compare BERGHTA; HERMES; HOLDE; JANUS; MONSTERS; PADMAPANI; RUDRA; ŚIVA.

**hedgehog** A small, nocturnal, insectivorous mammal of the Old World (family *Erinaceidae*), with back and sides covered with stout spines. An early English writer calls it "hedgidog"; Shakespeare names it "hedge-pig" (*Macbeth*). The peculiar noise this animal makes, something between snoring and breathing hard, has given rise to ominous superstitions regarding it, namely that there might be ghosts or evil spirits about when the uncanny sound is heard.

In Morocco, the pounded and roasted liver of the hedgehog is given to school boys to make them remember their lessons; a jawbone is hung around a child's neck to protect it from the evil eye. Hedgehog blood is good for warts, the gall for deafness, and the fumes of its burnt bristles are good for both man and beast. In England, the left eye of the hedgehog fried in oil was a remedy for insomnia in the 17th century.

Popular belief in England says that the hedgehog

carries off apples on its spines; the same belief, but about grapes, is mentioned in two anonymous epigrams in a Greek anthology. English farmers used to believe that hedgehogs milked the cows at night, and hence used to kill them for no other reason. To eat the flesh of hedgehogs was forbidden among the peoples of Madagascar, especially to their warriors, lest they too curl up in fright when attacked.

In folktales there are helpful hedgehogs (B434), hedgehogs as revenants (E423.2.4) and hedgehogs as animal spouses (B641.4). [cfs]

**Hedley kow** A supernatural being of British folklore noted for its antics and annoying tricks. Often it assumes the shape of a truss of straw. When someone tries to pick this up, to stow it away, it becomes heavier and heavier and heavier, until the hapless carrier has to lay it down to rest. Then suddenly it shuffles away and a peal of laughter is heard.

**heiau** Hawaiian temples built of lava. These are rarely dedicated to a particular divinity; any god can be invoked in them. They are usually oblong in shape, formed by walls of rock lava which enclose the altar, the house of the priests, and the anu or place of oracles. All heiau and sacred groves are protected by tabu.

**Heimdall or Heimdallr** In Teutonic mythology, god of the early sun, hence of dawn and light. In a late Edda account he was the son of Odin and nine giant sisters, born on the horizon, nurtured on the strength of the earth, the moisture of the sea, and the warmth of the sun. He was guardian of the heavenly bridge Bifrost. He could see a hundred miles by night as well as day, and his hearing was such that he could hear the grass grow. One night he was disturbed by a stealthy noise, and looking across to Folkvang, he saw Loki in the guise of a fly, tiptoeing in Freya's bedroom to steal her necklace Brisingamen.

Once when Heimdall visited the earth, he entered three homes: a hovel by the seacoast, a thrifty farmhouse, and a castle. In each after his visit, a son was born. The first, named Thrall, was dark-skinned and thickset; the second, Karl, was blue-eyed and sturdy; the third, Jarl, was a slender handsome boy. From these three sons were descended the serfs, husbands-men, and aristocrats of the Northern peoples.

Heimdall lived in a castle, Himinbiorg, at the highest point of Bifrost. He wore shining white armor and carried a flashing sword and the trumpet, the Gjallerhorn, with which he will summon all to the last battle of the world at Ragnarök. He also went under the name of Gullintani, Hallinskide, Irmin, and Riger.

**Heinzelmännchen** In German folk belief, friendly dwarfs or elves who come in the night to work for people whom they like, or to whom they are indebted.

**Hei-tiki** A grotesque amulet representing a fetus, worn by the Maori to ward off attacks by the envious spirits of stillborn children, who dislike the living because they themselves have never had a chance to live. Literally it means "tied-on tiki." See **TIKI**.

**Hel or Hela** In Teutonic mythology (1) The grim, fierce goddess, half black and half white, who ruled over all who died of disease or old age. She was the daughter of Loki and Angur-boda, banished by Odin into Niflheim to rule over the worlds of the dead.

(2) Sometimes known as Niflheim, Nifhel: the realm of nine worlds under the roots of Yggdrasil which was reserved for those who died of disease or old age. Not until Christian times did it become the realm of the damned. It was ruled by the goddess Hel and guarded by the dog, Garm. The name is literally "hollow place," and corresponds more to the Greek Hades than to the Christian Hell, in that it is primarily an otherworld rather than a place of punishment and misery.

**Helen** In Greek legend and mythology, the most beautiful of women; daughter of Zeus and Leda and sister of the Dioscuri. Originally Helen was perhaps a tree goddess; like her brothers, she was a patron of sailors to whom she appeared as St. Elmo's fire, an evil omen. Whether her defecation preceded or followed the legend is a matter still debated.

When a young girl, Helen was abducted by Theseus and then rescued by her brothers when Theseus left her to visit the underworld. The Dioscuri also carried off Aethra, the mother of Theseus, to be Helen's handmaid. Still later, Helen was wooed by the great kings of Greece, and she chose Menelaus, or was given to him by her putative father Tyndareus. To Menelaus she bore Hermione.

After some years of married life as the wife of the king of Sparta, Helen was induced by Paris (with Aphrodite's help) to flee with him to Troy. One version of the story says that they stopped at Egypt on the way, where Proteus hid the real Helen in a cave and sent a shade in her shape on to Troy with Paris. When Troy fell, she was reunited with Menelaus (who stopped at Egypt on his way back to Sparta, thus permitting the resubstitution to be made). She is said to have survived him, to have been driven out by his sons, and to have been killed by hanging by Polyxo in Rhodes.

In the writings of the Renaissance and after, Helen became the type of classical beauty. Marlowe's *Faust*, thirsting for the beauty he could not find in his world, called Helen up from the underworld; the *Faust* of Goethe had a son Euphorion by Helen.

**Helenus** In Greek legend, a Trojan soothsayer, son of Priam and Hecuba. He and Cassandra, when children, obtained the gift of prophecy when their ears were licked by serpents. Helenus is a warrior in Homer. He deserted to the Greeks, because of the sacrilegious slaying of Achilles by Paris, or because Odysseus captured him and caused him to foretell the manner of the fall of Troy (by the arrows of Hercules), or because he lost Helen to Deiphobus after Paris died, or simply because he so desired. After the war ended, he became king of Epirus, married Andromache, and was later buried at Argos. Compare **CASSANDRA**; **MELAMPUS**.

**Heliogabalus or Elagabalus** A sun god of Emesa in ancient Syria. According to Herodian, a Syrian historian of the Roman emperors, the god was worshipped in the form of a conical black stone. The Roman emperor who reigned from 218-222 A.D. adopted the name, he having been a priest of the god.

**Helios** In Greek mythology, the sun or the sun god: often confused in later classical times with Apollo. Helios was the son of Hyperion and Theia or Euryphaessa, the brother of Selene and Eos. His consort was Perse or Perseis, by whom he was father of Aetes

and Circe. Among his numerous mistresses were Clymene, Clytie, Leucothoe, and Rhode. Helios was all-seeing as god of the sun, and this faculty causes the confusion with Apollo. Helios saw the rape of Persephone; he knew of the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares.

However, Apollo never is pictured in Greek myth as a charioteer, while Helios usually drives the four-horse team of the chariot of the sun through the heavens. The palace of Helios was in the east, from which he drove the sun westward to dip into the stream of Ocean at night, there to rest and bathe after his day's labor, and to be carried back on the stream through the night to his palace in the cup fashioned by Hephaestus. On the island of Thrinacia, Helios had seven herds of oxen and seven of sheep, each a herd of fifty head which never increased or decreased. These herds were kept by his daughter, either Phaetusa or Lampetia. When these cattle were attacked by Ulysses' men, Helios was notified by Lampetia; he complained to Zeus who slew all the crew but Ulysses with a bolt. Later myth gave him flocks on Erytheia as well, and wherever Helios was worshipped flocks were sacred to him.

His principal place of worship was at Rhodes, where the famous Colossus (a representation of him) stood. There was however little established worship, although the god was often invoked as the all-seeing. The cock was especially sacred to him, as was honey, and as were also white boars, bulls, lambs, rams, and horses. He was called Sol by the Romans, and often simply Titan. Compare GERON'S CATTLE; HERCULES; PHAETHON.

**heliotrope** (1) An herb (genus *Heliotropium*) with small white or purplish flowers. In Greek times heliotrope denoted any flower which followed the sun. Greek legend says the water nymph Clytie was in love with the sun god, Phoebus Apollo, and sat on a river bank for nine days and nights without food or water, watching his chariot, until the gods took pity on her and changed her into a heliotrope. That is why it is a symbol of eternal love. The common heliotrope was brought from Peru to France in 1736, where it became known as the love flower. From there it came to the American colonies. Among the Border folk it was said to make invisible anyone who walked with a piece in his shoe; but the magic formula for this has been lost.

According to Pliny the heliotrope is not plucked when used medicinally, but tied in knots with a prayer that the patient might recover to untie them. Pliny also said that a scorpion touched by a sprig of heliotrope would die and would not enter a place which had been circumscribed by a sprig of this plant. This belief was based on the resemblance of heliotrope seeds to a scorpion.

(2) Same as BLOODSTONE.

**hell** The afterworld, usually underground but often placed on earth in some far-off region to the west or north, and inhabited by the souls of the dead; especially, the place where souls are punished for their transgressions on earth as contrasted with heaven. The Greek Hades included the Elysian Fields, a sort of heaven, and did not encompass the concept of punishment. However, the underworld of Egyptian belief included the court of Osiris where souls found lacking

were swallowed by the infernal hippopotamus. The hells of world-wide belief are peopled not only by the spirits of the departed, but also by demons, ruled over by a god of the underworld, who aid in the punishment of the soul. It is noteworthy that generally the hells of cold lands are regions of eternal ice, and that the hells of more southerly areas are places of everlasting fire. See AFTERWORLD; HADES; HEL; NIFLHEIM.

**Helle** In Greek legend, the sister of Phrixus; daughter of Athamas and his first wife Nephele. Ino, their step-mother, hated the children and plotted to get rid of them. She induced the women of the country to roast the seed for the next corn-crop and bribed the messenger who was subsequently sent to Delphi to discover the reason for the crop failure. The false message ordered sister and brother sacrificed, but at the last moment a ram with golden fleece, the gift of Hermes, was sent by Nephele to save them. Off they flew on it, but between Sigæum and the Chersonesus Helle fell into the sea. The place where she fell was afterwards called the sea of Helle or Hellespont. A variant of the legend says that Poseidon rescued her and that she later bore him Paion or Edonus.

**Hellespont** The Sea of Helle; ancient name of the Dardanelles, the strait connecting the Ægean Sea and the Sea of Marmora: so called because Helle fell there while escaping on the ram with the golden fleece.

**Helskô** Literally, hell shoes: in early Teutonic practice, shoes bound to the feet of the dead to travel Helveg, the long troublesome road to Hel. This custom is still prevalent in parts of Scandinavia. See DEAD SHOES.

**hemlock** (1) Poison hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), a poisonous biennial of the parsley family with a hollow, spotted stem and white lacy flowers which give off a noxious odor when bruised. It is found in the United States, throughout Europe and temperate Asia. This plant is believed to be identical with the Greek *kōneion* and a decoction of it was used to execute criminals. It may have been the hemlock which Socrates drank. Plants grown in the full sun and in hot climates are considered most virulent. It is poisonous to cows, but it is said that horses, goats, and sheep are not affected. It has been used sparingly as a medicine since early times. Pliny calls it a cure for drunkenness and recommends it for the liver, scrofula, ulcers, and glandular swellings. It has also been used for rheumatism, neuralgia, whooping-cough, syphilis, and tetanus. Given with opium it was used to quiet convulsions. Culpeper recommends that the bruised leaves be laid on the brow for inflamed and swollen eyes and says that pure wine is the best antidote if too much is taken.

(2) Water hemlock or cowbane (genus *Cicuta*) is also poisonous. Some authorities claim this plant, not the above, was used by the Greeks. It was sometimes used to induce temporary paralysis of the hierophant and priestess in Eleusinian rites.

(3) Another plant called hemlock is the ground hemlock, American yew, or moose grass (*Taxus canadensis*). Many Indian tribes of the northern United States and Canada make a tea from the quills of this plant which they drink for colds and rheumatism, but this was never popular with the white settlers. In British Columbia the medicine-man makes a ring of hemlock boughs

and passes the tribe through it when they are threatened by an epidemic. Several tribes use the bark for sore gums, upset stomach, and dysentery.

**hen** The female of the common domestic fowl, also of any other kind of bird. Like the cock, the hen acts as a weather prophet. It is an earnest of fertility, as it is thrown into the bride's lap among the southern Slavs in marriage or prebridal ceremonies. It has long been closely associated with connubial bliss; the crowing of a hen even in antiquity was ominous of marital quarrels.

Great moment has been attached to the cackling of the hen; with married people, it is a sign of wifely authority. The crowing of a hen has given rise to the famous *ingles*:

Whistling girls and crowing hens,  
Always come to some bad end.

Whistling maid and a crowing hen,  
Neither fit for God or men.

But the feminist has changed all this and the counter jingle runs:

Whistling girls and hens that crow,  
Make their way wherever they go.

If a hen runs into the house, someone is coming visiting. If a red hen crows, there will be a fire; if a black one crows, something will be stolen. If hens go to roost early, there will be good weather. A white hen denotes good luck. Hen's blood is used in charms and a black hen's head with a charm can harm an enemy. The blood, liver, fat, gizzard, and other parts of the hen are used in folk medicine. In some cases, a hen is split open alive and applied to the body (cases of peritonitis in the Middle West in the 1890's and earlier).

The hen appears in many folktales: in formula tales ("The Death of the Little Hen"); in tales of magic ("Jack and the Beanstalk"), and in others of the same or other types. The hen and chickens are emblematical of God's providence. [cf.]

**Henry, Mellinger Edward** (1873-1946) collector of folk songs. A teacher in New Jersey high schools, Mr. Henry became interested in folk songs while on vacation in the southern mountains in 1925. His subsequent study and collection in the Appalachian highlands brought about a thousand songs and ballads to general knowledge. As a contribution to more formal scholarship Henry published in 1937 the *Bibliography of American Folk-Songs*. His other publications include *Songs Sung in the Southern Appalachians* (1934); *Folk Songs of the Southern Highlands* (1938); and numerous articles on American folk song in the *Journal of American Folklore*.

**Henry Martyn** An English ballad (Child #250) of a Scots pirate; probably a derivative of *Sir Andrew Barton* (Child #167). In the A version, Martyn is killed, as in #167, but in the E version (*Andrew Martin*), collected in the United States, he remains, after sinking merchantman and warship, master of the seas.

**henweh** The Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien (Malay Peninsula) name for the dire events following a disastrous storm. The Lenggong Negritos call this *henwoie*. Storms, which are especially severe and frequent in the Malay Peninsula, are accompanied by floods caused by rain and the rising of water from under the earth. The

Negritos believe the storms, and especially their after-effects of putrefaction and rising water, are due to such acts as copying the notes of certain birds or having sexual intercourse in the camp. The rising waters are sent by the grandmothers, Yak Lepch, Yak Manoid, and Yak Takel, who live under the earth, as punishment for such misdeeds. Compare TERLAIN.

**Hephaestus** The Greek god of fire, especially of volcanic fire, and specifically god of the fire of the smith's forge; usually considered to be of Oriental origin, coming to Greece through Lycia and Asia Minor as a god of volcanic regions. His cult was observed in Lemnos from Homeric times; it, with rival claims for several other volcanic islands and places, was supposed to be his favorite place, in token of which the Lemnian priests of Hephaestus could cure snakebite. The soil of Lemnos stopped hemorrhage, cured insanity, healed snakebite. In Attica, and in Athens, his worship attained some prominence: Erichthonius was his son; Athenian hearths had statuettes of Hephaestus before them; he and Athena were considered the donors of the arts of civilization. At the Hephaestia there was a race with torches; the Chalceia, honoring jointly Athena and Hephaestus, recorded the invention of bronze-working by the god.

Hephaestus was the son of Hera, but whether of Zeus as well traditions vary. The later legends say Hera produced him from her thigh to equal Zeus' feat in giving birth to Athena, but the contradiction saying Hephaestus cleft the forehead of Zeus that Athena might emerge is not explained. Hephaestus, making inquiries among the gods concerning his mysterious parentage, was put off with vague answers. He therefore built a golden throne for Hera, which trapped her when she sat in it and from which he would not release her until she told him of his parents.

Within the Homeric writings there are two distinct versions of how Hephaestus was thrown from heaven. One says that Zeus threw him when he took Hera's part in a quarrel; the other that Hera herself dropped him in disgust at his congenital lameness. Later legend makes the two falls a sequential part of the story. Thetis and Eurynome rescued him after Hera dropped him because of his delicate health, and they taught him metalwork. He made the magic chair in revenge for Hera's cruelty. Then, when Zeus tossed him to earth, he fell on Lemnos and became lame.

He later returned to Olympus wearing artificial supports and aroused great gusts of laughter from the gods. On Olympus he set up a workshop, fashioning self-pumping bellows, or perhaps automatons which worked the bellows in obedience to his orders. Later, his smithies were said to be beneath volcanoes; the Cyclopes were his assistants. There are several stories of automatic objects made by Hephaestus in which he seems to parallel the wonder-working of Daidalos. Hephaestus is similar too to Prometheus as the bringer of useful fire to man.

His wife was Charis or Aphrodite, or Aglaia. A familiar myth tells how he trapped with a net Aphrodite and Ares in adulterous union and held them up to the scorn of the gods. The union of the god of fire, the fertilizing element carried in the race at the Hephaestia, with the goddess of springtime and love is understandable despite their mythological physical incongruity.

Hephaestus and his mythology find parallels in other

parts of the world. The Romans identified him with Vulcan, though Vulcan is simply the god of volcanic fire and has no connection with the artificer's fire. Wieland the smith, Ilmarinen, and Dædalus all made magical objects at their smithies. Agni was footless and Wieland was lame. Compare MAHUIKA; MAUI; PANDORA.

**Heqet, Heqt, Hak, or Heka** In ancient Egyptian religion and mythology, a frog-headed goddess, associated both with the tomb and with resurrection and birth. She was the consort of Khnemu, and in one form of the Horus myth the mother of Horus. The frog symbol of the birth goddess appears elsewhere, e.g. the Aztec goddess Chalchihuitlicue. The Egyptians believed that the frogs which appeared in the silt after the annual Nile inundation were generated from the mud and the fertilizing river, hence the symbol of the frog for Heqet.

**Hera** In Greek mythology, the sister and consort of Zeus; later, the queen of heaven, but not queen of the gods; the only married goddess of Olympus, whose marriage to Zeus (*hieros gamos*) formed the important incident of her worship; probably originally a cow goddess of fertility, native to Greece. Hera, as were all the gods, was subordinate to Zeus, whom she had to obey, but she took this with bad grace, being of quarrelsome and stubborn character. Zeus, when he discovered that beating her was of no avail, once chained her and suspended her in the clouds until she agreed to submit. As a result, she turned to intrigue, even borrowing the girdle of Aphrodite to arouse his passion. Hera was by nature (and with sufficient reason) jealous, and had constantly to be on the alert to prevent Zeus' amours, or to punish his accomplices, after the fact. Thus, she was hostile to Hercules; she was an enemy of the Trojans because of the judgment of Paris against her.

Hera was essentially the goddess of women. Her three principal aspects therefore are as maiden (Parthenos), as matron (Teleia), as widow (Chera). The goddess of childbirth, Eileithyia, was identified with her, though usually she is considered to be the mother of Eileithyia. The principal seat of her worship was at Argos; she was prominently worshipped at Mycenæ, Sparta, and Samos. Compare DÆDALA; JUNO.

**Herakhty, Harakhte, or Horakhte** In Egyptian religion and mythology, Horus of the Horizon; Horus as the rising or setting sun, figured as a falcon; often, as Râ-Herakhty, identified with the sun god Râ. Horakhte was worshipped at Heliopolis alongside Râ-Atum.

**herb** An aromatic plant used for medicine, seasoning, and for its perfume. Much herb lore lies in the realm of magic and is said to have been originally revealed to some chosen person by one of the gods in ancient times—given to Adam by God in the Garden of Eden, taught to man by the fallen angels of the Mohammedans, shown to a healer by a god or culture hero, revealed in a vision by one of the Christian saints, or revealed through divination as by shooting an arrow into the air as in the case of King Ladislaus of Hungary with a prayer that he might find a cure for the plague which was raging in his country.

Much of this lore was, and still is, handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. But there is a considerable amount of herb lore which was first set down before the Christian era (as well as some found in

the earliest known inscriptions). This formed the nucleus for scientific medicine. Only a small part of this early written lore is accepted in present-day scientific medicine, but much of it is in current use as folk medicine throughout the world among all classes of people.

This written lore has been modified as it was passed down through the ages, partly through errors in copying old texts, partly through confusion as to the actual plant in question, or to the errors incident to translating their names from one language into another, and partly through observation, although frequently properties of a plant are passed on even though the writer admits that he himself has found them to be ineffective or harmful. Although much of this lore has been passed down through the ages by scholars with little or no understanding of botany or medicine except as expounded in books as fact by the ancients, and by many doctors and practitioners of the healing arts who were little better, there have been periods when a truly critical, scientific attitude has been applied to it.

In Roman times some of the emperors had botanists in all parts of the empire gathering herbs to be sent back to the capital. These men were alert to find new herbs and cures, and for the most part checked these cures against actual cases before passing them on to the emperor. This was also the case with the Spanish explorations in the New World. The king sent out several botanical expeditions which obtained considerable knowledge from the natives. During the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance there was a genuine effort among physicians to check these properties with actual experiments and although they were not entirely successful, they discarded much of the valueless or dangerous.

Herb lore is common to all peoples of the world, but there is little agreement among them as to the properties of the various herbs. Often the powers of a given herb are diametrically opposite in different cultures. An herb which among one people is a sure cure for any and all types of poisoning, among others may be used as a poison, while still a third group believe it to be a cure for poison because it is one itself. Often the properties ascribed to an herb are the result of sympathetic magic. The mandrake and ginseng root are cures for all the ills of mankind among many peoples because of their resemblance to the figure of a man. Color also plays an important role in the ascription of curative properties, yellow being an effective agent in the cure of jaundice, while red is considered a sure cure for diseases of the blood, heart, etc. Some herbals rely heavily on astrology and the plants of various zodiacal signs are supposed to cure ailments of the corresponding parts of the body. Where herbal lore is closely tied up with witchcraft and demonology, evil smell and taste are called into play for the exorcism of the demons which cause disease. In some localities and during some periods of Christianity, each disease was the especial province of a certain saint and the herbs sacred to that saint were, therefore, sovereign remedies for that ailment, mental or physical.

In many widely scattered parts of the world there is definite ritual to be observed in the growing, harvesting, and use of herbs. To be effective an herb must often be grown in a certain location, or in conjunction with other herbs. Certain seasons or days (and nights) were specified for the gathering of herbs: often Midsummer's Eve, Ascension Day, or the dark of the moon. Among the

Mohegan Indians of North America it was expressly forbidden to gather herbs during the Dog Days. Many authorities claim that herbs lose their virtue if touched by iron. The Celtic druids are said to have used a golden sickle in gathering mistletoe. Incantations were frequently used when gathering, preparing, and using these preparations. There was one school of thought that held that the only virtue was in simples, or preparations consisting of a single herb; others believed that it was only in certain combinations that any results could be expected.

Some herbs and herb preparations are taken internally, others are applied externally as lotions and unguents, or in the case of wounds the herb is simply laid on the cut. With other herbs smelling their fragrance is sufficient, and they may be hung around the house or carried about the person. Still others are carried as charms or amulets. [JWH]

**Hercules or Herakles (Heracles)** [Herakles, the Greek form of the name, is preferred in present-day scholarship. The Latin form Hercules is, however, the usual literary usage and has been adopted here because of its greater familiarity to most readers. The impropriety of the use of the Latin name in discussing the Labors (of Greek tradition) is no greater than that of the use of the Greek form Herakles in speaking of a local Roman myth like that of Cacus; the gain in accuracy that might be made by adopting a shifting spelling, as for instance in the voyage and return on the adventure of Geryon's cattle, would be lost in the confusion of the reader. Here, as throughout the book, the more or most familiar form of the name in English reference has been preferred above the "exact" transcription from other languages and alphabets.] Hercules was the great hero of the Greeks, perhaps, as Rose suggests, a minor lord of Tiryns, subject to the king at Mycenæ, about whose feats a whole cycle of legend was collected. He seems also to have attracted to him some of the mythology of Asia Minor connected with the lion god of the region, as witness his lionskin costume and club. Physically he was very strong, perhaps not large in size, although the large size of the stadium at Olympia, said to have been paced off by Hercules, made some ancient scholars believe him to be quite tall. Some said that another Hercules, one of the Idaean Dactyls, founded the Olympic games. Hercules possessed great powers of endurance, was brave, at times almost to the point of foolhardiness. He was noted for his good humor and, as correlatives, for his tremendous appetite both for food and for women. He was not the comic Hercules some dramatists pictured by magnifying these appetites; nor was he the stoical dare-all dramatized by others. Hercules was the hero *par excellence* not only of Greek legend and folklore, but generally the type of the hero throughout European countries in which classical tradition was strong, the pattern of a man to which many other folk heroes were and are fitted.

Amphitryon, in the course of regaining the favor of Alcmena, his wife, was absent in a war against the Teleboans when Zeus became enamored of Alcmena. On the night that Amphitryon was to return home, Zeus visited Alcmena in the guise of her husband, and by making the night of triple length begot Hercules. Later the same night Amphitryon returned in fact and Her-

cles' twin, Iphicles, was conceived. Hera, of course, was enraged at Zeus' adventure and became the life-long enemy of Hercules. She, by obtaining a promise from Zeus when he was off guard, cheated Hercules of the sovereignty he was to have had, and Eurystheus, born just before Hercules, became king of Tiryns.

While yet in the cradle with his twin, Hercules strangled two serpents, sent either by Hera to kill the child or by Amphitryon to determine which of the infants was his son and which the demigod. The child and youth Hercules had the very best of teachers in the many arts: Eurytus for archery, Autolycus for wrestling, Pollux (Polydeuces) for boxing and fencing, Linus for music. The latter Hercules killed with his lyre when the teacher tried to punish him. Hercules was then sent to guard the cattle of Amphitryon on Mt. Cithæron where, at the age of 18, he slew his first lion.

On a visit to the court of Thespius, who wished to reward him for killing the lion, Hercules slept, either on successive nights or in one night, with the king's fifty daughters, or with forty-nine of the fifty in seven nights. Each bore a son, the first and the last bearing twins, which offspring of the hero later colonized Sardinia. Hercules returned to Thebes, meeting on the way some messengers from Orchomenus coming to collect an annual tribute. He attacked them, tying their noses and ears, which he cut off, about their necks; in the ensuing war, he defeated the army of Orchomenus and made them pay Thebes double the annual tribute they had been collecting. Creon, the Theban king, rewarded Hercules with the hand of Megara, his daughter.

The two lived happily for some years until by Hera's malevolence Hercules went mad and killed Megara, their three sons, and two of Iphicles' children. Hercules exiled himself as punishment and went to Delphi to ask Apollo where to settle. There he was told to serve Eurystheus for twelve years, and was promised that if he performed the tasks set for him he would become immortal. At Delphi also he was for the first time called Hercules, having until that time been known as Alcides, after his grandfather. The twelve labors of Hercules, accomplished on the orders of Eurystheus, were fixed in legend as early as the 5th century B.C. These, known in Greek as *athloi* (contests, prizes, the Labors) and so named by Homer's time, involved: The Nemean lion, the Lernean hydra, the Erymanthian boar, the Arcadian hind, the Stymphalian birds, the Augean stables, the Cretan bull, the horses of Diomedes, Hippolyta's girdle, Geryon's oxen, Cerberus, and the Hesperides. The various authorities differ as to the order in which the labors were performed. See the various entries in alphabetical place for descriptions of the feats.

Hercules, his penance done, married Deianira after a transformation combat with the river god Achelous, in the course of which one of the horns of the god was broken off and, according to Ovid, made into the cornucopia, or, according to Pherecydes, traded back to Achelous for the horn of Amalthea. Hercules and his new wife came to a river in flood where the centaur Nessus offered to help Deianira across. When he was well out in the stream and thought he was safe from Hercules, Nessus tried to violate Deianira, but Hercules killed him with one of his poisoned arrows. See *SHIRT OF NESSUS*.

Among the many campaigns carried on by Hercules

was the one against *Æchalia*, which he took that he might carry off *Iole*. He had won her hand in a contest, but her father and brothers refused to give the girl up to him, remembering the fate of *Megara* and her children. To make matters worse, *Hercules* had in a fit of rage thrown one of *Iole's* brothers, *Iphitus*, from the walls of *Tiryns*. It was for this crime that *Apollo*, through the Delphic oracle, made him serve as a slave for a year at the court of *Omphale*, queen of *Lydia*. *Hercules* did not accept the punishment without a struggle; he seized the tripod and attempted to overthrow the oracle. But *Zeus* tossed a bolt into the midst of the fight and *Hercules* submitted. He traded roles with *Omphale*, she bearing the club and the lionskin, he doing women's work. At last, *Deianira*, fearing that she had lost *Hercules* to *Iole*, and remembering the instructions of *Nessus*, sent the hero the fatal shirt. The pain of his wounds drove *Hercules* to *Mt. Ceta* where he was placed on the funeral pyre. He was taken up onto *Olympus* and there married *Hebe* after making his peace with *Hera*.

The Greek *Hercules*, whose labors and exploits begin in the northern *Peloponnesus* and then extend to *Crete*, to the *Black Sea*, to the ocean in the far west, and even to *Hades*, was combined in later legend with a local Roman hero of the same name, whose exploits are connected with Italian places. It may however be true that the Greek *Hercules* drew to him legends at first connected with other names and that thus the saga attained its new growth in *Italy*. Many of the stories are variants of tales told of other heroes; the nine-headed *hydra* is for example very similar to the seven-headed dragon of the dragon-slayer cycle, the time-serving *Hercules* is paralleled by the Biblical *Jacob*, etc.

**Hermæ** or **herms** (singular *Herm*) In ancient Greece, squared pillars of stone, narrower at the base than at the top, surmounted by a head of *Hermes* (or some other deity) and with a phallus on the shaft of the column: a development of the more ancient representation of the gods as a mound of stones or an unhewn monolith. *Hermæ* stood before houses, where they were worshipped by women as bringing fertility, on street corners and roads, carrying there street directions and moral precepts, in front of temples, in libraries and gymnasia. Probably as a survival of the custom of every passer-by placing another stone on the pile of stones representing the god, the *Hermæ* were decorated with offerings of dried figs and the like and flower garlands. In *Rome*, the *Hermæ* were identified with the termini, or boundary markers, and were utilized in more functional ways, such as supporting the barriers in the *Circus Maximus*. The mutilation of the *Hermæ* of *Athens* during the *Peloponnesian Wars* just as the expedition to *Sicily* was about to start threw the city into such an uproar that the commencement of the campaign was almost put off, and the implication of *Alcibiades* in the mysterious sacrilege eventually caused his removal as leader of the expedition. Compare *CAIRN*.

**Hermaphroditus** In Greek mythology, a god combining male and female in one body: of Oriental origin. Originally perhaps there was *Aphroditus*, the male form of *Aphrodite*, represented as a *Herm*, or phallic statue. Later, after the common myth developed, *Hermaphroditus* was depicted as having the upper body of a woman

and the lower parts of a man. He is said to have been the son of *Hermes* and *Aphrodite*, a beautiful youth, with whom the nymph of the *Carian fountain Salmacis* fell in love. He refused her but was persuaded to bathe in the spring. She then prayed to the gods to be united with him forever; he prayed that bathers in the spring might become *hermaphrodites* too. Both prayers were granted.

**Hermes** The messenger of the Olympian gods in Greek mythology; an Arcadian fertility god who acquired varied functions as his worship spread through Greece: identified by the Romans with *Mercury*, their god of commerce. The characteristic early representations of *Hermes* are in the form of herms, simple stone pillars topped by a head and with a phallus extended from the front. These stood as signposts on the roads, before the doors of houses, etc., and were believed to have the power of making women fertile. *Hermes*, the herald of the gods, was also god of roads, guardian of travelers, god of communication and of commerce. He was a wealth-giving god as a fertility deity, and a luck-dispensing god. Thus he became the god of thieves, in an unmoral paralleling of commerce and thievery as bringing quick riches. In connection with these, *Hermes* was the god of dice; a shepherd's god; the protector of sacrificial beasts. As the herald and messenger, *Hermes* was the psychopomp, the conductor of the souls of the dead to *Hades*; he was as well the bringer of dreams, the donor of restful sleep who could withhold his gift. He was the god of eloquence, of social ease, of cunning, fraud, and perjury. His functions were so varied that some classical writers thought that there were several gods of the name.

*Hermes* was the son of *Zeus* and *Maia*; born in the morning, he wandered from the cave of his birth at noon, discovered a tortoise, killed it, strung the shell with reeds, and invented the lyre. That same evening, he sneaked out to *Pieria* and stole the cows from *Apollo's* herd there, making them walk backward and plaiting special shoes for himself to confuse the trail. Then he sacrificed two of the cattle to the 12 gods and crept into his cradle contentedly. *Apollo* discovered the cattle missing in the morning and, with the aid of the testimony of a shepherd who had seen *Hermes* with the cattle but who could not quite believe what he had seen, accused the day-old baby of the theft. To which both *Hermes* and *Maia* shrugged their shoulders. *Apollo* appealed to *Zeus*, who sensed an untruth in the denial of the child and ordered the cattle returned. But *Hermes* played the lyre for *Apollo*, who was so enchanted that he let *Hermes* keep the remainder of the herd. The two became friends, and in many ways the duties and character of each resemble the other's. It was *Apollo* who gave *Hermes* the golden shepherd's staff which became the caduceus; from *Apollo* *Hermes* learned the art of the dice; through him he became protector of flocks. To the extent only that chance could aid in prophecy did *Apollo* permit *Hermes* power in that activity. True prophecy remained *Apollo's* province.

*Hermes* performed many useful services for the gods: he tied *Ixion* to the wheel and *Prometheus* to *Mt. Caucasus*; he aided in the rescue of *Dionysus* from the flames which consumed *Semele*; he led the three god-



desses to the spot where Paris judged them; he sold Hercules into slavery to Queen Omphale; he slew Argus Panoptes. Hermes wore the broad-brimmed hat of the traveler (sometimes the hat is small and winged); he carried the magic wand that closed the eyes of the dying (later the wand was combined with the herald's staff, the latter being wound with ribbons which became the serpents of the caduceus); his sandals of gold were winged or at least capable of carrying him great distances; sometimes he carried a traveler's purse. The number 4, the palm tree, and the tortoise were sacred to him; sacrifices included honey, cakes, and lambs among other things appropriate to a fertility god of both pasture and underworld.

**Hermod** In Teutonic mythology, son of Odin and Frigga, swift messenger of the gods who welcomed the heroes to Valhalla. At the time of the tragic death of Balder, Odin sent Hermod to Hel to sue for Balder's release. On Odin's wonderful horse Sleipnir, he rode nine days and nights, until on the tenth he crossed the Gjallar-bridge, which trembled under the hoofs of Odin's horse. At last he came to the gates of Hel and made the famous leap over the walls which brought him into the region of the dead. On he traveled to the banquet hall of Hel where he found Balder and Nanna already there before him. Hermod stated the purpose of his coming and plead the whole night through, but Hel said nothing until at last she said Balder might go back if everything in the world shed tears for his return. Hermod went back to the gods with the answer, and all nature wept and every living creature wept save one old hag in a cave, named Thok. She would not shed a tear, saying it was no sorrow to her if Balder stayed with Hel forever. Thok is usually interpreted as Loki in disguise. See DESCENTS TO UNDERWORLD. Compare ADONIS.

**Herne, The Hunter** mentioned in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* has only a vague legend in England; but obviously belongs to the large community of spectral hunters. Such a hunter was known in the German Black Forest, in the French Fontainebleau (identified with St. Hubert); and in England, Herne the Hunter paced around the old oak in Windsor Forest. [RdJ]

**Hero and Leander** In a famous tale of classical antiquity, two lovers who lived in towns opposite each other on the Hellespont. Hero was a priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos with whom Leander, an inhabitant of Abydos, fell in love after he saw her at a festival of Aphrodite. Her dedication as priestess made their marriage impossible, but nightly Leander swam the Hellespont to meet her secretly. One night he was drowned in a storm when the lamp she lit to guide him was blown out and he lost his direction. In the morning Hero found his body on the shore and leaped into the sea, drowning herself. The story is told by Musæus (4th or 5th century A.D.) but earlier references are found in the works of Ovid, Statius, and Virgil.

**Herodias** In the New Testament narrative, the wife of Herod Antipas. As Herodias had formerly been the wife of Philip, the brother of Antipas, John the Baptist rebuked Antipas for his "adultery," and aroused the ire of Herodias. On the birthday of Herod Antipas, Salome (the name is not given in the Biblical story), the daughter of Herodias, danced before the assemblage so well

that Herod promised her, rather without thinking, anything she desired. The girl went to her mother for advice on what to ask, and then demanded the head of John, at that time a prisoner of Herod. Herod, unable to retreat from his promise, had John beheaded, although previously he had feared the consequences of such an act because of John's popularity. The head was then brought in and presented to Salome on a salver. The story has been much used in music, art, and literature. It is an example of the irrevocable king's promise motif (M203) of folktale, bearing some resemblance to the hasty oath theme illustrated in the story of Jephthah.

In the Middle Ages, in Germany, Herodias was one of the women (see Hecate, etc.) who was said to lead the Wild Hunt.

**Herus** Literally, the name *Jesus*, as understood by the Apache Indians from their first Spanish contacts. According to Chiricahua Apache folktale a man named Herus came among the Apache and gave them a book. He told the people to keep the book forever, but when he died, they burnt it, according to their own ancient and honored custom of burning the belongings of the dead. And after that they had many misfortunes.

Herus was not identified with Jesus, however, whom the Chiricahua identify with their own hero Child-of-the-Water, but merely the man who gave them the book. M. E. Opler points out that the Chiricahua Herus stories are probably residual from the days of misfortune when the Chiricahua suffered captivity at the hands of the white men in the Indian Wars, and the efforts on their part to induce the Indians to revere the Bible. (See M. E. Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians*, MAFLS 37: 96-97.)

**Heshwash ceremony** The "hiding" ceremony of the California Yokuts Indians; a public performance in which large numbers of shamans from the various tribes come together to vie in bewitching one another. They try to inject magic poisons and disease-carrying objects into each other. Rain, bear, and snake shamans do not take part. Suggestion is the power behind the whole performance. The men strike at each other with their baskets. If the one who is struck cannot extract the magic object which has entered into him (sometimes he can) he must pay his opponent to extract it for him. The Heshwash ceremony is a popular "show." It occupies two nights: a short exhibition on the first night, but the performance lasts the whole of the second. Shaman contests are known also among the Yuki and Maidu.

**Hesi** An important ceremony and dance in the Kuksu secret society of the North American Indian tribes in central California. Among the Valley Maidu, Hesi was the most important of all Kuksu ceremonies, and in the Hesi ceremony certain personages of subsidiary rank wore the "big head" headdress that in other groups is associated with Kuksu impersonators. The Hesi ceremonies are postulated to have been a later development, which was superimposed by the Valley Maidu and the Patwin tribes on the older, more widespread Kuksu base. The Hesi of the Patwin lasts four days; modern "ghost dance" rites have been added to it. These latter observances are connected with worship of the spirits of the dead; the rites center about a pole wrapped with

different colored cloths, which is erected in front of the dance house. [ENVV]

**Hesiod** A Greek (Boeotian) didactic poet of the 8th century B.C. to whom are ascribed the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony* among several other works. He first systematized, in the latter work, the cosmogonic and theogonic myths of the Greeks. The *Works and Days*, which incorporates a religious calendar, has several episodes, e.g. the description of Pandora's creation, which rise above the general prosaic level of the writing. Included also in the work is the earliest known Greek fable, *The Hawk and the Nightingale*. Hesiod's work is an important source for our knowledge of the life and beliefs of the Greeks following the Homeric period.

**Hesione** In Greek mythology, a daughter of Laomedon of Troy. Poseidon and Apollo had been enlisted by Laomedon to build the walls of Troy. When Laomedon refused to pay for their help, Poseidon sent a sea monster to ravage the land. To remove this plague on the country, Laomedon had to sacrifice Hesione to the monster: the details of her being chained to a rock, etc., are probably later additions due to confusion of the story with that of Andromeda. Hercules happened along, struck a bargain with Laomedon to rescue the daughter in exchange for Laomedon's horses, was swallowed by the beast and slew him from inside. Again, however, Laomedon backed down on the bargain, and Hercules was forced to raise an army and take the city. Hesione was given as a slave to Telamon, who had fought bravely in the battle. By him she became mother of Teucer. When Priam sent an envoy to obtain her release, the Greeks refused, thus adding fuel to the ill-feeling that was to blaze forth in the Trojan war.

**Hesperides** In Greek legend and mythology, maidens who guarded the golden apples given by Ge to Hera when she married Zeus. The maidens were seven, or four, or three in number, usually three—Aegle, Erytheia, and Hesperesthusa—daughters of Erebus and Nox (or of Atlas and Hesperis, or Phoreys and Ceto). The tree on which the apples grew was in the western Gardens of Ocean (or where the Hyperboreans dwelt) and was guarded by the dragon Ladon who never slept. Hercules, in the eleventh of his labors, slew the dragon or put it to sleep and so gained the apples. In another version of the story, Hercules assumed the burden of Atlas, who himself got the apples and refused to give them up or to take the skies on his shoulders again. Hercules tricked the giant, however, asking the slow-witted giant to resume the burden for a moment while he got a pad for his shoulders, and returned with the apples to Eurystheus, who gave them to Hercules as a gift. The hero dedicated them to Athena, who returned them to the garden. The apples dropped by Hippomenes in his race with Atalanta were said to have been given to him by Aphrodite who got them from the garden of the Hesperides. Compare TREE OF LIFE.

**Hestia** In Greek mythology, the goddess of the hearth; one of the twelve great gods: identified by the Romans with Vesta, whose counterpart she was. Hestia was the eldest of the children of Cronus and Rhea, wooed by Poseidon and Apollo but choosing to remain eternally a virgin. As goddess of the hearth and its fire, she partook of all sacrifices and protected domestic life and

virtue. The fires of the public hearths were sacred to her and it was from these fires that colonists carried the flame of the home city to new shores. The first-fruits, year-old cows, oil, and wine were sacred to her.

**Hethúska Society** A society of the Omaha Indians, organized to perpetuate the memory of brave deeds in the history of the tribe, to stimulate heroism, and to belittle the fear of death. The society acted as arbiter and judge as to whether a warrior and his deed were worthy of perpetuation in song. The warrior songs of this society point to the transience of man on the earth, and emphasize the triviality of personal death in the face of the unchanging earth, mountains, and rivers.

**hex** Wizard, witch, to bewitch; witchcraft: a term of German origin found in many sections of the United States today especially among the Pennsylvania Dutch. A hex can be either a man or woman, but usually it is a man; and a hex can be either amateur or professional; i.e. anyone can work hex spells but certain individuals are recognized as professionally competent. These are often referred to as hex doctors and their ministrations are usually supposed to result in good. They are visited by their clients to get "medicine" to cure ills, to control the forces of nature, to nullify spells put on them by their enemies, in short, to bring about any desideratum. Some of the hex doctors are famous and are visited yearly by hundreds of people. Two of the most celebrated of the past are Joseph H. Hageman and John G. Hohman. Hageman's libel suit against the *Philadelphia North American* in 1903 resulted in one of the most colorful and dramatic of the many hex trials.

The professional hex doctor works through the use of stock magic formulas, some of which are very ancient, deriving generally from two main sources: Gypsy magic and medieval church formulas and ritual. This material is largely found in two books possessed by all hex doctors, the *Seventh Book of Moses* and *The Long Hidden Friend*. This last is a compilation by Hohman done as early as 1819. It is a practical handbook for the practice of hexerei or witchcraft. It contains 187 recipes, spells, and charms covering every aspect of life. Some idea of its nature can be had from the following:

119. Against witches—for Beasts write it on the stall—for Human Beings Write it on the Bedsteads.

Trotter head I pray thee my house and my Court,  
I pray thee my horse-and-cow-stall, I pray thee my  
bedstead, that thou shed not thy consolations on  
me; be they on another house till thou goest over  
all mountains, countest all the sticks in the hedges  
and goest over all waters. So come the happy day  
again to my house, in the name of the Father and  
of the Son and the Holy Ghost.

121. To Quench Fire without Water

Write the following order of letters on the side of  
a plate and throw it into the fire:

S A T O R  
A R E P O  
T E N E T  
O P E R A  
R O T A S

Hex stories abound among the Pennsylvania Dutch in Pennsylvania and in other parts of the country. They follow the pattern of witch stories in general. Typical is the following from the country north of Reading, Pennsylvania. One summer the horses and cattle be-

longing to the people on a certain farm in the neighborhood began to waste away and to die. The farmer finally consulted a hex doctor in Lancaster, who told him that the animals were bewitched and that to break the spell he should take hair from the manes and tails of the animals, place it in a container filled with the animals' urine and bury the whole under the stable. They did this and the animals recovered. But soon the farmer himself became ill. When they consulted the hex doctor a second time, he described in detail the person who was bewitching the farmer; from the description they recognized him at once as a near neighbor. The hex doctor instructed the wife to make a "doll" and fill it with the sweepings from the house and then to draw on it with charcoal the likeness of the neighbor. When it was completed she was to stick the effigy with pins, calling it by the neighbor's name and wishing that he might die. She did as instructed; the neighbor died the same day, and the husband recovered.

The barn symbols so common still today among the Pennsylvania Dutch are often referred to as "hex signs." They are said to protect the animals from the working of spells and especially from the evil eye.

The belief in hexes and hexerei is still widespread. Many aspects of life are still governed by it. So awesome is it that the word *hex* is generally avoided even by those who disclaim belief in it. Further proof of the wide practice of hexerei and the seriousness with which it is taken is found in the fact that hardly a year goes by without cases of bewitching, of accusation of hex murder and the like being taken to the courts. The latest case to come to the courts in Pennsylvania was in 1919 in Lehigh County. MACLEODWARD ILACH

**Hexateuch** The first six books of the Bible.

**hey** See HAY (2).

**heyoka** Ceremonial dancing clowns of the Dakota Sioux. Among the Oglala and Santee in particular the heyoka was a dream cult, in obedience to a vision of lightning or the Thunder-bird. This at times involved fearful obligations, to the point of killing. The actions and dancing emulated "Haoka, the anti-natural god," in backward speech and behavior contrary to usual and expected norms. The clowns were dressed in breech-cloths, with white powder and a bladder to simulate baldness; formerly they half-shaved their hair. They carried rattles of dew-claws on a stick.

They were said to represent giants or small men, and in dance they variously rose to full height or crouched. At times, following a vision, they took part in the Santee elk dance.

The *heyoka wozepi* (from *woze*, dip out) immersed their arms in scalding water and pulled out pieces of dog meat boiled for a ceremonial feast. This "heyoka trick" was shared by the related societies of the Omaha *hethuska*, Iowa and Ponca *helocka*, Kansas *helucka*, Pawnee *irushka*, and the Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara *hot dance*. All used the same grass to protect their arms from the heat of coals or hot water which they handled. However, the heyoka lacked the ceremonial organization of the other societies, and the grass dance features of the helocka and hot dance. See HOT DANCE. [CRK]

**Hiawatha** The hereditary name (from *Haiohwa'tha*, he makes rivers) of one of the chieftainships in the Toronto clan of the Mohawk Indians of eastern New York;

also, the actual name of an Iroquois Indian who had much to do with the establishment of the famous League of the Iroquois; also, the title of a well-known poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Iroquois tradition makes Hiawatha a prophet who probably lived about 1570 A.D., the disciple and active colleague of Dekanawida, founder of the League. Together Hiawatha and Dekanawida brought about the confederation of the five Iroquois tribes, and introduced major intra-tribal reforms one of which was a stringent regulation against the blood feud. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft confused Hiawatha with the Ojibwa culture hero Nanabozho and in his *Algic Researches* attributed the deeds of the Ojibwa deity to the Iroquois historical figure. Longfellow based his poem on Schoolcraft's material, which of course was purely Algonquian, not Iroquoian. As a result Longfellow's poetic composition, which bears the name of a great Iroquoian reformer and statesman, contains no single fact or fiction relating to him, but is throughout full of Algonquian terms and legendary material. [rws]

**hieros gamos** Literally, holy or sacred marriage: the representation, originally perhaps always with human actors, but later sometimes with symbolical substitution for one or both participants, of the marriage of the gods. Specifically the term is best applied to the marriage of Zeus and Hera as symbolized, for example, at the Platæan Daidalia. However, marriages between a god or goddess and a human being are likewise sacred unions, the most familiar being that of Demeter and Iasion in the thrice-plowed field. As the term is used by Krappe, the sacred marriage was a fertility ceremony, a fertility-bringing union of an earth-mother, e.g. Semele, Demeter, Chthonia, Persephone, Maia, with a sky or rain power. But Farnell (*En. Brit.*, 11th ed., s.v. "mystery" and "Zeus") thinks that the ceremony was simply a parallel, auspicious in nature, of marriage among the gods and marriage among human beings. As examples of the more general *theogamy*, Frazer brings in evidence marriage of the gods to their priestesses in Babylonia, Egypt, Athens, Eleusis, Platæa, and Sweden. He describes an annual festival among the Oraons of Bengal in which the fertilizing marriage of the Sun and the Earth goddess is paralleled by human orgiastic ceremonies. The demon lover of folktale may be a development of the belief underlying the sacred marriage.

**Highland fling** A solo dance or duet of the Scottish Highlanders, characterized by repeated hops and turns on one foot while the free foot beats the ankle. It was originally a dance of victory after a battle. Its distinctive execution calls for sharp crispness coupled with ease. The arms are semi-extended to a precise position at head level; the free toe touches the ankle in a prescribed position. The pivots are clean and swift. [CRK]

**Hiisi** The evil spirit of the Finns. He lives in the woods, and is an ugly and beardless fellow. He has lop-sided eyes without eyelids and is dressed as a scoundrel. The same name is also used for Devil. Hiisi was probably formerly considered the guardian spirit of the sacrificial grove; he was called the son of Kaleva and believed to be a giant of ancient times. [JN]

**Hilde** (1) According to the 11th century German poem, *Gudrun*, an Indian princess who was carried off

by the griffons. She escaped into a cave, where, with two other little girls, she was cared for by the boy Hagen, whom she married after their rescue.

(2) Daughter of Hagen and Hilde (see above). She was very beautiful, and Hagen was loath to part with her. Hettle sent three of his followers to persuade her to flee. They were married, but Hagen overtook them and there was a terrific battle in which many were slain and both Hagen and Hettle wounded. Hagen seeing that Hettle was a brave man, accepted him. They had a son, Ortvin, and a daughter, Gudrun.

(3) According to the *Edda*, the daughter of Hogni; she fled with her lover Hedin. Hogni overtook them and the story closely follows the one above, except that a sorceress recalled the warriors every night when they exterminated each other afresh.

(4) According to the *IVilkinsa Saga*, a giantess who, with her brother Grim, made the magic helmet, Hildgrim. She was cut in two by Dietrich von Bern with his sword Nagelring, but grew together again. The next time, he left the sword between the severed parts until she was completely dead.

(5) According to the German *Eckenlied*, the daughter of King Arthur whom Dietrich von Bern wished to marry. He sent his nephew Herbart, to woo her for him. When she seemed doubtful, he drew a portrait of Dietrich, but she decided she preferred Herbart, so they eloped.

**hill-billy** A mountaineer, especially of the southern United States. Hill-billy music is a compound of genuine folk elements with some of the more sentimental aspects of popular music, and has had considerable acceptance as radio entertainment. It preserves, in somewhat burlesqued style, the ancient, heady vocal production of ballad-singing, the rhythms of the square dance and the hoedown, and the most common folk instruments of America—banjo, fiddle, guitar. The verses stress the vernacular to the point of parody.

**Himavat** In Hindu mythology, the personification of the Himālaya mountains; father of Gangā and Umā.

**Hind Etin** The Scottish version (Child #41) of a Germanic ballad in which a king's daughter is periodically beguiled by a dwarf or hill man, Hind Etin, to live with him in secret in a hill or wood. She bears him seven sons, but when she reveals her secret to her parents, she dies. The Scottish ballad is a rationalization of the supernatural story. [MEL]

**Hind Horn** The title and hero of a Scottish popular ballad (Child #17), related to the *Horn* romances of the 13th century and after. The exact relationship of the ballad to the romances is not clear, since intermediate material probably has been lost, but W. R. Nelles (*JAF* 22: 42-62) surmises a lost ballad as being the common source of both *Hind Horn* and parts of the 14th century romance *Horn Gildre and Maiden Rimnild*. So many of the motifs appearing in *Hind Horn* are common apparatus in ballads of the period that *Hind Horn* is often erroneously identified with other ballads having a similar story. For example, the lover returning in the nick of time to regain his mistress as she is about to be married to another is a motif common to several ballads.

In essence, *Hind Horn* is the story of a ring, a type of chastity index given to Hind Horn by his love. "When this ring grows pale and wan,/ You may know by it my love is gane." He returns to his own land from foreign shores when the ring fades, meets an old beggar-man who tells him of the girl's approaching marriage; the festivities are already in progress. Horn and the beggar exchange clothes, and in disguise Horn "When he came to the king's gate,/ He sought a drink for Hind Horn's sake./ The bride came down with a glass of wine,/ When he drank out the glass, and dropt in the ring." She recognizes him and offers to go with him even as the beggar she thinks he is, and all ends happily. See NOBLE MORINGER.

**Hinky Dinky Parlez-Vous** Alternate title of the World War I soldier song, *Mademoiselle from Armentières*.

**Hiordis or Hjordis** According to the *Volsunga Saga*, the daughter of Eglimi, King of the Islands, who was Sigmund's third wife. She had also been courted by the Hunding Lygni, who was so enraged at his rejection that he came after her and slew all of the Volsungs including Sigmund. With his dying breath, Sigmund bade her keep the pieces of his sword Gram for their unborn son. She escaped from the battlefield, and was protected by the Viking Elf, who later married her, and raised Sigmund's son Sigurd.

**hippocampus** A fabled sea-animal of classical myth resembling a horse, but with the hind parts of a fish or dragon. The chariot of Poseidon was drawn by hippocampi.

**Hippocrene** Literally, the fountain of the horse; a spring on Mt. Helicon, in Boeotia, sacred to the Muses, like its companion spring Aganippe, and supposed to have welled forth from the mark of Pegasus' hoof. The spring and its waters are commonly alluded to as giving poetic inspiration.

**Hippolyta's girdle** In Greek legend, the girdle of the queen of the Amazons taken by Hercules as the ninth of his labors. Hercules beat the Amazon warriors in battle and either slew Hippolyta, taking the girdle from her body, or captured Melanippe, the Amazon general, and ransomed her for the girdle.

**Hippolytus** In Greek mythology, the son of Theseus and his Amazon wife, Hippolyta or Antiope. Theseus later married Phædra who made advances to her stepson but was repulsed. According to some versions of the story, Phædra committed suicide, leaving a note accusing Hippolytus of the crime she herself desired. Theseus cursed his son and asked Poseidon, his father, to punish the supposed culprit. One day, as Hippolytus drove his chariot near the water's edge, a bull came out of the sea, sent by Poseidon, and frightened the horses. They bolted and dragged Hippolytus to death. In some variants of the legend, Theseus then discovered the plot; and Phædra committed suicide after the death of Hippolytus. Artemis, whose favorite Hippolytus was, induced Æsculapius, by means of a large fee, to revive the youth, for which presumption Zeus killed Æsculapius. In Italian myth, Artemis transported Hippolytus to the grove at Aricia where she (Artemis-Diana) placed him under the protection of Egeria and changed his name to Virbius.

**Hiranyagarbha** In Hindu cosmogonic mythology, the golden egg from which the universe came. In one variant of the myth, the waters existed first. They produced the golden egg by *tapas* (the process of producing intense physical heat) and from this egg was born the creator *Prajāpati* who, after a year, spoke three words, "Bhūh," "Bhuvah," and "Svar." These became the earth, the atmosphere, and the sky. The golden egg, in spiritualized form, persists in popular Indian belief. In another myth, *Hiranyagarbha* was *Brahmā*, the first male, formed in a golden egg by the supreme first cause. After a year, he divided the egg into two parts by thought and formed the heaven and earth from the two halves, placing the sky between.

**Hisagita-imisi** Literally, preserver of breath: the supreme deity of the Creek Indians. He is also called *Ibofanga*, the One Sitting Above. He is closely related to the sun, but he is not the sun. He is represented on earth by the busk ceremonial fire. Compare *ABABINILI*.

**historic-geographic method** The historic-geographic, or so-called Finnish method of folklore investigation, was developed during the last half of the 19th century by Julius and Kaarle Krohn (see discussion of these under FINNISH FOLKLORE), father and son, but has received its principal practical applications more recently. In his study of the songs which formed a basis for the *Kalevala*, Julius Krohn analyzed them into their component elements and studied the distribution of these elements. It was Kaarle Krohn who first made systematic use of this method for investigation of the folktale. Since his pioneer studies and formulation of principles in the 1880's, scholars have usually spoken of this kind of analytical study as the Finnish method, although many of the best exemplifications of its use have come from outside that country. It has been applied to various folklore genres—legends, games, riddles, and ballads—but most of all to folktales.

The basic assumption is that each tale (or other folklore item) has had its own history and must be investigated independently. General conclusions as to the origin and migration of all or great groups of tales must await the accumulation of monographic treatments of many story-types. During most of the 19th century various scholars had attempted on theoretical grounds and without a thorough study of the tales themselves to answer at once such questions as "Where did our folktales come from?" or "What do folktales mean?" The historic-geographic method is not at all concerned with the latter question and with the first only as a possible distant goal.

For the individual tale, the investigator using the method is interested in (a) establishing an approximation to an original form which will sufficiently account for all the available variants; (b) determining as nearly as may be the age and place of origin; (c) tracing the vicissitudes of the story through time and place, the course of its wanderings, and the modifications it has undergone.

To use this method it is necessary that one have available a relatively large number of versions of a folklore item and also that the item be susceptible of analysis into a series of details.

Arranging his oral versions in geographical and his written ones in historical order with convenient abbreviations for ready reference, the student establishes an

invariable sequence for his analytical treatment. He next chooses details which he finds have received varied treatment in these versions. He now makes a study of each of these, arranging in order all versions handling the detail in the various ways, as well as those entirely omitting it. He now makes a percentage count of the various treatments.

When all details have thus been studied he may find certain treatments so predominant that he may feel confident of their belonging to the original type. Usually, however, the evidence is more ambiguous. By a careful study of certain handlings of details different from the predominant one he works out local affiliations and may establish regional subtypes (e.g. Mediterranean, Baltic, Scandinavian, Hispanic). It is from these subtypes that he usually proceeds to posit a general archetype, much as the linguist may take a pre-Germanic, pre-Celtic, and pre-Slavic word and establish a theoretical Indo-European form which will explain them all.

These subtypes and the archetype are hypothetical constructions designed to explain the available versions of the folklore item over its whole area of dissemination and within certain regions.

From this point in his study the investigator endeavors to determine how his versions and groups of versions are related to these types he has established. It is in this interpretation of data that he runs his greatest risk, for he must consider all pertinent facts of history and geography, the natural modifications of tradition and the circumstances of these modifications, the mutual relations of written and oral tradition, of slow and almost imperceptible dissemination, and of rapid transmission by emigration or travel.

No reader of the studies accomplished by this school will be entirely satisfied with the results. The complexity of the many problems of interpretation just mentioned presents many pitfalls and some of the investigators have ignored these. Opponents of the method have attacked it primarily on the ground that it undervalues literary treatments; that it disregards the role of the active bearer of tradition; and that it does not give sufficient attention to the relation of linguistic affiliation, especially in the history of tales.

The best practitioners of the method, such as Walter Anderson, have been aware of these problems and have furnished model studies. The method is being continually improved, so as to make use of the undoubtedly valuable analytical procedure, and to meet the just criticisms of those who have felt dubious about the interpretation of data.

Several important questions in folklore are not touched by the historic-geographic method. It does not go behind a theoretically original tale to account for its origin, nor does it attempt stylistic studies or the relation of an individual version to its social background. Within its own field, however—the history of an item of folklore—it has developed a rigorous analytical method which, whatever may be the weakness in a given interpretation, must certainly form the basis for all serious studies of the dissemination of complex items of folklore.

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#### STITH THOMPSON

**Hiyoyoa** Wagawaga (New Guinea) land of the dead which lies under the sea near Maivara on Milne Bay. Hiyoyoa resembles the upper world. There Tumudurere lives with his wife and children and directs the spirits of the dead, telling them where to make their gardens.

**hkaung-beit-set** Charmed or consecrated objects inserted under the skin by the Burmese: bits of gold, silver, lead, precious stones, pebbles, and pieces of tortoise shell or horn inscribed with incantations. If they are cut out, the charm is broken. The hkaung-beit-set are inserted in cheeks, chest, arms, and thighs, sometimes in large numbers, to procure invulnerability. Yunnan muleteers also conceal precious stones and coins under the skin as a precaution against robbers.

**Hkum Yeng** The village guardian of the Wild Wa of Burma. The Wa live in terror of this nat and post the spoils of their head-hunting expeditions in order to propitiate him. See NAT; TAK-KENG.

**hlonipa** A Zulu term meaning to respect or reverence: applied to the non-use of names of revered people or animals, and also to the avoidance of contact with tabued objects or people. To the Zulu woman, for instance, her husband's name is hlonipa; so are those of his parents. A mother-in-law is hlonipa to a son-in-law; they must avoid each other. The name of the king is sacred and powerful and fraught with danger, and therefore hlonipa to all. See NAME TABU.

**hmawsayā** The Burmese exorcist who restores bewitched persons to health. The hmawsayā obtains his qualifications by drinking water mixed with the ashes of scrolls containing mystic figures and cabalistic squares, by being tattooed with magic squares, incantations, or the figures of nats, or by taking a special internal medicine. In treating the ill, the hmawsayā commands the offending disease-causing nat to reveal its wishes. Occasionally a threat is sufficient, but frequently stronger measures are necessary and pungent substances are rubbed into the patient's eyes and he is beaten. When the spirit is ousted the patient is cured and feels no ill effects from the treatment.

**Hobal, Hubal, or Hobal Hubal** The name of a pre-Mohammedan god, patron of Mecca. Hobal was figured in the form of a human image, said to have been brought from Syria, which stood over the hollow in which offerings of precious materials were stored within the Kaaba. Along with the other idols, the image was destroyed by Mohammed in 630, and it is said that when Hobal fell, Mohammed cried, "Truth hath come and falsehood hath vanished." The idol is however not mentioned by name in the Koran. Some say that Hobal was the real name of Al-lahu, the chief of the gods of pre-Islamic times, who became the one god of Islam, and it is also said that weekly sacrifices of children were made to him on the stone in the Kaaba.

**Hodening** An English Christmas celebration. In Kent a man covered by a horse blanket and masked as a horse was led from house to house followed by other maskers ringing bells and singing carols. The group received small gifts of food, money, or drink. See MARY LUYD. [RDJ]

**Hoder or Hodur** In Teutonic mythology, one of the æsir, the blind son of Odin and Frigga, twin brother of Balder, and his innocent slayer; god of darkness. One day the gods were amusing themselves throwing weapons at Balder, whom nothing on earth would harm. But Loki had discovered the exception: the mistletoe was the one thing in the world which had not vowed never to harm Balder. So Loki fashioned a dart of mistletoe and wilily suggested that Hoder throw it. Thus the blind Hoder joined the sport, threw the fatal mistletoe, and killed the beloved Balder. Hoder was killed by Vali. At the rebirth of the world after Ragnarök he and Balder will return, reconciled.

**Hodmimer's Forest** In Teutonic mythology, the forest which Surtr's flaming sword cannot destroy at Ragnarök. Here Lif and Lifthrasir will seek refuge and sleep through the destruction of the earth, only awakening when the earth is green and verdant again to found a new race of man.

**Hœnir** In Teutonic mythology, one of the æsir, and one of the three creators of Ask and Embla, the first man and woman. Hœnir gave them reason and motion, and, according to some, the senses. After the war between the æsir and the vanir, he was exchanged with Niord and went to live in Vanaheim.

**Hogmanay or Cake Day** In Scotland and the north of England, the last day of the year, when children, sometimes masked and sometimes singing songs, went about soliciting oat cakes. The day is also known in Old French as *aguillan-neuf* or *au-guy-l'an-neuf*, an occasion for distributing gifts. Cotgrave's suggestion that Hogmanay is a survival from the times when druids on the last day of the year gathered mistletoe attributes to popular custom more historical continuity than one has reason to expect. [RDJ]

**Hogni** In the *Volsunga* and *Sigurd Sagas*, the brother of Gunnar, Guttorm, and Gudrun. Brynhild asked him to avenge her by killing Sigurd. Hogni refused because he and Sigurd were blood brothers, but he persuaded Guttorm to do the murder. He hid the Nibelung gold in the Rhine, and only he and Gunnar knew its resting place. He advised Gunnar against visiting Atli, but accompanied him, and was killed for refusing to tell the hiding place. Compare HAGEN.

**hogs can see the wind** A folk belief of southern Ireland, also found among the Negroes of the southern United States, and in the Bahamas. Any human being who will suck milk from a sow will have the gift of seeing the wind forever after.

**hohobi** (plural *hohovi*) The Dahomean (Fön) word for twin. In the New World, the designation has been retained by the Negroes of Dutch Guiana. In the twin-cult of Dahomey and Western Nigeria, twins are both prized and feared, since they are believed to represent and control supernatural forces that can work benefit or harm. For this reason, they are treated with special

attention and, where African rituals are followed in the New World, their birth and stages of development are marked by elaborate rites. It should be noted that the attitude toward twins in Dahomey and Western Nigeria contrasts with that held farther east along the Guinea coast, where the power of twins is so feared that they are done away with at birth. This custom has not been retained in New World Negro cultures. See DOSU. [MJH]

**-Ho Hsien-ku** One of the Eight Immortals of Chinese mythology. Ho, the only woman member of the band, attained immortality by eating mother-of-pearl given her by a ghost. Her iconography contains a peach given her by Lü Tung-pin, a lotus blossom, and a reed organ. She is often shown drinking wine or floating on colored clouds. [RBJ]

**Holde, Holle, Hulda, Hulle, or Holl** A Germanic goddess, especially of the Suevi, Hessians, and Thuringians, appearing in many manifestations. Early she was a sky goddess, often to be seen riding on the wind. Snow was said to be feathers from her bed, detached as she was making it up. Often in her wild rides through the sky she is accompanied by a procession of witchlike creatures. Women suspected of witchcraft were said to "ride with Holde." To her realm in the sky went the souls of unbaptized babies. Holde is also associated with lake and stream. At noon she can often be seen, a beautiful white lady, bathing in the lake, and as she is observed she disappears under the water. To reach her dwelling one must dive down a well. Holde is also a maternal deity and goddess of the hearth. She presides over spinning and especially the cultivation of flax. In this manifestation she is helpful and kind.

Her most common terrestrial manifestation is as the leader of the "furious host" or "furious or wild hunt." The furious host is made up of a group of specters, most of whom are children and babies who died unbaptized. With loud cries and wild rush they tear through the countryside on their uncontrolled rides following Holde like a valkyrie at their head. Wherever this procession passes, the fields will bear double the usual harvest that year. Holde is thus connected by some, as a chthonic deity, with the Greek Persephone, the Roman Bona Dea, etc. Holde as leader of the wild hunt is confused with Dame Gauden and with Perchtha, both leaders of the furious host. Stories of Holde as leader of the furious host account for her association with the Venusberg legend. Mt. Heselberg is said to be Holde's Court and there the wild rides terminate. Characteristic is the story of the hero Eckhart who is caught up in the ride of the furious host and carried into Holde's Court, there to abide until the day of judgment. Holle is associated with the myth of Barbarossa, the sleeping king in the mountain, and the Kyffhäuser Mountain.

At present Holde has degenerated into a folk bogie, an ugly old woman with long nose and thick hair, sometimes seen in the forest leading a flock of sheep or goats. Peasant mothers frighten their children into good behavior by telling them Holde will "get" them if they are not good. See WILD HUNT. [MEL]

➤ Grimm's tale, *Mother Holle* (#24), belongs to the world-wide kind and unkind (or courteous and discourteous) motif (Q2; Types 361, 403 II, 431, etc.).

The industrious sister drops her shuttle into the well and is forced by the stepmother to go after it. In the land at the bottom of the well, she prevents the bread from burning and shakes the ripe apples from the tree. Then she becomes a servant of Mother Holle, shaking the beds until the feathers (snow) fly. At last, homesick, she takes her leave of the old lady—who in the story is more a kind witch than the sky and fertility goddess Holde—and is showered with gold as she steps back into the real world. The envious and lazy elder sister quickly goes down the well, passes by the pleading bread in the oven and the apples on the tree, and sleeps in the morning when she should be shaking out the bedclothes. Mother Holle dismisses her, and the lazy girl is showered with pitch which never comes off, instead of the gold she expects.

**holding down the hat** The motif (K1252; Type 1529) of a general Eurasian folktale in which a man traveling along a road sees another approaching on horseback. Immediately he puts his hat over some horse droppings in the road and holds it down tight by the brim. When the man on horseback arrives and inquires what he is guarding under the hat, the man explains that it is a beautiful rare bird; if the stranger will lend him the horse he will go fetch a cage, that is, if the stranger will hold down the hat until he gets back. The man on the horse agrees, carefully holds down the hat, while the other makes off with the horse (and does not return). After waiting and waiting the stranger finds only dung under the hat.

In Java this story is found with Mouse-deer as trickster, Tiger as dupe. Mouse-deer sees Tiger coming and is afraid, so he begins to fan a pile of steaming dung with a large leaf. Tiger's curiosity is aroused. Mouse-deer explains that he is guarding this food, which belongs to the king, from flies. Tiger is hungry and finally succeeds in persuading Mouse-deer to betray his trust, only to discover how he has been duped when Mouse-deer is out of sight. In Annam, Cambodia, the Kangean Islands, Sunda tales, Ape is thus duped by Tortoise.

There are various North American Indian tellings of this story, reported especially among the various Apache tribes, and among Mexican Indians, and thought to be of European provenience. The dupe is tricked into holding up the rock, holding up the sky, holding up the cliff, etc., while the trickster escapes. In this form the tale is also well known in Africa among the Kaffirs, Basutos, Hottentots, also in the Cape Verde Islands, and was retold by the Uncle Remus of Georgia.

**Holi, Hoolee, or Hohlee** A vernal fire-festival known in northern India as the Holi, Phāg, or Phaguā, in the Deccan and western India as the Shimgā or Hutāshana. The festival is celebrated before the full moon of Phālguna (February-March) when the most important crops of the Spring harvest are almost ripe, and is intended to promote fertility and reinvigorate the year. It lasts from three to twenty days and begins with the lighting of a fire by the individual householder, the village headman, or by a Brāhman. The participants walk around the fire or, in some cases, walk or are driven through the flames. During the second day dust and colored water are flung on the spectators. There are

also characteristic ritual dramas in which the women battle with the men to prevent them from climbing a pole to obtain a sugar ball placed at the top (among the Gonds), or from uprooting a branch (among the Bhils).

The festival varies in length, depending upon the region in which it is celebrated, and in the ceremonies observed, but most Holi celebrations end with a procession in which a man, usually dressed as a bridegroom, is carried or rides through the streets followed by a singing, dancing crowd. In central and southern India a mystery play is performed to commemorate the death of Kāmādeva. Divination is also practiced by observing the direction in which the smoke of the Holi fire blows. The ashes are valued as a charm against ill-luck, evil spirits, and the evil eye, and as a cure for scorpion stings.

The Holi rites have little or no connection with orthodox Hinduism. They have been explained by numerous legends: according to one the Holi fire is lighted on the day Śiva's wrath reduced Kāma to ashes.

**holle kreish** A naming ceremony for girl babies practiced by certain German Jews: an adaptation of a similar Germanic rite. When the child is a month old, on the Sabbath of the first visit to the synagogue of the mother after the birth (compare CHURCHING OF WOMEN), preadolescent children attend a party at the house. They surround the cradle, raise it three times, and call, "Holle! Holle! What shall the child's name be?" and the girl's name (her vernacular and not her Hebrew name) is cried out. The Holle so invoked is the German spirit who brings babies and snatches unbaptized children. The circle about the child and the naming—a substitute for baptism—protect the girl from Holle's malevolence. At one time boys were thus named, but circumcision and naming of the boy at that time made holle kreish superfluous. (*Jewish Encyclopedia* VI: 443a) See HOLDE.

**holler** A freely improvised song of the American Negro at work, particularly at a solitary task in the open, often without words, but also embodying the thoughts of the moment in relation to the work, the weather, the mule, or his feelings. The soaring humming or chanted words are broken at random by muttered comment, or commands to the animal. To the singer these hollers are just a way to get on with the work and to keep himself company. Sometimes one man's holler will be taken up by one or more others, fields away, and tossed back and forth with variations. But it is a nonce creation. It has no title, and is probably never repeated, at least not as first sung. The Archive of American Folksong of the Library of Congress has a number of recordings of Negro hollers made on the scene. But this is probably the only way any holler survives its original and unique impulse and expression.

**holly** An evergreen tree or shrub (genus *Ilex*) with thorny leaves, white flowers, and red berries. The use of holly in religious ceremonies is of considerable antiquity; probably its use as Christmas decoration was adapted by early Roman Christians from the Roman Saturnalia. Christian legend says the Cross was made of holly wood and as punishment it is now a scrub tree

with thorny leaves and berries representing drops of the blood of Christ. Another legend says that holly was used to make the Crown of Thorns, and the berries which were yellow became red from the blood of Christ.

In Wales taking holly into the house before Christmas Eve leads to family quarrels, and it is unlucky to leave the decorations up after New Year's or Twelfth Night. Some say that holly left after Twelfth Night will bring a misfortune for each leaf and branch remaining. But if a piece of holly from the church decorations is kept in the house it will bring good luck throughout the year. In Louisiana berries from the Christmas holly are kept for luck during the year. Domestic animals thrive if a piece of holly is hung where they can see it on Christmas Eve.

In Wales taking holly into a friend's house will cause death, as will picking holly in blossom. In Germany it is unlucky to step on the berries. Holly picked on Christmas is protection against witches and evil spirits. In some localities little lighted candles are placed on holly leaves and floated on water. If they float it is a sign that the project that the person has in mind at the time will prosper, but if they sink it is as well to abandon it. Plentiful holly berries is a sign of a severe winter. In English Shrovetide dances there are often a holly-boy and an ivy-girl among the dancers. Holly is said to be male and to personify the steadfast and holy.

Medicinally the berries are said to be more active than the leaves and are recommended for colic, intermittent fever, rheumatism, smallpox, gout, and asthma. A fomentation of the bark and leaves is good for broken bones and dislocations. Several North American Indian tribes use holly leaf tea for measles. Some tribes use holly as a ceremonial purgative. In Derbyshire holly branches are used as flagellants to cure chilblains. An old English remedy for worms prescribes that a holly leaf and the top of a sage plant be placed in water; when the patient yawns over the dish, the worms drop out of his mouth.

**Holly and the Ivy** An English traditional carol, sung not only for the Nativity but also during Lent and in the autumn. It is one of a number of carols in which the holly and ivy carry over a pre-Christian symbolism of male and female principles and which were probably first sung to accompany dancing of men and women. The blossom and berry and leaf of the holly are likened to the lily, to the blood of Christ, etc., the thorn to the crown of thorns.

**hollyhock** A tall biennial herb (*Althaea rosea*) of the mallow family, with large flowers of numerous shades. It was a native of China, Syria, Turkey, and Greece and was growing in England as early as 1573. It is sometimes called the Damascus rose. It was grown in China for the bees. The leaves are sometimes used for a blue dye and children make dolls from its blossoms.

The leaves of the hollyhock are effective against the sting of a scorpion, bee, wasp, and similar insects. If they are bruised in oil and used as an ointment, insects will not bite. The flowers steeped in water are good for weak stomach and women's complaints if drunk in season. When fried in sheep tallow they relieve gout. Culpeper says that this plant is used mostly in gargles for swollen glands but that the root powdered or boiled in wine "prevents miscarriage, helps ruptures, dis-



solves coagulated blood from falls, blows, etc., and kills worms in children."

**Holofernes** In the apocryphal story of Judith, the leader of the forces of Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, against the regions west of Assyria. He was slain by Judith, and the Jews were thus able to turn back the Assyrian host. In European balladry Holofernes has become Hallelujah, principal character in a large group of ballads spread throughout Europe.

**Homer** The ancient Greek poet traditionally credited with composing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: believed to have lived in the 9th century B.C., though some place him as early as the 12th century. The modern concept is that the works of Homer are the result of the accretion of years of various poets' composition, and that instead of one poet, Homer is a name applicable to a group, not necessarily of the same place or time. Among the many theories concerning the poet is one claiming that Homer was a woman, this conclusion arising, as do the others, from textual "evidence."

**homiletic ballad** A narrative song type of didactic or admonitory character, generally in the first person, relating the sins and repentance of a mispent life, and warning all listeners to avoid the mistakes of the sinner. American examples are numerous, including *Wicked Polly*, the tale of a bad girl who went to hell, and *Awful! Awful! Awful!*, which provides a similar fate for a youth who trifled his time away.

**honors right and honors left** An American square dance term: each man bows first to the lady on his right (his partner) and then to the lady on his left, the ladies reciprocating. [CPC]

**Honsu** One of a pair of mythical twins, the other being Honsi, who figure in the twin-*enfant terrible* category of Dahomean folktales. In these stories, the magical exploits of these twins is always the point of a given tale. [MJH]

**hoodoo** A category of magic in the beliefs found among Negroes of southern United States. This is to be differentiated from "medicine," which is the knowledge of herbs, roots, etc. The two forms of manipulation of power are carried on by different persons, distinguishable in dress and manner. The hoodoo-man is thus, in southern United States, the practitioner of magic, like the obia-man of the West Indies. The derivation of the word is a matter of speculation, though most students hold that it comes from the Haitian *vodun*, that in turn comes from the identical Dahomean (Fon) word that means deity. The meaning found in customary American speech, whereby hoodoo signifies bad luck, is an extension of Negro usage. [MJH]

**hoodoo hand** A term commonly used by southern United States Negroes for their magic charms, mojos, and tricks or tricken bags. Hoodoo hands have several functions: the love hand will bring your beloved to you; the curing hand will heal disease or unspell evil spells (sometimes the same thing). The killing hand will kill or get rid of your enemy for you. Various hoodoo hands are just luck charms and will "bring things to you" if worn or carried constantly and cared for properly. They not only bring the loved one to you, but hold your possessions and your health close, attract

gifts, and give you good luck in gambling. Typical good luck ingredients are a rabbit's foot, fish scales or a fish eye, a beetle, some snakeskin, or a thumb-size dried-up turtle. A twining herb locally known as the "devil's shoestring" ties things to you. Red flannel is also very potent.

Various hoodoo hands used against enemies do not necessarily kill, but cause pain, illness, or weakness, or bad luck. Such hands contain needles and pins, red pepper, graveyard soil, and usually bits of hair and fingernails or footprint dust of the person to be conjured. Small bits raveled from a rope that has hanged a man are especially prized for inclusion in a hoodoo hand.

**hoop-and-pole game** A widely distributed game among the North American Indians, existing in a great variety of forms and usually associated with the ideas of fertility and generation. A hoop, often covered with a network, is rolled along the ground and shot at with arrows or lances. The count is determined by the way in which the lances fall with reference to the hoop. The game was played by men and boys, not by women. It was especially popular among the Plains tribes, although by no means limited to these groups, and was often played ceremonially, as well as merely for amusement. [EWJ]

**hoop dance** A dance of skill performed by one man, consisting of complex steps in and out of huge hoops. He dances with from one to four hoops, sometimes passing them over his head and across his body. The dance originated among the Sioux Indians and was adopted by the Pueblo Indians. The most famous are the hoop dance of Standing Rock, North Dakota, of the Umatilla, of Taos, and of Santa Ana, where two hoop dancers in green join the buffalo dancers. As an added flourish the hoops may be on fire. [CPC]

**hoopoe** A long-billed bird (*Upupa epops*) of Europe, Asia, and Africa, about the size of a thrush, with an erectile crest and russet and black plumage. The hoopoe's habits are said to be filthy: it nests in its own droppings and eats insects and worms from dunghills. A Rumanian story explains that the hoopoe would not be satisfied with the food God originally granted it, demanded and obtained better and better food, until God would put up with its demands no longer and condemned it to live by scavenging in dunghills. It is one of the unclean birds mentioned in *Lev. xi, 19*, and *Deut. xiv, 18* (translated "lapwing" in the Authorized Version). In England, it was formerly a harbinger of evil, but is seldom seen there. In Sweden, it is a bird of war, helmeted and bright with color. The springwort, the magic herb that opens all doors and locks, is said by the Swabians to be brought by the hoopoe. The Arabs call it the doctor bird; the Turks, from its crest resembling that formerly worn by couriers, called it the messenger bird.

Solomon crowned the hoopoe for its wisdom in refusing to pay homage to women. Its walking habit, head down and crest opening and closing as it searches for food, led to the belief, still held by the Arabs, that it is looking for springs and wells: this information it passes on to people. Some hold that the cuckoo and hoopoe are respectively male and female of the same species.

**The Bittern and the Hoopoe** (Grimm #173) explains the cries of the two birds, formerly herdsmen. The cry of the hoopoe is to its weak, starved cattle: "Up, up, up!" A Rumanian parallel to the story of the greedy fisherman's wife ends with her transformation into a hoopoe. In ancient Greek myth Tereus was transformed into a hoopoe. The original of the Garuda bird of Hindu mythology is said to be the hoopoe.

**hoop snake** Either of two harmless snakes of the southeastern United States (*Abastor erythrogrammus* or *Farancia abacura*): believed by some to take its tail in its mouth and roll like a hoop. *Farancia abacura*, the red-bellied snake, is also thought to be the stinging snake which stings with its tail because it has a sharp spine there which it sometimes uses as a weapon.

**hootchie-kootchie** A cheapened version of the North African belly dance, which is already a decadent manifestation of fertility ritualism. At the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 the hootchie-kootchie was introduced to Americans in the Tunisian booths. It touched off the spark of release from the artificial and sentimental social repressions of the late 19th century with its nostalgic naughtiness, and spread to burlesque shows dedicated to these repressions. See ABDOMINAL DANCE.

[GPK]

**hops** A perennial climbing herb (*Humulus lupulus*) used in making beer. But at the time of Henry VIII in England, petitions were circulated to forbid the use of hops in ale and beers because they spoiled the taste. At one time it was customary in the hopfields of Kent for anyone visiting them for the first time to contribute "foot money" lest the luck should leave the fields. Bergen reports a belief in Chestertown, Maryland, that the hop vines peep out of the ground at midnight on the "old Christmas."

Hops were first used in medicine as a stomatic and to induce sleep. A decoction of the tops of the plants was used as a blood purifier, in venereal diseases, and in all diseases of the skin. Hop blossoms were believed to have a slight narcotic and sedative effect and were used in pillows for mania and restlessness. These pillows are also used for toothache, earache, and neuralgia. The blossoms are brewed in a tea to soothe the nerves and as a cure for neuralgia. The Bohemians fill cavities in their teeth with an oil of hops; the Magyars mix privet and hops in wine for toothache. The Dakota Indians of North America use the lower part of the root as medicine and the Shinnecock Indians used the hop pillow, heated, as an application for pneumonia.

**hora** A folk dance of Rumania and Palestine, similar to the kolo of Serbia, more languid in Rumania, more incisive and stamping in Palestine. [GPK]

**Horæ** (singular *Hora*) In Greek mythology, the goddesses of the seasons and the order of nature; later, of justice and order. They are mentioned in Homer, but first named in Hesiod: Eunomia, Dice, Irene. Their original number was two (though later usually there are three), as for example at Athens where Thallo and Carpo were worshipped from earliest times, Thallo being mentioned in the Ephebic oath. They are connected with the Charites, act as the ministers of Zeus or of Hera, are beneficent goddesses of the weather and donors of the good of the Spring and Autumn seasons.

**Horatii** In Roman legend, three Roman champions who fought the three Curiatii, representing the Latins in the reign of Tullus Hostilius during the war between Rome and Alba. Of the two sets of brothers, only one of the Horatii survived the fight. He, on returning home, was greeted by his sister, who, seeing him wearing the garment of her betrothed, one of the Curiatii, wept. In a fit of patriotism, he killed her and was condemned to death. But he appealed to the people, was acquitted, and purified himself by passing under a beam. All the elements of the story are calculated, each explaining some circumstance in Rome that needed legendary background. For example, a beam, the *tigillum sororium*, and an altar of Juno Sororia (actually the Juno of growth) were both under the care of the Horatia gens, and were easily explainable in terms of the legend and a reading of *soror* as sister.

**horehound or hoarhound** A whitish, bitter, perennial herb of the mint family (genus *Marrubium*). It is a time-honored remedy for diseases of the chest, and was used in this connection in a tea at least as early as the 9th century. Today it is still widely used either in a tea or in a candy. Horehound coughdrops are considered especially effective. At one time it was also prescribed for cramps in the stomach and for those who had swallowed poison or been bitten by serpents or mad dogs. Mixed with wine and honey, horehound helps to clear the eyesight. In the 18th century it was also used as a snuff. Stinking horehound (*Ballota vulgare*) pounded with salt was especially good for bites of mad dogs.

**horn** A wind instrument originally made of the curved horn of an animal, later of metal, blown either from the narrow end or from the side, and used by both primitive and more advanced peoples for signaling, for expulsion of witches, ghosts, and the demons of sickness, for new moon and sunset ceremonies, for frightening off the monster that eats the moon at eclipse, etc. It is not always differentiated from the trumpet, and in primitive concepts carries with it many of the same tabus and customs. The sound has magical powers, the crescent shape of certain horns is significant in moon rites, and the attributes of the animal from which the instrument is taken may influence its powers.

In ancient Mesopotamia, ox horns, some richly adorned with gold and jewels, were used in religious observances connected with bull-worship. In Europe, horns were the first musical instruments of the Teutonic tribes and have been especially associated with hunters, warriors, herdsmen, and watchmen. Heimdall, the watchman of the Norse gods, has the Giallarhorn, with which he sounds the alarm for the gods when Surter attacks. Robin Hood and Roland both used horn signals. In Africa, ivory horns of elephant tusks are the jealously guarded possessions of tribal chiefs. Similar horns, called oliphants, imported into Europe through Byzantium in the Middle Ages, and also respected as princely instruments, may have originated in Africa. The Jewish ram's horn, *shofar*, which serves its religious purpose under conditions of modern civilization in almost its original form and method, preserves much of the primitive lore of the horn, and the alphorn, actually a type of trumpet still heard in the mountains of Switzerland, as its counterparts are in Asia, South

America, and Australia, retains the meaning of the sunset ritual.

**horning** A serenade of harsh, discordant music; a charivari.

**hornpipe** An English and Scottish solo dance of the clog and shuffle variety; so called because originally danced to the old hornpipe. It became popular on ship-board because it took so little space. Amusing sailors' pantomime synchronizes with the typical Scotch toeing, hopping, and rocking. For "Haul in the anchor" the arms reach right forward and haul back over the left shoulder. For "Hoist the sail" the right hand pulls up and down, then the left. For "Hitch trousers" the right hand grasps the trousers in front, the left hand in back (but palm out), with an inimitable forward and backward rock. This is then reversed. [GPK]

**Horny or Old Horny** A provincial English and Scottish euphemism for the Devil.

**horse** The domesticated horse is probably of Indo-European origin, spreading during the Indo-European invasions of the 2nd millennium B.C. throughout the Near East and Europe. Although only the Celtic Epona and the divine horses of Diomedes in Thracian myth retain the horse form among divinities, many gods and goddesses, demigods and heroes retain a close connection with the animal. As Krappe indicates (*Mythologie universelle*, pp. 67 ff.), the Twins of Indo-European mythologies show a possible origin as caballiform divinities. The Ásvins (literally horse owners) were the offspring of the mare Saranyu, and may originally have been colts. Castor, one of the Dioscuri, was a horse-tamer and, throughout Homeric literature, the Spartan twins were renowned horsemen. The British legendary Hengist and Horsa retain in one of the names a clear reminder of their mythological origin. Demeter, the Greek fertility goddess, sometimes appeared as having a horse's head; among others Poseidon, Athena, Aphrodite, Cronus had horse aspects. In addition, many gods, Helios, Thor, etc., drove chariots drawn by horses. The horse was associated with thunder, which was the sound of the celestial horse's hoofs or the rumbling of the chariot, while the lightning was the whip which sped the horses on their way. Spanish children used to cry at the sound of thunder, "There goes Santiago's horse." Often the Wild Hunt was thought to be the sound of horses in the sky. Pegasus, the winged horse of poetry, originally was the carrier of the thunder and lightning of Zeus. As a result of the connection of the horse with both the thunder (sky) god and fertility, horses, especially white horses, were a favorite and highly acceptable sacrifice.

The horse is one of the principal fertility symbols. As the field spirit he runs across the tops of the grain with the wind. Compare ÁSVAMEDHA; ATHENA; OAT-STALLION; OCTOBER HORSE.

Formerly in Europe a horse was sometimes buried alive to prevent the death or theft of the others. In Yorkshire they say to save the others it is enough to bury a dead horse whole.

It is lucky to dream of horses (India, Great Britain, United States). Almost everywhere it is lucky to see a white horse. If you see a white horse you will soon see a red-headed girl (and vice versa). Wish on the first

white horse you see on New Year's and the wish will come true. But it is considered unlucky for a bridal pair to drive behind two white horses; and in northern Canada you will die within the year if you watch a span of whites out of sight. It is lucky to meet a pichald horse, usually lucky to wish on one.

Horses can see ghosts; sometimes horses are ghosts. These folk concepts turn up in folktale as motifs E421.1.2 and E423.1.3. Horses also occur in folktale as born from eggs (B19.3), as paramours (B611.3). There are magic horses (B181 ff.), speaking horses (B211.3), truth-speaking horses (B133), helpful horses (B401). Horses are tried and executed for crimes (B272.2.1; B275.1.1). The Devil appears in the form of a horse (G303.3.3.5); so do witches (G211.1). That horses know the road in the dark is no fairy tale but the motif occurs as B151.

**Horse and the Stag** The title of one of Aesop's fables (Jacobs #33) in which a Horse, anxious to punish a Stag who had damaged his pasture, asked a Man to help. The Man said he would if the Horse would agree to be saddled and take the bit in his mouth. The Horse complied, but then the Man would not release him, and the Horse has been subject to man ever since. This incident comprises the general European folktale motif K192.

**horse chestnut or buckeye** Though the nuts are thought inedible, man has found numerous uses for them. They are carried in the pocket as a preventive for rheumatism, roasted and used as a substitute for coffee, powdered and used for soap; fermented they yield an alcohol and an acetone. Fed to horses they cure coughs and improve shortness of breath, and placed in the water they were used to stupefy fish. The flowers may be dried and used in place of hops for making beer. A decoction of the bark is used as a nerve tonic and as a cure for intermittent fevers. The leaves powdered and made into a snuff are good for catarrh and head colds.

**horse dance** Ritual riding on a live horse or hobbyhorse. Young men ride live horses on the eve of St. Michael on the Isle of Iona around a stone cross, each one with any lass except his wife mounted behind him; at the grave of the goddess Talltiu in Taillten, Ireland, they race to give the chthonic spirits an access of vigor for crop production. The North American Blackfoot Indians for a time gave an equestrian display—a horse dance on symbolically ornamented steeds—to arouse martial courage. The Comanche Indians still perform such a riding dance. The Shoshoni assume the identity of a pony in an entertaining mimetic dance called the *pooke* which expresses the importance of the horse in Plains society, for hunt and for prestige.

More commonly elsewhere the mount is a contraption of wood, cloth, hair, which the rider manipulates in a realistic manner. Either the conception is that of a separate man and beast, as the hobbyhorse of Athens, or of identity of man and beast, as the ghostlike Mari Lwyd (Gray Mare) of Glamorganshire, and the hobby of Padstow, Cornwall. The rider is in a trance-like state in the Balinese *sanghang djanar* (horse dance). The Balinese horse consists of a head and tail on a bamboo cane and it prances and whinnies like its Spanish, French, and English counterparts—the hobby of the Majorcan

*Cosiers*, the French Basque *mascaradas* and of the English *morris* and Abbots Bromley Antler dance. In Rumania, the *călușar* recalls the morris horse in its actions and in its association with a pyrrhic dance, a fool and a man-woman. Spain has given Mexico its counterpart in Santiago, who leads the Christians in the battle of the *Moros y Cristianos*. In the valley of Mexico and in the mountains of Puebla and Veracruz the saint gallops on a wooden creature believed to be magically endowed with life. In the New Mexico pueblos, saints' impersonations, called *maiyaní*, always ride a hobby, as Santiago and Boshaiyanyi in Santa Ana. They are "Indian spirits" possessed with *iyanyi*, beneficent supernatural power, communicated by contact and by the act of impersonation. Strangely enough, this last, most hybrid horse ritual, suggests most clearly the aboriginal meaning and harks back to ancient life-giving horse sacrifices. [CPR]

**horse learns to live without food** A general European folktale motif (J1914) in which, just as a man has habituated his horse to living without food, it dies. This belongs to a group of anecdotes (Type 1682) of which the point is the stupidity of the man who disregards the laws of nature.

**horse-radish** A coarse, tall, garden herb of the mustard family (*Amoracia lapathifolia*) used as a condiment. At the Jewish Passover Seder, the horse-radish signifies the bitterness of the house of bondage. Medicinally, horse-radish was used in the treatment of paralysis, chronic rheumatism, epilepsy, dropsy, and hoarseness. Scraped it was applied to the tooth in cases of toothache in Russia; in North America, either the scraped horse-radish (as in northern Ohio) or the leaves (as with the Mohegan Indians) was applied to the cheek as a poultice for toothache. The Negroes of some parts of the southern United States rub horse-radish on the forehead for headache.

**horseshoe** An archlike frame of iron or other metal fitted to a horse's hoof as protection, or a symbol of similar shape. Among the Greeks and Romans, this use was almost unknown, though vase-paintings show some signs of it. About the earliest instance of the iron horseshoe is the one discovered in England in the 17th century in the grave of Childeric (died 491 A.D.).

The origin of the horseshoe-shaped symbol is suggested as being from the rite of the Passover, the blood sprinkled on lintel and doorposts forming the chief points of an arch. Its two-horned shape is related to the shape of the moon, the crescent moon's "horns" (compare the luck-bringing qualities assigned to animal horns in amulets and talismans, to horses' heads or merely to horns placed on a roof as repellent to the evil eye, such customs being prevalent in Germany, Spain, Arabia, and elsewhere); or the horseshoe's possible origin is in serpent-worship and in religious symbolism in Egypt and Assyria pertaining to this reptilian form.

The magic of the horseshoe may be noted obviously in its manufacture from iron, since iron is a repellent to witches, evil spirits, fairies, and other beings which work harm to man. Horseshoes are placed in chimneys, on the doors of stables, dwellings, and churches; and if not on the door, on the threshold. Tylor says in speaking of such use in England, "Half the stable doors in

England still show the horseshoe." In London, many of the West End houses have one on the door and there are plenty of churches which use this talisman or have used it. The Devil cannot enter any building that has a horseshoe over the door. Its use as a good luck charm is common in the United States and luck is enhanced by the chance finding of a horseshoe. In Hungary, it is said that the people mark a horseshoe with black chalk on their stable doors. The horseshoe as a luck bringer is not confined to land, but is efficacious at sea as well. Lord Nelson is said to have had a horseshoe nailed to the mast of his ship *Victory*.

The position of the horseshoe, wherever it may be placed, is important. As a protective charm, it should be placed with the convex side up. As a luck charm the horns should point up so the luck will not "run out." It should always be placed outside, above the door, not inside. A Pennsylvania custom places the horseshoe outside but with the prongs pointing inside so the luck will be spilled inward.

Sexual symbolism is attached to the horseshoe. In Mexico ornate stones in this form have been classed as fertility symbols by their discoverers; in Aztec manuscripts, symbols like the horseshoe relate to agricultural abundance. Similar charms with probable similar meanings have been found in the Cahokia (Illinois) mounds.

The horseshoe is found in popular ballad and often in the folktale in Germany, Lapland, Norway, Bavaria, and elsewhere. In such stories, a smith and the Devil are frequent characters. [CPR]

**Horseshoe Nail** Title of a cumulative folktale (Z41.9) characterized by the interdependence of the objects mentioned in the story, and the sequence of disasters which follow on neglect to replace one missing nail from the horse's shoe (N258).

For want of a nail the shoe was lost;  
For want of a shoe the horse was lost;  
For want of a horse the man was lost;  
For want of a man the battle was lost;  
And all for the want of a horseshoe nail.

Grimm's version of this story (#184) is longer and more elaborate, starting with the merchant who had only six more miles to go to reach home and thought the nail would not matter for so short a distance, and ending with his struggling home late at night carrying his trunk on his back.

**horses of Diomedes** In Greek legend, the flesh-eating horses of the king of the Thracian Bistoniens taken by Hercules, with or without help, as the eighth of his labors. By feeding Diomedes to the horses, Hercules tamed them and brought them to Argos where they were dedicated to Hera.

**Horus, Hor, or Har** Literally, he who is above: an ancient Egyptian solar deity who combined two or more originally separate gods, who were sometimes even in later times still recognized as separate personages. The solar Horus, often called the Egyptian Apollo, was a brother of Osiris, Isis, and Set. This was the falcon-headed god, sometimes depicted simply as a falcon, of Upper Egypt, perhaps the most ancient god of the Egyptian pantheon, and identical with Rā. He appeared as Herakhty, Horus of the Horizon, the rising and setting sun; as Horus the Elder, the Greek Harocris; as the Horus whose representation was the winged solar disk

malicious. See AITYARAS; BANNIK; BILLY BLIN; BOGGART; BOGLE; BROWNIE; DOMOVJOJ; FAIRY; GOBLIN; KAUKAS; KOBOLD; PARA.

**house inscription** A legend or record inscribed on a house or building; of wide occurrence in the East. Sacred formulas or texts from various sources are placed usually near the entrance. This custom appears in Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, India, and China.

In the United States, inscriptions are frequently incised on public buildings such as museums, art galleries, and sometimes on homes. This custom, in general, would seem to stem from early ideas of repelling evil and inviting luck. However, at the present day, it appears to be a dedicatory gesture, especially on churches. In the home, the inscription is frequently above the hearth on the fire-board, reminiscent of primitive rites in the household and the sanctity of the hearth-fire. An inscription on a fan-light of the entrance door to a home in the Illinois Ozarks has been noted ("God Bless our Home"). There are, no doubt, other examples. [GRS]

**house leek or Jove's Beard** A garden plant (*Semprevivum tectorum*) with pink flowers and thick fleshy leaves, which grows on walls and roofs. Charlemagne passed a law that these plants should be grown on the roof of every dwelling. Among the Celtic peoples it is considered good luck to have house leeks growing on the roof. They protect the building from fire, lightning, witches, and evil spirits, and the inhabitants from fever. But in some places they are said to attract lightning, unless grown in company with the common leek. The juice of this plant removes warts and corns and soothes skin which has been scalded, burnt, stung by nettles or bees. At one time it was recommended for the hot ague, gout, and sore eyes. Compare LEEK.

**house snake** The genius of the Roman house who foretold the destiny of the family. Among Teutons the house snakes embodied the souls of the dead ancestors and watched over children. In Greece and Russia a snake coming into the house is regarded as a good omen. The people believe that they have received a guardian spirit who will "watch over his own." In Armenia also the house snake brings good luck and is treated with kindness. If one leaves, it is a sign that trouble and sorrow will fall on the household. If one suddenly arrives in the night he is given the hospitality offered to strangers, and fed immediately lest he depart. Almost everywhere the house snake is fed with milk. Similar practices and beliefs have been reported from among the Letts, White Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Greeks. See SNAKE. [RBJ]

**House that Jack Built** The best known of the cumulative stories (ZAI.6; Type 2035). It begins with the statement: "This is the house that Jack built." And the final formula is: "This is the farmer that sowed the corn that fed the cock that crowed in the morn, that waked the priest all shaven and shorn, that married the man all tattered and torn, that kissed the maiden all forlorn, that milked the cow with the crumpled horn, that tossed the dog, that worried the cat, that caught the rat, that ate the malt that lay in the house that Jack built."

**Hou T'u** The Chinese God of Earth or Soil; Sovereign Earth. Chinese folklorists and ritualists, like many

others, have been confused by the interlocked meanings of "earth," "land," "soil," "fields." The people generally pay honor to the local gods of place whose temples, very simply constructed, are in the fields and whose power extends over small and particular, though not carefully defined, areas. These gods and their consorts are the familiar and intimate gods of the people. Hou T'u was also part of the imperial cult. [ROJ]

**hovatu-koiari** In Orokaiva (Papua) belief, the spirit of a stillborn or aborted child. It is a foot high with a long tail, which drags as it walks and which is thrown over the shoulder when it sits down. The hovatu-koiari lives in the sago swamps and can be heard sometimes singing a plaintive song while scraping sago.

**Hrdlička, Aleš** (1869-1943) American anthropologist, who gave his support to the theory that the American Indians are Asiatic by origin. Born in Bohemia, he came to the United States as a young man. He took part in expeditions sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History between 1899 and 1903; was on the staff of the United States National Museum at Washington, D.C., from 1903; and curator of the division of physical anthropology there, 1910-43. He founded the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* and was its editor from 1918. Besides his work on the origins of the American Indian, he is known also for an anthropological survey of Alaska and for studies in anthropometry and in the evolution of man.

**Hrolf Kraki** The most famous king of the Danes in the heroic age, called Hrothulf in *Beowulf*: the generous, almost superhuman hero of the *Hroffsaga*, celebrated also in the *Biarkamal*. His gifts of rings, swords, helmets, estates are made much of; he strewed gold on the plains of Fyfe on the journey to Upsala. Northern legend tells of his berserkers, the twelve warriors pledged to his service; their deeds occupy more of the material than Hrolf's own tragic figure from the first call to battle to his death in the gates of Leire Castle in Zealand, the old seat of the kings. Hrolf had a wonderful hawk, Habrok, who was once caged with thirty Swedish hawks that they might kill him, but killed them all. Hrolf's wonderful dog Garm killed the magic boar sent against him by an enemy. The twelve berserkers and the marvelous sword named Skofnung are other attributes of Hrolf which identify him as the typical folk-hero king.

**Hrungnir** One of the famous giants of Teutonic mythology. One day on Gullfaxi Hrungnir challenged Odin to a race on Sleipnir. Riding neck and neck, he did not notice the direction Odin had taken until he suddenly found himself entering the gates of the gods. But the Æsir would not take vengeance on their ancient enemy thus tricked in sport. They feasted him instead until the drunken Hrungnir boasted he would return and conquer Asgard and carry off its beautiful women. Still the gods ignored the tipsy braggart, until Thor entered, overheard the boast, and challenged Hrungnir to battle. Three days later Thor and Hrungnir met for combat. Hrungnir caught the blow of Thor's hammer on his stone club, which was shattered into bits, thus supplying the whole earth with flint chips forever. But one piece sank into Thor's forehead, and as he fell, his hammer cracked Hrungnir's head so that he fell dead beside him.

hsien and shên Chinese terms which have been variously translated as referring to gods, immortals, fairies, spirits, saints, geni, heroes, ascetics, powers. Although both Taoists and Christian missionaries have attempted to fix the meanings of these terms, common usage is still uncertain. The unlearned in China frequently meet creatures that behave in extraordinary ways and therefore (whether they be gods, fairies, or spirits), need to be treated with circumspection. Many Christian missionaries use the term shên to refer to their God, which they refer to as "the true God." [Rdj]

**Hsi Shih** In Chinese folk belief, the patroness of merchants of face creams and perfumes. She was the daughter of a butcher and became a royal concubine. When she was presented to the emperor, she smelled so sweet that the odor could be noticed for ten li. [Rdj]

**Hsi Wang Mu** The consort of Tung Wang Kung, formed from the yin principle of the purely female: object of a widespread cult in China. She is the Lady or Mother of the Western Heaven. Her palace in the K'un Lun mountains of western Turkestan is protected by a wall a thousand li long built of precious stones and protected by jade towers. The right wing, on the shore of the magic brook of the kingfishers, is the residence of the male immortals. The left wing is the residence of the female immortals who are divided into seven categories according to the color of their costumes: red, blue, black, violet, yellow, green, and natural. Insurgent princes have from time to time reestablished the cult of Hsi Wang Mu and given it imperial favor. On her birthday, 1st to 3rd of the Third Moon, all the gods visit her. She gives them a great feast: bear palms, monkey lips, dragon liver, and phoenix marrow. The peaches in her garden, female phallic symbols, confer immortality. Chinese women frequently do honor to Hsi Wang Mu on their 50th birthday.

Hsi Wang Mu is also called Chin Mu. *Chin* may be rendered as Gold or Precious or Excellent, and *Mu* as Mother, Lady, Woman. Other names in the several styles of romanization now current are: Hou, Ho, Yang, Hui, Wang Chin.

Although her consort, Tung Wang Kung, Lord of the West, was formed of the essence of yang (male) as Hsi Wang Mu was formed of the essence of yin (female), he is incidental to the cult. Hsi Wang Mu had many children. The absence of much discussion about their paternity, the fact that all but one of those known to me are female, gives the sense, which is by no means a conclusion, that the cult of Hsi Wang Mu has to do with matriarchy, either the sort of matriarchal culture still extant in parts of China, or the matriarchal fantasies inevitable in such social structures as China where, except along the coast, the women control all domestic affairs within the compound.

The only male child known is the ninth son, Hiuen-siou, whose title is Chên Jen. The fourth daughter, Hua Lin, is also known as Yong chên, or Nan Chi Fu Jen (Wife of the God of Longevity), or vulgarly, Ch'ou Hsing Lao T'ou Tze (The Old Head of the Star of Longevity). The 13th daughter is Mei Lan or Chung Lin, title, Yu Ying Fu Jen (*Dame de la Beauté droite*) with residence on Mount Tsang Lang. The 20th daughter is Ching Wo or Yu Yin with the honorific, Lady of the Star Tse Wei. Her residence is on Yuen-jung Moun-

tain. The 23rd daughter, Yao Chi, honorific, Lady of the Flowered Clouds, gave the Emperor Yu the formula for evoking demons and spirits. The youngest daughter is Wan, honorific, Lady of the Jade Flower. She was the wife of King Tai Chen. When she plays a stringed instrument the birds gather to listen to her melodies. She rides a white dragon.

The feminine character of the cult is further seen in the gems, jades, and precious woods from which Shên I, a sun god, built her palace, also in the feminine interest in parties, and the collations served to the immortals when they visit her on her birthday, and in the interest in clothes. The kingfisher creek is a pretty touch. The peaches of immortality which grow in her garden and the peach which is part of her iconography are female phallos.

Hsi Wang Mu is first mentioned in *Mu Tien Tzu Chuan* (Eitel, E. J., tr., *China Review* XVII, 1888-89, pp. 223-240, 247-258) a courtly romance of the pre-Christian Chou period which recounts the travels into the west of Prince Mu. The dating of this romance is most uncertain, though some scholars place it in the 10th century B.C. Western sinologues have presented views. Doré (*Variétés*, No. 44, pp. 486 ff.) tentatively suggests Babylon as the place involved. Charles Gardner (*Chinese Traditional Historiography*, Harvard Press, 1938, pp. 45-46) calls the character in the Prince Mu romance a "male chieftain of the western frontier" and is in agreement with W. P. Yettis (*Catalogue of the Eumorphopolous Collection, Bronzes, II*, London, 1930, p. 49). Paul Pelliot attempted to identify Hsi Wang Mu with an ancient female mythological personage (*T'oung Pao, Archives Concernant l'Histoire, les Langues, la Géographie, l'Ethnographie et les Arts de l'Asie Orientale*, Leiden, XXVIII, 1930, p. 392); Henri Maspéro suggested an ancient goddess of epidemics (*La Chine Antique*, Paris, 1927); A. Forke tried the Queen of Sheba ("Mu Wang und die Königin von Saba," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, VII, 1904, pp. 117-172, reviewed by Edouard Huber in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, IV, 1904, pp. 1127-1131). H. S. Giles noted parallels with Juno in the palace above the clouds, peaches and apples, phoenix and peacock ("Who was Hsi Wang Mu?" in *Adversaria Sinica*, Shanghai, 1914). Popularizers of Chinese folklore, Bredon and others, have fun with the Gardens of the Hesperides, the Buddhist Heaven in the West, the Celtic Western Isles, etc.

The centers of the cult may be the west of China proper, or among aboriginal tribes still in China which still retain some of the customs from a matriarchal or a sororal-polygynal culture. In the 5th century B.C. the King of Yueh, having been successful in war, built on his return to his capital in modern Chekiang an altar to Hsi Wang Mu to the west of the city, and there offered sacrifices for happiness and long life. In 3 B.C. during the dynasty of the Former Han, and a great famine, rebels in modern Shantung invoked Hsi Wang Mu. An account is in Leon Wieger's *Textes Historiques*, I, p. 695.

**Generalizations:** Hsi Wang Mu is generally known in China. The centers of the cult may have been in west China or central Asia, though the cult has certainly received further development in China proper. Identifications of Hsi Wang Mu with Juno, the Queen of Sheba,

or various primitive goddesses are scholarly folklore in which similarity of fantasy has been confused with identity of origin. Any one of these identifications may possibly be sound; probability, however, must await further analysis, particularly a study of the folklore of the matriarchal societies in Yunnan and central Asia, and a study of the structure of women's cults in other parts of the world.

R. D. JAMESON

**huaca** Sacred: among the ancient Incas, a word applied to everything supernatural or sacred. It designated gods, demons, spirits, and also the sites and temples where they were worshipped. Among the modern Quechua and Aymara Indians of Peru, it designates all household fetiches, mummified ancestors and their graves, certain sacred animals, gods, images of gods, and their temples. Anything supernatural or smacking of the supernatural is huaca: an egg with two yolks, or twins, or an albino, crossed eyes, harelip, etc. Unusual and inexplicable objects introduced by the Spaniards were also huaca, like glass goblets, sealing wax, etc.

**huakanki** The love amulets of Bolivia. They are carved in alabaster and usually represent an embraced couple or sometimes a phallus. [AM]

**Huanacauri** A rock on a hill near the Cuzco which was the most famous fetish of the Inca family. It represents the petrified brother of the first Inca, Manco Capac. Before he turned to stone he proclaimed himself protector of the dynasty. The puberty rites of the young boys of the Inca family were celebrated around this fetish. [AM]

**huapango** (from Aztec *cuah-panco*, wood-over-place) A Mexican mestizo couple dance, popular in the Huastecas and on the east coast from Tamaulipas to Veracruz. Footwork resounds on a wooden platform, in the typical rhythm of one-two-three-hold, beating once with the heel and twice with the toe. Skilful dancers perform complex *zapateados* and sometimes tie a knot in a kerchief with their feet during the *Bamba*.

The gay *sones*, usually in quadruple time, are played on ensembles of violins, guitars, jaranas, and harps. The characteristic rhythm is produced by striking the hand on the guitar for the last note of each measure.

In San Luis Potosí a special wedding huapango, *Xochipitzahua* (flower sprinkling) is sung, and bride and groom lead the couples in a circle. At the end flowers and incense are offered at an altar.

In the Sierra Norte de Puebla the huapango is an ingenious couple dance performed in two face-to-face lines. It employs the simplest zapateado of one forward and two back, or a step-step-step-brush from side to side, the girls holding their full skirts and the boys bowing with their hands cupped behind their backs. The changeable rhythms are played on fiddle and guitar and often sung. This may continue all night during a fiesta. [GRK]

**Huasa mallcu** The supernatural guardian of the vicuña in Bolivia. He protects his herds by making them invisible to hunters. The Aymara Indians say also that he carries goods on the back of his animals and he may reward men who are friendly to him. He is represented by a small image attached at the end of a pole. He receives offerings during feasts officially celebrated in honor of some Catholic saint. [AM]

**Huathicuri** A mythical character of the Huarochiri Indians (Peru) who had the power of understanding the language of animals. From a fox he learned the cause of the mysterious illness of a powerful chief, married the chief's daughter, but was compelled to enter into several contests with the girl's sister, who was a powerful magician. One contest was in building a house. Huathicuri won because he was helped by the animals. He finally transformed his undesirable sister-in-law into a deer. [AM]

**Huehuencies** (from Aztec, *huehuell*, old, old) A men's ceremonial dance of Morelos and Oaxaca, Mexico. In Villa Alta, Oaxaca, it is most colorful and humorous. The dancers, in bright costumes and feather-decked hats, play at bullfighting with a papier-mâché bull. This feature, certainly of Spanish provenience, suggests relationship of this dance with other fights between old men as *viejos* or *abuelos*, and *toros*, which are spread as far as the *Matachini* dance of the New Mexico pueblos. The Huehues of the state of Guerrero enact a drama of hunting a tiger, with ingenuous jokes. Other characters include a hunter, a doctor, a he-goat, a deer, and a dog. [GRK]

**huehuell** Literally, old-old: an ancient Aztec drum made of a single hollowed-out log, set upright. The top is covered with skin and generally struck with the bare hands; the bottom is either cut to form wide feet or rests on a three-legged stand. The originals were elaborately carved. The same type of drum, though cruder and less finely decorated, is still made and played in the same manner by primitive Mexican tribes such as the Huichols, who use it only to accompany songs to their own gods, their Christian ceremonies being accompanied by stringed instruments. Similar drums are found in Polynesia, Melanesia, and parts of Africa. See DRUM.

**Huet, Gédéon Busken** (1860-1921) Dutch-French philologist and historian, son of the Dutch writer, Conrad Busken Huet. He went to Batavia with his father and then to Paris in 1880 to go to school. With Emmanuel Cosquin and Gaston Paris he was one of Benfey's literary school of folklorists in France. His chief work was *Les contes populaires* (1922). He edited Doon de la Roche's *Chanson de Geste* (1921), issued various of his father's works, and wrote numerous studies, such as *Légende de Charlemagne bâtard*, *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, and *Légende des énérvés de Jumèges*.

**Hueynku** The Mansion of the Sun; the afterworld of the Caribs of the Antilles, a paradise of bliss and plenty.

**hu hsien** The shape-shifting foxes of Chinese folklore. The term is variously translated as fox-spirit, fox-fairy, or divine fox. By various means these creatures attain the power of assuming various forms or of becoming invisible. Although all things, animate and inanimate, can shift shape, foxes have unusual abilities. When they become youths or maidens the hu hsien have remarkable sexual gifts and are able to steal the vital essence of human beings who fall in love with them. In consequence these human beings become tubercular and die while the hu hsien, having increased their own vital essence by theft from their victims, proceed to seduce others. Hu hsien love to drink wine. When intoxicated or frightened they resume their true form.

Because all scholars, being scholars, are virtuous, the

acters, especially small ones, are often also portrayed as humorous beings.

Clowns who amuse onlookers by their backward speech, audacious remarks, and oftentimes obscene behaviour are regular performers in certain Southwestern, Plains, California, and Eastern Woodlands ceremonies. Their antics and untoward remarks excite merriment and laughter which relieves the tensely of dramatic and serious ceremonies. In the Southwestern pueblo of Keres these clowns or "delight-makers" (*Koshare*) are organized into a society which performs comedies in pantomime in the intervals between public dances given to induce rain. [EWV]

**hungan** Haitian term for priest of the *vodun* cult, derived from the Fön of Dahomey. Its literal meaning is deity-chief, *hun* in Fön being a synonym for *vodun*, deity, and *gā* signifying chief. [MJH]

**hunsì** The northern Dahomean word for cult-initiate, that has been carried over into Haitian usage. Its literal Fön meaning is deity-wife—*hu*, deity; *si*, wife. In Haiti, the word denotes any devotee of an African deity. [MJH]

**hunsì kanzo** A term employed in Haiti to denote a *vodun* cult-initiate who has passed through the ordeal of fire, which consists of dipping the bare hand into a cooking-pot containing boiling corn meal. This is the climax of ritual preparation, and is concluded by stepping on burning coals, or into a blazing, open fire. To be *hunsì kanzo* indicates that one has reached a higher rank in the *vodun* cult than the *hunsì*. In Fön, the word *zo* signifies fire. [MJH]

**hunting magic** Many of the simpler peoples in Middle America propitiate spirits before setting out upon the chase. This appears to be related to the widespread belief that the more important game animals have their "masters," supernatural beings who usually live under mountains where they gather their animals at night, just as domestic animals are brought into enclosures. Hunters must request permission of these "masters," usually by burning incense and saying prayers, if they wish to have luck in their venture. A moral against wanton destruction of game is associated with this belief. A common story tells of a hunter who wounds but does not kill many animals; he goes into a trance, awakes, and finds himself under the mountains in the abode of the "masters," where he sees all of the animals he has wounded. He is told he may not return home until he has cured them, and that henceforth he must be careful in his hunting, killing only that which is needed for food.

Among some tribes a youth does not eat of the first animal or bird of each species which he kills, believing that if he breaks the tabu he will never again kill members of that species. [GMF]

**Hunting of the Cheviot or Chevy Chase** An English-Scottish border ballad (Child #162) probably relating the same story as that of *The Battle of Otterburn*, but more romanticized and less accurate, though taking neither side, than the latter. It is a later ballad than *The Battle of Otterburn*, but the A version of *The Hunting of the Cheviot* in Child is earlier than any extant version of *Otterburn*. This is the ballad referred to by Sir Philip Sidney in 1559 in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, and is considered one of the finest ballads in English.

The Percy, Earl of Northumberland, vows to hunt in the Cheviot Hills, country of the Scottish Douglas, for three days. On the first day, he and his 1500 archers kill a hundred harts, but soon after noon they are met by the Douglas, who has promised to drive them out. and 2000 of his men. Douglas, trying to avoid great bloodshed, offers to fight the Percy man to man, and Percy agrees. But an English squire objects to standing by while his chief fights, and the two groups clash. Douglas and Percy meet on the field, battle with each other, and are forced to pause for breath. During the rest, the Douglas is killed by an English arrow; Percy is run through by a Scottish knight. The fight continues until the moon is up: 55 of the Scots and 73 (or 53) of the English alone survive.

**hurdy-gurdy** (1) A medieval fiddle-like instrument operated mechanically by a crank-turned wheel which rubbed the strings and a set of rods which stopped the strings to play a melody. It originally was very large and required two men to play it. It was used to accompany singing in monasteries and schools. Later made smaller and portable, it became a favorite of the folk and eventually a beggars' instrument played at fairs and markets on the street.

(2) The crank-turned street organ of modern times, so called by association with the medieval instrument. The appearance of the hurdy-gurdy in the streets of New York, London, etc., is one of the first signs of Spring. The sound of the hurdy-gurdy brings children from the tenements pouring out of doorways and alleys to dance around it until the player tires. Two men usually form its crew, one to draw the cart and to crank the instrument, the other to pass up and down the street, hat in hand, collecting pennies from listeners and picking up the newspaper-wrapped coins thrown from apartment windows.

**Hwegbadja** Second king of the Aladahonu dynasty of Dahomey, who reigned from about 1650 to 1680. He is credited, in Dahomean tradition, wherein he plays mythical role of culture hero, with having consolidated the conquest of the plateau of Abomey, with having instituted the *aokpwe*, and with having instituted the custom of burying the dead, wherefore at every Dahomean funeral a cloth is given in his honor. [MJH]

**hyacinth** (1) A bulbous plant of the lily family (genus *Hyacinthus*) with a spikelike cluster of flowers. According to one Greek legend Zephyrus and Apollo both loved a youth, Hyacinthus, who cared only for Apollo. One day, Zephyrus killed him out of jealousy, and Apollo turned his blood into a flower, the hyacinth. Another Greek legend says the flower was formed by Apollo from the blood of Ajax when he killed himself. In any event there is a considerable amount of disagreement as to whether the plant the Greeks referred to as hyacinth was an iris, larkspur, gladiolus, turkhead lily, or hyacinth. The wild hyacinth is a native of the Levant, was first cultivated by the Dutch, and was introduced to England in the 16th century. Culpeper says it is of a stypic nature and its virtues are little known. The English used to mash the roots in white wine to hinder the growth of hair.

(2) A transparent red, brown, or orange variety of zircon, but anciently blue to violet: confused with the jacinth and sapphire. Placed on live coals, it extin-



guishes them without injury to itself. It is an aid to childbirth and drives away phantoms.

**Hyde, Douglas** (1860-1919) known in Ireland as *An Craibín Aóibinn*, the Excellent (or Delightful) Branch: Irish folklorist, poet, and statesman, born in County Roscommon, the youngest son of a clergyman. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he got his D.Litt. in 1906. He founded the Gaelic League for the preservation of the Irish language and was its first president (1893-1915), was president also of the Irish Texts Society, and became professor of modern Irish at the National University of Ireland (1909-32). He was a member of the Irish Senate (1909-19) and served as president of Ireland (1938-45). His *Mediaeval Tales from the Irish* (1899) was the first collection of folktales in Irish. Among his other works are: *Beside the Fire* (London, 1890), *Love Songs of Connacht* (Dublin, 1893), *Three Sorrows of Story-Telling* (1895), *Story of Early Irish Literature* (1897), *Literary History of Ireland* (1899), *An Sgeulide Gaodálac* (1898-1901), *Lad of the Ferule*, being volume 1 of the publications of the Irish Texts Society (1899), *Religious Songs of Connacht* (Dublin, 1906), *Legends of Saints and Sinners* (Dublin, 1915).

**Hygeia or Hygieia** The Greek goddess of health, worshipped in connection with Æsculapius and deemed to be his daughter, or, as in later Orphic writings, his wife. Originally the guardian of physical health, she later became the goddess of mental health, and eventually a protectress against various kinds of danger, a development she shared with Æsculapius. Hygeia was represented as a kind maiden in a long robe feeding a serpent from a dish.

**Hyginus, Gaius Julius** (died 17 A.D.) Latin author. A Spaniard, he was appointed head of the Palatine Library by Augustus, but is said to have become so poor when old that he was supported by friends. Of his many works, on biography, agriculture, Vergil, etc., only fragments survive. The two works traditionally attributed to him, *Fabularum Liber* and *De Astronomia*, are held to be by other hands. Both works are drawn from Greek sources: the former, about 300 short mythological sketches, contains a genealogy of the gods and makes use of Greek plays now lost; the latter is a compendium of star myths and an astronomical text.

**Hylas** In Greek legend, the page of Hercules on the Argonautic expedition: probably, from the legend and the circumstances it explains, originally a minor vegetation deity. Hercules having broken an oar, the Argo put in on the coast of Mysia, and Hylas was sent to find water. He did locate a spring, but the naiads inhabiting it decided, because of Hylas' beauty, to keep him for themselves and dragged him into the water. When he did not return, Hercules set out to find him, and the Argo sailed without the hero. The angry Hercules enlisted the aid of the inhabitants of the region in the search, and annually thereafter at Prusa a festival took place in which the people patrolled the mountains calling for Hylas by name.

**Hymen or Hymenæus** In Greek mythology, the personification of the marriage song: the myths all seem to be attempts to explain the use of the name in the refrain. In one story he was a youth who was killed on his wedding day when the house collapsed, and thus he was invoked to appease his ghost. In other stories he rescued a group of women from pirates and was honored by having marriage songs named for him. In Orphic belief, Hymen was one of those brought back to life by Æsculapius.

**Hyperboreans** In Greek mythology, a race living in the far north "beyond the north wind," who were connected with the worship of Apollo: probably a reminiscence of some tribe or tribes along the amber routes who worshipped one of the gods later developed into Apollo. Herodotus does mention the Hyperboreans sending offerings to Delos.

**Hyrieus** In Greek mythology, a Boeotian king; father of Orion; son of Poseidon. He was king of Hyria (or Uria), and had no children. Once Zeus, Poseidon, and Hermes visited him, and in return granted him a wish. He of course asked for a son. The three gods then stood around an oxhide and urinated on it and told the king to bury it in the earth for ten months. The child born from the ground at the end of that time was called, after the act which brought him birth, Orion (later changed to Orion). Hyrieus was also possessor of a treasure which was stolen by Agamenes through a hole in the treasury wall: a story similar to that of the treasure of Rhampsinitus.

**Iacchus** The principal god of the Eleusinian mysteries; the third member, with Demeter and Cora (Persephone), of the mystic triad: often called the Phrygian Bacchus to distinguish him from the Theban Bacchus, Dionysus, but nevertheless the two are often confounded. Iacchus was the son of Demeter and Zeus and the brother of Persephone; hence, he is sometimes called Corus, the male Cora. He is also occasionally called the son of Persephone, and confused with Zagreus; or he is the husband of Demeter; or he is the son of Dionysus; or he is equated with Dionysus himself. This confusion of tradition exists because Iacchus had no mythology

apart from the mysteries, about which information is often untrustworthy because of the disinclination of the initiates to make knowledge of the cult general.

On the sixth day of the Eleusinian festival, the statue of Iacchus was carried in a riotous procession to Eleusis, the initiates dancing and singing the Iacchus, the song named for him. Herodotus reports that just before the battle of Salamis the Greek allies of Xerxes saw a cloud of dust as from thousands of people and heard the chorus of the Iacchus swelling from it; they thus sensed their impending defeat. Liber is probably identical with the Eleusinian Iacchus.

**Iambe** In Greek mythology, a woman of Thrace, daughter of Pan and Echo. A slave maiden in the house of Celeus, she by her obscene jesting and gestures made the grieving Demeter smile when the goddess was on her search for Persephone. It was said that iambic poetry was named for Iambe either because the dances with which she amused Demeter were in iambic meter or because she hanged herself in remorse for the actions. See BAUBO.

**Iasion or Iasius** In Greek mythology, the father of Pluto or Plutus. He lay with Demeter in a thrice-plowed fallow field and begot thereby the son whose name signifies wealth. The myth is probably an explanatory survival of an old Corn-Mother rite practiced in very early times in Greece. The parentage and the later career and death of Iasion vary in the several myths built up around him. He may have been originally a consort of the pre-Hellenic goddess of agriculture; the myth may have been adapted and incorporated when the identification of the Corn-Mother with Demeter was made.

**Iibáhi** "Long nose," "gray one," "white painted": the clown associated with the gahe, or Apache crown dancers. His enactment is purely voluntary and he furnishes his own outfit. He wears a long-eared, long-nosed mask of scraped rawhide, a gee string, and white body paint. He serves as messenger for the gahe and as fun-maker, preserving speechlessness during all absurd actions. Though it is not dangerous to touch him, he has more power than the other masked dancers during curing rites. [CRK]

**ibéji** The Yoruban term for twins, the equivalent of the Dahomean *hohovi*. The word has survived in the New World, retaining its aboriginal significance in Brazil and Cuba. The *ibéji* figures, carved of wood by the Yorubans and also found in Dahomey, represent the spirits of twins, and are a famous category of African art objects. [MJH]

**Ibeorgun** The culture hero of the Cuna Indians of Panama. He taught people what to eat, how to prepare it, how to build houses, how to brew maize beer, how to mold gold, how to celebrate girls' puberty, and a number of other things which are part of the modern culture of the Cuna. [GKF]

**Iblis or Eblis** In Moslem belief, the chief of the spirits of evil; the prince of darkness. Originally he was a great angel, called Azazel or al-Haris. But when God commanded the angels to bow before Adam he refused, arguing that a being made of fire as he was could not prostrate himself before a thing of clay. He was condemned to death, but obtained a stay of sentence until the day of the final judgment. He is called Al-Jann, the father of the Jinn, who commands them; he is the chief of the shaitans, the evil spirits. Each man is born with seven of Iblis' aides, and only two angels: thus the influence held over men by this parallel to the Judeo-Christian Satan. Iblis inhabits waste and unclean places, ruins and tombs. His food is the sacrifices made to idols. Mohammed, according to tradition, said Iblis lived principally at the bath, frequented the market-places and crossroads. His food was everything killed without the blessing of the name of God; his drink was intoxicating liquor of any kind. Musical instruments

were his muezins; poetry was his Koran; the marks made in geomancy were his alphabet. And women were his traps.

**Icarius** In Greek mythology, a native of Attica who played host to Dionysus. In return for his hospitality, the god taught Icarius the art of the vine. Icarius shared his wine with his neighbors who, getting drunk, thought that they were poisoned and killed Icarius. His daughter Erigone (Spring-born) or Aletis (Wanderer) and his dog Mæra finally found his body where the shepherds had buried it. She hung herself, whereupon the three were placed by Zeus or Poseidon among the stars, he as Arcturus or Boötes, she as the Virgin, and the dog as the Dog-star. A drought or a suicidal mania among young women was sent by Dionysus to afflict the Athenians and was alleviated only by the institution of a festival in honor of the father and daughter.

**Icarus** In Greek mythology, the son of Dædalus. He was warned by his father not to fly too close to the sun when the two were escaping from Crete with the wings Dædalus had contrived. But Icarus flew too high, the heat of the sun melted the wax which held the wings together, and he fell to his death in the Icarian Sea, called so after him. Hercules was said to have found the body when it was washed ashore and to have buried it.

**ich-kanava** Literally, great tellings: the long migration myths and war tales of the Mohave Indians.

**Idomeneus** In Greek legend, the chief of the Cretans before the walls of Troy. On his way back from the siege, his ship was caught in a storm and he made an oath to sacrifice to Poseidon the first thing he encountered on landing safely. As in the case of Jephthah and other makers of hasty oaths, this was his own son. As a result, either because he fulfilled his vow or because he tried to and did not succeed, a plague struck Crete and Idomeneus was exiled.

**Idun, Idhunn, Ithunn, or Ithun** In Teutonic mythology, the goddess of Spring who possessed the golden apples of eternal youth. She married Bragi, god of poetry, and went to live in Asgard. She kept the gods young with the apples which the dwarfs and giants coveted. The giant Thiaffi persuaded Loki to lure her out of Asgard, and carried her off to his realm. When the gods learned of Loki's treachery, they commanded him to get her back. Loki borrowed Freya's falcon garb, changed Idun into a nut, and carried her back in his beak. Another saga says that she fell out of Yggdrasil into Hel.

**Ifa** The Yoruban term for the divining cult, held to have come from the Nigerian town of Ife. See FA. [MJH]

**ifrit** (feminine *ifritah*) See AFRIT.

**I Gave My Love a Cherry** An American love song, a survival of *Captain Wedderburn's Courtship* (Child #46) of which only the riddle and answer part remains in oral tradition.

**Igigi** In Babylonian mythology, the spirits appearing as the stars of heaven above the horizon: the Anunnaki were the spirits of the stars below the horizon. The Igigi were the assistants of the chief of the gods, Anu, Marduk, etc., invoked before battles, and fighting for Babylon in just causes.

**Ikanam** The creator of the Chinook Indians of the lower Columbia River region of Oregon and Washington. See ITALAPAS. [EWV]

**ik!anam** Chinook term for myth, or a story about the early world that was entirely different from today's world. See ADAON.

**Ikxareyavs** The *dramatis personae* of Karok Indian mythology, now existing as animals, birds, plants, rocks, and ceremonies. They were the Indians who inhabited the Karok country along the Klamath River before the Karok came, and are believed to have departed only a very short time ago. Long Snake was once one of them; so was Bluejay, Spring Salmon, Redfish, Coyote, Lizard, and others. The Karok cling faithfully to the laws and precepts of the Ikxareyavs. All their myths are stories about the Ikxareyavs and *pikvðhahirak*, the mythic times, or the days of the Ikxareyavs.

**ila** The word for dread among the Bechuana peoples of central South Africa: their equivalent for the concept of tabu. The Zulu form *zila* is a verb form meaning to abstain from. For instance, to the Bakatla tribe or clan, i.e. "they of the monkey," the monkey is *ila*; they neither harm nor eat it. Among those whose totem is the crocodile, the crocodile is *ila*. Compare HLONIPA.

**Ila** or **Ida** In Vedic mythology, a sacrificial goddess, personification of the oblation of butter and milk as well as praise: sometimes considered a goddess of the earth. According to the *Brāhmaṇas*, after the Deluge Manu went down with Ila from the northern mountains where his ship had come to rest and renewed the human race. According to the *Purāṇas* she was the wife of Buddha and mother of Purūravas. In another legend Ila was the son of Manu but incurred the wrath of Pārvatī and was changed into a woman. After listening to the supplications of Ila's friends, Śiva and Pārvatī agreed that Ila should alternate monthly as male and female.

**illa** The generic name for all kinds of amulets and talismans among the Incas and their modern descendants. These amulets are stones or plants of unusual shape, bezoar stones, or good luck objects. The prosperity of sheep or llama was also associated with one particular animal that was regarded as the *illa* of the herd. [AM]

**illuminating beauty** A motif (F574.1) of numerous folktales in which a woman's beauty is luminous or so great as to shine in a dark place. The "Story of Mrigāṅkadatta" in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgar*a tells how that prince on his wedding night discovered that the beauty of his bride lighted up the room so that no lamps were needed. And the "Story of Somaprabhā" from the same source describes how her beauty illuminated the room the minute she was born, and how her face outshone the moon the night her husband discovered she was divine, not human. The motif appears to be especially characteristic of Indian folktales, but has numerous other Asiatic (including Siberian) and European parallels. Balder's beauty was said to shine. The luminous face was a sure sign of royalty in ancient Celtic belief.

**Ilmarinen** (1) God of wind and good weather (*ilma*) of the Finns "giving calm and bad weather, and fur-

thering travelers (sailors)," according to Agricola. (See Harva in *FUF* XXIX, 1916, pp. 89-101).

(2) One of the heroes of the *Kalevala* (see songs 10, 18-19, 37-38, 49), the eternal smith. He forged the sky, Sun and Moon, and the famous Sampo, even a golden wife for himself. He was a good friend to Väinämöinen and they often went on adventures together. [Jn]

**Ilmatar** A Finnish goddess: Daughter of the Air. She is the creator of the world and the mother of Väinämöinen (see *Kalevala*, songs 1-2). Sometimes she is called Luonnotar, Daughter of Creation. See FINNISH FOLKLORE. [Jn]

**ilu** Literally, drums: term for the praise-name of an African Yoruba chief as drummed out on his drums. See AFRICAN AND NEW WORLD NEGRO FOLKLORE.

**Imilozi** Literally, whistlers: ancestral spirits of Zulu religion and folklore, who whistle as they speak. That ghosts communicate by whistling is a fairly widespread belief.

**immortality** Exemption from death or oblivion; eternal life: a widespread belief concerning the human soul which is held to continue for eternity in an after-world (heaven, hell, paradise, etc.) or on earth as another human being or an animal (metempsychosis, etc.). The practice of burial among the prehistoric forerunners of modern man has led to the conjecture that man's belief in immortality is as old as the species: preservation of the body so that the soul may have a dwelling-place. Egyptian mummification, statues of ancestors or great heroes throughout the world, sacred trees and tombs or other dwelling-places of ancestors all testify to this belief. In Europe, the ancestral spirits developed into gnomes and fairies and eventually into gods; elsewhere in the world the immortal spirits of the ancestors are more obviously apparent. The ancestral spirit never dies as long as descendants live upon earth; so too a god never dies while he has a worshipper. These beliefs vary according to the belief held, in time and place, concerning the soul and the afterworld. See WATER OF LIFE.

Immortality in China is not attained only after death, in which case death is merely a transition from one phase of being to another. Death can be dispensed with. Immortality can be attained by eating the pill of immortality or the elixir of life or strengthening one's essence by exercises. The Taoist teaching about breathing and other exercises has not been studied. Two of the most common exercises for attaining immortality are the "proper" and the "criminal." The proper method is to observe all the virtues, study the classics, and exercise self-discipline. This is the long and hard way which many people lack the power to follow. The criminal way involves occult erotic practices. In brief the principle assumes that a part of one's life is discharged at the moment of orgasm. If orgasms occur simultaneously between persons of equal strength, neither loses. Shape-shifters however steal vital essence by assuming the shapes of maidens or youths and seducing human beings. They induce a high degree of erotic power, until in the course of time the lover or mistress having exhausted his vital essence becomes tubercular and dies, while the shape-shifter having absorbed his vital essence in addition to his own becomes ever more powerful and lovely. These criminal

practices are frequently punished by the Thunder God, who is more powerful than the Immortals. [RØJ]

Some North American Indian tribes, as for example the Shawnee of the Eastern Woodlands, attribute much longer lives to the first people who lived before the deluge than is now enjoyed by the present inhabitants of the world. Whether or not this is an idea borrowed from Europeans is not clear. To their deities the Indians attribute immortality, and the idea of a life after death for humans, and also for animals, is of course current throughout North America. Very widespread, especially in eastern North America, is the myth in which human beings request eternal, or merely very long, life. Such an immoderate request is usually made to the culture hero, and the latter's answer is to turn the supplicant into a stone or a cedar tree. [EUV]

**Imperial Cults of China** Rites of worship performed by the Emperor. In his capacity of priest-king, the Emperor of China was charged with maintaining balance among the forces of nature. Not only was it essential for him to perform proper ceremonies at appropriate times according to rituals elaborated by the Board of Rites, but failure in the proper performance of these functions produced national disasters. Conversely national disasters, when they occurred, were immediate proof that Heaven had withdrawn its mandate. Floods, crop failures, military defeat, famines, or high prices proved that the Emperor was no longer acceptable to Heaven and therefore should be put aside. The Great Sacrifices were those to Heaven, Earth, Imperial Ancestors, Gods of Land and Millet, Confucius, and the Protectors of the Dynasty. The Medium and Small Sacrifices were to the Sun and Moon, Agriculture, Silk Weaving, Mountains, Rivers, and Great Men. The Great Sacrifices were performed under the open sky. The relation between the Imperial Cults and Taoism, Confucianism, and the "religious systems of China" raises questions too complicated to be examined here. [RØJ]

**impossibilities** The theme of a large body of folktales stressing the absurd, impossible, or contrary to nature. Often the victim of the impossible task counters with another impossibility: when told to build a castle between heaven and earth, he asks for the materials; if told to make a rope of sand, asks for the pattern (H1021.1.1); if challenged to hatch boiled eggs (H1023.1.1) counters with the request that the other sow cooked corn and harvest the crop. The story of the mice that ate the iron balance (thought to be of Buddhist origin) appears in its first literary form in the *Jatakas*. The classical Greeks and Romans had a by-word meaning Nowhere: *where mice eat iron*. See ABSURDITY REBUKES ABSURDITY; BERRIES IN WINTER; BUILDING CASTLE BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH; CATCHING A MAN'S BREATH; HORSE LEARNS TO LIVE WITHOUT FOOD; NEVER; NOODLES; QUESTS; TASKS.

**imrama** Literally, voyages: a class of Old Irish stories in which the voyage itself provides the main interest. Those now extant in manuscripts are *The Voyage of Bran and His Adventure* (about the 8th century), *Imram Curaig Mael Duin* or *Voyage of the Coracle of Maelduin*, (11th, 14th, 16th centuries), *Voyage of the Ul Corra*, *Voyage of the Coracle of Snédgus and Mac Riagla*, and the *Voyage of Brandon*.

The voyages are prompted usually either by revenge, as in the case of Maelduin, or pure love of travel, or desire to find the Happy Isles. The voyagers visit innumerable islands ("thrice fifty isles" in the case of Bran) inhabited by supernatural or otherwise marvelous men, women, birds, or animals. The voyagers land here and there, or are not allowed to land; they see strange things, are told strange things, and inevitably learn new wisdom. They always eventually arrive at an island more beautiful and marvelous than the others, whose description reveals that some Christian concept of heaven has been superimposed on or adapted to the ancient Celtic visualization of the Otherworld. Sometimes the voyagers return home to tell the tale; sometimes they fall away in a whiff of dust the minute a foot is set to shore, as if they had been dead 200 years.

The flavor of the primitive Celtic Otherworld is strong in the Voyages of Bran and Maelduin: the Isle of Laughter or Joy is in both; the Isle (or land) of Women is in both. Music, feasts, drinking, lusty health, splendor are part of the visioned quest, promised, sought, found. "A beautiful game they play, sitting at the luxurious wine, Men and women under a bush, without reproach—." And the distant isle promised to Bran was "without grief, without sorrow, without death, without any sickness or age."

The Christian tone becomes stronger, however, in the Snédgus and Mac Riagla travels. In the *Voyage of Brandon* the final elysian isle is definitely the Christian heaven. Compare ECHTRAÍ.

**Inapertwa or Inapatua** In Australian Aranda (Arunta) mythology, rudimentary creatures from which two Numbakulla, or self-existing sky deities, made animals, plants, and birds, which they then fashioned into human beings. Thus, each individual belongs to the totem the name of which is that of the plant or animal from which he was transformed. The Numbakulla themselves then became lizards. [KL]

**Inari** The Rice or Harvest God of Japan. [JLM]

**Inconstant Lover** An American folk song; one of the ancestors of *Old Smoky*. It includes stanzas with the words "meeting's a comfort and parting's a grief,"—"your grave it will rot you and turn you to dust; there's not one in twenty you'll dare for to trust,"—"take warning from me: don't place your affections on a green willow tree," etc., which may be recognized in similar phrases of another version called *The Cuckoo* or *The Wagoner's Lad*, and of some texts of *Old Smoky*.

**incremental repetition** Term applied by Gummere to one of the narrative techniques of the ballad: that each succeeding stanza is constructed as a substantial repetition of the one before, with the addition of one new element or fact in the plot. This device was of mnemonic importance in the oral transmission of the ballad stories. The question and answer stanzas, as used in *Barbara Allen* and *My Man John* constitute one typical form of incremental repetition, as does also the CLIMAX OF RELATIONS.

**incubus** (plural *incubi*) The demon lover; in medieval European folk belief, an evil spirit in the shape of a man (more generally either in male or female shape,

though the latter is specifically the *succubus*) who came in the night as a lover to women, and often sired a child. Into this concept of the incubus were poured all the earlier beliefs of supernatural lovers: misshapen children or twins were the offspring of these demons; their human mistresses were witches, or died of exhaustion as the result of their lovers' attentions; the incubi were handsome and virile, with such drawbacks as cloven feet and evil smell, etc. Elves and trolls, ancestral spirits and fauns, pilosi, dusii, and such wild deities and spirits combined with the tempting, malicious, shape-shifting Devil in popular belief to bring forth the incubus. The witch, of course, desired such a lover; but the innocent maiden, plagued by his advances, could protect herself with St. Johnswort and vervain and dill. The incubus was the nightmare as well, riding his victims in the dark. Merlin was the son of an incubus, and the entire race of Huns was popularly thought to be the offspring of forest spirits and female magicians. The demon lover motif is expressed in innumerable folktales and in such ballads as *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* (Child #4) and *The Daemon Lover* (Child #243). Parallels to the incubi have existed all over the world since ancient times: the Greek Ephialtes and Satyrs, the Celtic dusii, the Hindu bhûts, the Arabic jinn, the Samoan hotua poro, among others.

**Indian and Persian folklore and mythology** India and Persia are distant lands. According to our notions, they are romantic lands, languorous and mysterious. Unfortunately, much of the mystery rests on lack of knowledge, for the modern folklore of these regions has yet to be collected. Yet some information is available and when all is said and done India and Persia are still lands of wonder. The characters of their folklore inhabit a kind of border land of miraculous reality.

The difficulty in obtaining a true picture of Indian and Persian folklore lies not in eradicating romance and mystery but in expanding our concepts to include so much else beside. The really strange part is the combination of the familiar and the everyday with the wondrous. In this article, therefore, it may be well to give the familiar aspects of Indian and Persian folklore before the wondrous or miraculous aspects, and then to turn to the rich literary tradition and to a consideration of the living folklore, especially of India. **Familiar aspects** Both India and Persia spring from the Indo-European tradition which was also parent to the civilizations of Greece and Rome, Europe, and modern America. Although the archeological and historical record goes back many centuries farther, the Indo-European linguistic tradition is well established for the second millennium before Christ. At that time Sanskrit was being used in India and a closely allied tongue, Avesta, was common in Iran.

The ancient kingdom of Iran covered the modern countries of Iraq and Iran, the territory once included in Media, Bactria, and Persia. It was first conquered by Alexander the Great in the 4th century before Christ and later submerged by wave upon wave of Mohammedan conquerors speaking forms of Arabic. Nevertheless, the Sanskrit roots of the language were retained in Pahlavi which was the precursor of modern Persian.

Sanskrit also remained strong in both the written and spoken languages of India. Hindustani has today

many Sanskrit words and, despite its predominantly Mohammedan and Arabic background, Urdu likewise contains examples of both Persian and Sanskrit. Other languages of India show similar mixture of recent Indo-European tongues with the basic Sanskrit, and even the Dravidian languages, which are not Indo-European in origin, have been widely influenced by this vigorous Indo-European tradition.

Due to this common linguistic heritage the familiarity of Indian and Persian terms in folklore is sometimes startling. *Thag*, a thief and kidnapper, is clearly our *thug*; and the Arabic *ghul* used throughout India appears in Persian as *ghol* and is the same in meaning as our *ghoul*. Sometimes apparently similar words must be used with caution because of changes in meaning. Thus *pari*, *piri*, or *feri* is certainly our *fairy*, but she is no fingerling. She is an enchantress, human in size, in beauty, and in desire.

The familiarity does not rest solely upon language. In contrast with folklores which stem from thoroughly different cultural streams, such as those of the North American Indians, we feel at home in many of the stories of India and Persia because of similarities in our ways of life. There is talk of milk and bread, of gold and jewels, of farmers and wicked stepmothers, of heroines who are both beautiful and good. We, too, feel that the good should be rewarded and the evil punished. Yet we are equally aware that this does not always happen. So, in story, we tell of girls who marry princes, beggars who become kings, fools who have good fortune, and sons of wealth who lose their inheritance.

Many of the familiar aspects in these stories go back to the general stream of Indo-European cultural life. We come from the same historical past and our institutions have developed from the same ancient sources of civilization. It is small wonder that many of the same plots which occur scattered through European folklore collections turn up in both Persia and India. Not only were the sources of Indo-European life the same for us all but within the last millennium there has been frequent contact of one sort or another between the people of the West and these sections of the East.

**Miraculous aspects** On the other hand, there is a haze of the unreal about the folklore of Persia and India. The staid, talking animals which play such a role in Grimm's tales and in African animal stories have their cycles here too. There are many earthy stories of daily routine told in a simple, sober style. But the favorite tales deal with fabulous beings in a magical world. Ogres and jinn, fairies and snake queens abound. Creatures and objects grow small or large, fly through the air, change form or become invisible, in rapid and often bewildering succession.

Two features of this magical myth world call for consideration. First, it is in part a world which goes back to an early religious setting. Both the dominant Hinduism and Mohammedanism of today have retained traces of earlier beliefs and, in spreading over greater areas and over greater numbers of people, have also absorbed local beliefs and deities. Many of these now find expression in folklore. Early magical beliefs are often said to have been similarly absorbed and retained at a folklore level. Some of these simple magical elements are shared by European folklore, but we have

nowhere today the elaborate world of miracle easily accepted in Indian and Persian myth.

Because simple elements of magical belief can be shown to have a long history, it has often been postulated that the magical world of 20th century India represents an early stage in religious development. This postulate has never been satisfactorily demonstrated. On the contrary, non-magical elements of folklore can be shown to have as great antiquity as magical elements. Large blocks of population in India today, blocks numbering millions of persons, use magic and miracle, as we do, only as symbols or literary devices. It is not at all clear that the unreal world referred to in Indian and Persian folklore is due to an early religious setting, or that it exists because of such a setting.

The religious heritage of the Indo-European tradition has always held a strong other-worldly emphasis. All of us who share in that heritage have tended, at times of stress and under certain difficult circumstances, to take refuge in an other-world of happy fulfilment. The thought of such a world has buoyed up our faith in the everyday world and has been incorporated in various of our theologies. But the magic world of Indian and Persian folklore is not an other-world in this sense. It is a this-world. It is a place where people and jinn live together, where things do change form, and men can walk on water.

The second factor of this myth world which calls for consideration, therefore, arises out of the very fact that it is not necessarily tied with the recognized religions. In working with Indian story-tellers, it becomes clear that some among them actually conceive of themselves as living in such a world. The variation from one group to another is great, but in many cases persons do think of the real world as peculiarly insecure and unstable. A dog may be only a dog, but it may also be a transformed human or semihuman being. One can never be positive which it is. Objects can, and do, disappear by magical means. Poisons may be made healthful and the laws of nature may be reversed at any time. Myth elements are readily exchanged from the realm of story to the realm of nature, thus posing for the folklorist an anomalous situation in which some of his richest material comes from accounts of everyday happenings. Reality itself is miraculous.

*The literary tradition* The exchange which occurs in parts of these regions between narrative elements and interpretations of reality is paralleled by an exchange between the literary and oral traditions. When Sanskrit scholars have distinguished between oral and literary tales in their studies of Indian mythology, the distinction has rested upon form. The substance or content is known to have been indistinguishable. In both India and Persia, written mythological accounts go back in a continuous record for over 3000 years. Both traditions seem to have stemmed from a single source which was probably oral, and both have enjoyed a constant cross-fertilization between oral and written accounts.

The early Sanskrit tradition was formulated largely in terms of a basic conflict between the myriad forces of good and evil. After creation, the holy and the evil ones joined in battle and man shared the conflict or played his part in the final outcome. The core of Iranian religion, and its development in Zoroastrianism,

lay in this conflict and in the colorful mythology which attended it. Perhaps the most typical story, told under various guises, dealt with the hero of light who conquered the monster or dragon of darkness and evil. The Sanskrit tradition also reflects a high degree of organization, with authority resting in the hands of hereditary kings. Courts were sumptuous and shifts in religion and politics were often staged, in both fact and mythology, as rebellions against this kingly authority. Such a schismatic movement, started in Zoroastrianism by Mani in the 3rd century A.D., spread across the known world from China to Britain and was particularly powerful among soldiers of the Roman Empire where it vied with early Christianity. Although the basic conflict between good and evil, light and darkness, is expressed in some form wherever there are Indo-European traditions, the concept reached its full vigor in Iran.

In India, the Vedas and the epics mirrored the same conflict. The earliest record of Indian mythology is contained in the *Rigveda* or "Hymn Veda." This, with the *Samaveda* (Chant Veda), the *Yajurveda* (Formula Veda), the *Atharvaveda* (Veda of the Atharvan priests), and the *Brāhmanas* or explanatory prose texts attached to them, date in the first and second millennium before Christ. The *Upanishads* or philosophical treatises and the *Aranyakas* or sylvan treatises attached to the *Brāhmanas* are somewhat later. The great epics are generally dated in the four centuries bridging the beginning of the Christian era. The *Bhagavadgita* is still probably the best loved portion of the *Mahābhārata* but the tales of the hero Rāma, in the form of the *Rāmāyana* composed by Tulsī Das in the late 16th century, run it a close second. The accounts of Hindu mythology found in the *Purānas* do not differ greatly from epic mythology. Although the oldest date from about 600 B.C. they are still an active literary form, thus bringing down to the present day the miraculous deeds of gods and heroes.

The scriptures of religious sects carry variants of the same mythology, and secular or semisectional stories closely paralleling the religious occur in such works as the *Jaimini Bharata*, and the *Gulistan* of Persia. The similarities are marked between these and the popular oral epics of the last century. Some heroes such as Rama of India and Rustam of Persia may be traced directly to their mythological prototypes but other heroes such as Rasalu of the Punjab and Hatim T'ai of Bengal cannot be so derived, despite the fact that so many like adventures are told of them. Indeed, it is fairly certain that the Rasalu tales go back to a Scythian or non-Aryan king of the first centuries A.D. and that Hatim T'ai is an Arab chief whose exploits are told over and over in Persia as well as in India. Real heroes blended into the mythological background, and the epic tradition has been kept constantly alive, fed with fresh materials from historic events.

On the other hand, purely magical elements, many of them secular in tradition, flourished throughout the Mohammedan world. Great encyclopedias of magic were compiled and elements of magic were incorporated in the epic tradition, for instance in the *Bakhtiyar Nama*, a Persian romance of the Sinbad type. Their influence has been pervasive. Love stories are as old as mythology in the Sanskrit tradition. They have been

affected by the same forces as the mythology and have been popular in literature and folktale. The great Persian epic, *Shahnamah*, by the 11th century poet Firdausi, and *Rasa Lila*, the modern Indian story of Radha's love for Krishna, are less well known in the West than the more corrupt *Arabian Nights*. In all of them, there has been that constant cross-fertilization between oral and written accounts which makes it so impossible to distinguish between literary and verbal traditions.

The literary traditions of Persia and India are tied to their Indo-European origins. Yet there may also have been cross-fertilization, especially in central and southern India, with Dravidian and other non-Indo-European sources which lacked writing. The pattern of Aeschylus's animal stories can be found in Sanskrit in both Persian and Indian literature. *Panchatantra* tales are told all over India. Peoples of other languages also tell animal stories. Collections of these must be made by the outsider and their history can only be reconstructed by intricate comparative methods. Most of this work remains to be done. Yet the rich oral traditions of the pre-Aryan-speaking Indians have certainly maintained themselves outside of the Indo-European tradition. The two have been neighbors for centuries. It seems fairly clear that there must also have been an exchange between traditions of Sanskrit origin and traditions from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

*Folklore of modern India* If we are constantly surprised by a strange mixture of the familiar and the miraculous in Indian folklore, we are equally surprised by its vitality. Too often folklore is collected in out of the way corners as a kind of heritage from a dying past. It gains an antiquarian aura which is quite false. Folklore may have its springs in the past. But it may also represent common emotional and intellectual responses on the part of a population which are either so immediate as not yet to have found written expression or so unlike the accepted literary forms as not to be written down. Much of the folklore of India has such a quality.

People who cannot write are not necessarily inarticulate. For many hundreds of years Indians have gathered to listen to holy men and teachers tell the stories of the books. They have learned complex forms of expression. Many, even outside of the groups of professional story-tellers, poets and singers, are highly articulate. If this is true of the past, it is supremely true of India today. In a land where newspapers are scarce, news of economic and political events finds expression in song or story. Old forms and old symbols serve new ends. An animal story or a parable may receive a new twist which reflects a shift in evaluation almost too subtle to be caught. Or a timely expression of public opinion may be repeated and passed from village to village only to disappear completely when its interest is over.

India may be largely illiterate but it is definitely articulate. Love stories, fairy stories, animal stories, parables, and tales of the gods are used as media for expressing new feelings and thoughts which must be assimilated to the old traditions and ways of life. Hero tales may follow an ancient pattern while they tell the trials of real men in a shifting political and economic scene. They are, as always, among the most popular of

oral accounts. Though India is in transition, its long literary and oral heritage shows no signs of abating.

MARIAN W. SMITH

**indigestion** Disordered digestion; dyspepsia. In general folk belief indigestion can be cured by wearing a piece of red coral. In Newfoundland the plant called Labrador tea (*Ledum latifolium*) is used to quiet the stomach. The Negroes of the southern United States recommend wearing a penny around the neck to stave off indigestion, but offer also a number of very efficacious folk remedies, such as drinking hot water, or hot water containing ten drops of turpentine, taking a hot bath, etc. Vomiting will stop, they say, if the patient's medicine glass is turned upside down under the bed. For dyspepsia they recommend eating a little of the inner lining of the gizzard of a chicken or other domestic fowl, on the grounds that a tissue which can cope so easily with pebbles, sand, and bits of trash will surely aid human digestive inability.

The 11th century Bishop Marbod in his *Liber lapidum* (describing 60 stones) prescribes gagates diluted with water as a remedy for indigestion and constipation (see GAGATES). Tommaso Gianinni, philosopher of the 17th century, ascribed the melancholy of great men to indigestion instead of to the influence of the planets Mercury and Saturn, as then (and sometimes now) thought.

**Indigetes** (singular *Indiges*) The gods and heroes who had lived as mortals at Rome and were invoked and worshipped as the protectors of the state; especially, the descendants of Aeneas. They are often associated with the gods, e.g. Mars, Vesta, Venus, who had a part in founding Rome, and are mentioned in connection with the Lares and Penates. In this respect, such personages as Janus, Evander, Hercules, Romulus were considered aspects of the supreme god.

**Indo-European or mythological theory** An explanation of the origin and meaning of folktales, first advanced by Jakob Grimm, augmented and amplified by Max Müller, Sir George Cox, Angelo de Gubernatis, and others. According to this theory folktales are the detritus of Indo-European myth and can best be understood by being studied in relation to myth. This theory is now largely discredited through the work of Andrew Lang and others, who have pointed out that many common folktales are by no means the exclusive property of the Indo-Europeans and that folktales generally reflect varying stages of culture and sophistication. See ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOOL; COMPARATIVE METHOD; DIFFUSION; FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY; HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHIC METHOD. [MEL]

**Indonesian (Malaysian) mythology** With the East Indies, Americans, since school days, have a peculiarly sentimental, neighborly bond despite their distance from the Western Hemisphere. To this moist, tropical, and densely populated region Christopher Columbus was en route when he discovered America. He had been inspired by gossip about Marco Polo's stories of gold in abundance "to a degree scarcely credible," sweet-scented trees like sandalwood and camphor, and "pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galangal, cubebs, cloves, and all other valuable spices and drugs." World War II made names of Indonesian islands, their inhabitants

(over 40 million or 800 per square mile in Java alone), their rubber, spices and sugar, and political upheavals (independence for the Philippines and a United States of Indonesia in the south) familiar even to newspaper headline readers. Additional information increases the fabulous quality of the area. The oral literature of its most primitive tribes fascinates because well-known themes occur in exotic settings. The same tales that Uncle Remus told are among the most popular household stories among Indonesians, including the Borneo "wild men" who tell them in their pile dwellings, which are long enough to house a village and all its human skull trophies. Occasionally the characters are unfamiliar animals like, for example, Cousins Longtailed Monkey and Mouse-deer (an antelope-like creature less than a foot high).

The island area extending across the South Pacific from the Asiatic coast to New Guinea has been variously named and subdivided. Precedent exists, however, for applying the terms Indonesia or Malaysia to the region that encompasses the Philippines, the string of islands from Sumatra to Timor, which often is called the East Indies, to Borneo and Celebes, and, near New Guinea, many small archipelagoes labeled the Moluccas. Because the aboriginal Formosans speak Malayo-Polynesian dialects like nearly all islanders to the south, have a related culture, and belong to the same race, their island is included in Malaysia. Indonesian cultural affiliations with the mainland are indicated by the Southeast Asia Institute listing 16 regions from Assam eastward through Indonesia as constituting the Southeast Asia area (Heine Geldern). In mythology and folk literature, the continuity between Indonesia and the southeastern part of the mainland is striking. India, because of its size, is a separate culture area, but no sharp break exists between its culture, including mythology, and that of the southeast which for centuries has been the recipient of the cultural richness of its great subcontinental neighbor.

Indonesia is the only South Pacific island area in which written literature has, since at least the beginning of the Christian era, greatly influenced the mythology. To the ancient, oral substratum of myths, folktales, and beliefs often reminiscent of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia, whose first inhabitants passed through Indonesia, there have been added strata of written literature from Asia and Europe. Cross-fertilization has occurred, so that today, as for a long time in the past, myths of primitive Indonesian tribes, distant from centers of higher culture, have details from the written literature which has diffused to them orally. And, similarly, local beliefs of ancient, primitive origin, have been incorporated into Indonesian versions of stories from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, *Panchatantra*, *Jatakas*, and the *Arabian Nights*, to name but a few of the alien literary works. Parts of them had, of course, a folkloristic origin in lands from which traders and colonists introduced them into the South Pacific.

One of the earliest known homelands of the human race, as the bones of *Pithecanthropus erectus* of Java testify, Indonesia has been the crossroads of many different races and cultures. Some of them still persist in modified form. The Negritos, of unknown origin, were perhaps the first among surviving groups to arrive.

Later immigrants forced them into the interior of the Philippines, Malay Peninsula, and New Guinea, but by-passed them in the Andaman Islands, the only place where they have not lost their language and adopted Malayo-Polynesian dialects. Veddooids, related to Caucasians, were in turn pushed back, to remote regions and now live in Ceylon, Celebes, and, in mixed form, in other islands. At some time, too, those peoples who settled Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, passed through Indonesia. Oceanic Negroid relatives of Melanesians occur, much mixed, in the Moluccas. The first Malays are called Proto-Malays to distinguish them from later relatives, the Deutero-Malays, who like them belong to the Mongoloid race. Proto-Malays clung to homes in islands off the main line of travel while Deutero-Malays claimed the coasts of major islands where, in the historic period, they came into direct contact with Hindus, Arabs, and Europeans.

To some extent, the prehistoric groups—Negritos, Veddooids, Proto Malays, and Deutero-Malays—are distinguishable as to culture. Except for the hunters and gatherers among non-agricultural Negritos and Veddooids, Indonesians raise rice, for the most part, or maize and sago. Chickens and water buffalos are their principal domesticated animals; pigs are found only in non-Mohammedanized villages. Smaller animals find shelter under grotesque-roofed pile dwellings or village halls often used as men's clubhouses. Bamboo and rattan serve innumerable daily uses. Clothing includes either woven sarongs or tapa wrap-arounds. Whether nominally Mohammedans as very many are, Christians, or members of other alien sects, Indonesians maintain old beliefs in nature spirits, magic, and, most of all, ghosts of ancestors around whom cults with shamanistic practices exist. The amount of Hindu, Arabic, or European influence in mythology and folk literature depends largely on how close a tribe is to coastal areas reached by early foreign arrivals.

The application of Peet Gynt's metaphor of the onion with its many layers to the various racial and cultural strata of Indonesia is a useful academic device, if one remembers that a stew or compote is more descriptive of existing conditions. Certainly that is true of mythology, much as one may, in the present state of research in a complex area, hopefully grasp at what seem distinctive traits of each cultural layer.

The first, outstanding, literary influence of foreign, civilized origin came with Brahman and Buddhist colonizers from India. In the early centuries of the Christian era, they established great, conflicting kingdoms like, for example, Srivijaya, Malayau, Mataram, and Madjapahit, in Sumatra and Java. Often the authority of these kingdoms extended to nearby islands, parts of the Malay Peninsula, and even into Indo-China. This is not surprising since they controlled trade routes connecting the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Science, literature, and art, all frequent servants of religion, flourished, but did not long remain mere copies of Hindu forms. Buddhist-built Borobudur of Java, one of the great religious structures, preserves in statues and bas-reliefs the religious and mythological pantheon of India by depicting scenes from Buddha's incarnations. Kawi, a fusion of Sanskrit and Javanese, became the written medium through which Hindu epics, popularized in puppet shows and dramas with living actors, reached the people. It symbolizes the



union of Hindu and native cultures which, increasingly, acquired an Indonesian coloring. The Malayo-Polynesian dialects were enriched by terms for Hindu spiritual, intellectual, and emotional concepts (Kroeber; Winstedt).

As Hindu control waned, Holy Wars of Mohammedans from southwestern Asia and India won for Allah not only followers but political power that reached a peak in the 15th century. Indonesian language and literature, except in lengthy, sentimental romances, were relatively little affected by Arabs. Bali, which remained Hindu, is today called a "museum piece" because it preserves, with Indonesian interpretations, the religion and culture of the Hindus, especially the Brahmins (Cole, 1945). Local Malayan nature spirits and Hindu deities like Indra, Siva, and Ganesa, together with cults for the honored, ancestral dead now unite in the totality of Balinese religion.

Following Mohammedans into Malaysia were Christians from the Netherlands, Spain, England, Portugal, and the United States. Chinese have been in and out of the area as long as any outsiders. Early Europeans exploring interior jungles rarely express surprise in their diaries at meeting, at a remote but strategic confluence of rivers, a solitary Chinese engaged in flourishing trade with head-hunting natives. Porcelain jars that Chinese used in trade became symbols of wealth and as sacred objects, the centers of cults (Cole and Laufer; Rutter; Ling Roth). Myths often mention the magical power of the jars and their ability to speak. Any self-respecting hero of a mythical romance in the Philippine Tinguian tribe can magically increase the number of jars ninefold or eighteenfold to win the girl of his choice (Cole, 1915).

Indonesia, not only in religion and mythology but in the rest of its culture as well, is like a much used blotter on which scrawled lines that criss-cross and often cover each other cannot always be deciphered even when held to the mirror of history. The complexity of the literature often leads scholars to attempt to distinguish the prehistoric, oral lore from introduced elements of the historic period and discuss them separately. For example, Dixon (1916) analyzed the mythology of the primitive tribes after trying to subtract whatever was identifiable as Indian or Islamic in origin. Winstedt (1940) dealt mainly with Hindu and Islamic phases of the written literature of the more advanced Indonesians. He included a chapter on mythology and gave specific examples of alien additions to native riddles, proverbs, fables, farces, and romances which circulate orally. He also described alien sources of themes in Indonesian masked dances, shadow plays, poetry, law codes, histories, and legends.

Dixon found that primitive tribes, predominantly Proto-Malay in type, like, for example, the Igorot, Ifugao, and Tinguian of the Philippines, had almost no real cosmogonic tales, the pre-existence of the world being usually assumed. Many myths tell about floods destroying the world which then was reconstructed. Igorot, for instance, narrate that the principal member of their pantheon, Lumawig, created mankind by laying out reeds in pairs which became human couples, each with a different language. Lumawig's sons caused a flood over the earth, leaving only a brother and sister alive, whom Lumawig ordered to marry though they objected. They repopulated the world, and Lumawig taught them customs and arts still practiced (Jenks, 1905).

A widespread Indonesian concept is that over a primeval sea stretched multiple heavens where lived gods who threw down rocks and other material from which to fashion the earth. Sometimes they went to live on rocks exposed in the sea. Birds commonly are their assistants. Dixon regards the concept as genetically related to western and central Polynesian cosmogonic myths which are later in origin than those of marginal Polynesia. Indonesian relationships with the area immediately to its east are with the Melanesian rather than the Papuan inhabitants. Indonesians generally credit the origin of human beings to creative acts by gods or miraculous origins from plants, trees, and eggs. Formosans, for example, are like the Andamanese, Japanese, and Filipino Tagalog, in narrating that mankind originated from a bamboo joint. Sumatran tribes, like those of other islands affected by Hindu and Arab contact, have themes similar to those in primitive tribes but tell them in far more elaborate style and add motifs of continental origin.

Indonesians tell many heroic romances, some of them in meter which Filipinos call *corridos*, and less sophisticated tales about supernatural heroes and heroines. All have a familiar ring to readers of the *Arabian Nights* and Hindu epics. Greatest of mythical heroes among the Borneo Dyaks is Klieng, who was found in a knot of a tree by his foster parent. Myths tell of Klieng's devotion to war, travel, and pleasure, and of his ability to transform himself into anything in the natural or supernatural world. To chant the story of his greatest deed, a war raid on the skies, requires a whole evening. The *kana*, or chant, of his adventures involves, according to collectors (Ling Roth), a perpetual play of alliteration and rhyme.

Leading characters in Tinguian tales of "the first times" include the couple Aponitolau and Aponibolinayen and their relatives. The prefix *Aponi-* is a term of address meaning Sir (or Madam) which is followed by the given name. The son of Sir Tolau and Madam Bolinayen was Kanag who had a magical origin similar to that of many heroes in his tribe. He was born when an itching spot on his mother's little finger was pricked. He courted a girl whose mother demanded that a spirit-house be filled nine times with jars, and golden beads be strung on a spider web surrounding the town.

Many popular tales are about the animal kingdom. Mouse-deer, tortoise, ape, tiger, and crocodile are a few of the actors who, dignified by titles and relationship terms from native vocabulary, function in a society and environment patterned after that of the narrator. Basic plots, of which Tar Baby is one, concern the triumph of a slow or weak but clever creature over his strong but slow-witted oppressor. Certain adventures came into Indonesia with the *Panchatantra*, *Jatakas*, and other written Hindu collections. Others, according to Dixon, are local inventions, either original or patterned after Hindu models, while some that have diffused eastward may belong to an old stratum between the Negrito and Malay. Many themes in the animal-kingdom fables have spread back and forth over the world both by written and oral transmission. Aarne analyzed a tale, popular in Indonesia, about wandering animals and objects, showing how a simple story (of which the *Bremen Hall Musicians* is a familiar European variant) has diffused over the world and assumed various forms.

In addition to cosmogonic myths, heroic romances, fables, and explanatory myths, a type of narrative called *diam* by Tinguian and *pengap* by Dyaks forms part of the mythology. A *diam* or *pengap* is a myth recited as a formula at a ceremony to invoke supernatural beings, who are characters in the myths and perform successfully acts which the human beings hope to imitate.

Among interesting studies of Indonesian lore is that by Fansler who points out world-wide parallels in his collection of Filipino tales. Cole (1915) has shown how Tinguian myths reflect the culture of the people. Radcliffe-Brown has discussed the significance of the myths of the Negrito Andaman Islanders as an expression of Andamanese social values.

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KATHARINE LUOMALA

Indra (1) In Vedic mythology, the god of the atmosphere who governs the weather and dispenses rain; son of Dyaus or of Tvashtri and a cow or Nishtigri. His place as one of the greatest of the gods was won by slaying Vritra, the dragon of drought, thus releasing the withheld waters and generating the sun and the dawn. He is also the chief aid of the Aryans in their struggles against the Dasyus. He was feared as the ruler of storms, lightning, and thunder, but revered as the cause of fertility and bestower of rain. See *ARI*.

In later mythology Indra is still god of the atmosphere and the ruler of Svarga (Indra's heaven), but his position is inferior to that in the Vedas. He battled with the Suras against the Asuras after the Churning of the Ocean but only with the aid of Vishnu could he gain victory for the gods. Indra was then given the rule of the three worlds; the golden age followed in which, seated on Airāvata, he gazed over the contented world. But he fell into evil ways and finally slew Viśvarūpa, son of Tvashtri, who created Vritra to avenge his son. The gods tried to make peace and Vritra agreed to a reconciliation if he were promised immunity from Indra in wet and dry, from sword or javelin, wood or stone, during the day and the night. Indra, however, slew the monster despite the promise of the gods, meeting him at

twilight at the junction of wet and dry on the seashore, slaying him with the thunderbolt and the foam of the sea. Then he fled to a remote lake and lived hidden in a lotus stalk. Drought followed and Vishnu finally promised Indra that he could regain his place by performing a horse sacrifice.

Many instances of adultery and incontinence are recorded in the later mythology of Indra. According to the *Mahābhārata* he tried to seduce Ahalyā, wife of Gautama, and as punishment became covered with a thousand marks or eyes. In the *Rāmāyana* Indra was defeated by Rāvaṇa and carried off to Lankā (Ceylon). The gods had to sue for his release and grant Rāvaṇa immortality.

According to the *Brāhmaṇas* he cut off the wings of the mountains because they were troublesome. In the epics he took part in human battles and placed the rainbow in the sky as a sign of his presence.

As a rain god Indra later absorbed the name Parjanya (a Vedic rain god) but in modern Hinduism receives no real worship as such. In Benares he has been superseded by Dalbhyaśvara.

Indra is depicted as red or gold in color with arms of enormous length, riding in a golden car drawn by two (sometimes 1100 or 10,000) ruddy horses. His weapons are the thunderbolt (a hundred-jointed, thousand-pointed instrument), the bow (rainbow) and arrows, a hook, net, and spear. He is a gigantic eater and drinker of soma which he stole from Tvashtri after he and the whole warrior race were excluded from it by the gods. His capital is Amarāvati, his elephant Airāvata, and his horse is Uchchhaiḥśravas which came forth at the Churning of the Ocean.

Indra is not worshipped directly, although a festival is held in his honor. His fall from first rank is explained as having been caused by priests of the Brāhmaṇa period who were rivals of the warrior class. As the god of conquest, Indra was the special god of this caste and thus undesirable in the eyes of the Brāhmaṇa caste, who were at the moment consolidating their position in Indian society. Indra has been identified with Thor and Tritā.

(2) (Pahlavi *indar* or *andar*, Persian *andar*) In Zoroastrianism, one of the six archfiends; aide of Angra Mainyu. According to the *Dinkart*, the spirit of apostasy who deceives men concerning their mode of life. Indra is the adversary of Asha Vahishta. [SPH]

industrial lore Occupational lore generally, including that of the crafts and trades, but more particularly the lore of manual, mechanized, and organized labor. Industrial lore first entered into the history of American folklore by way of the lore of handskills (folk arts and crafts), cooperative labor (raisings, log-rollings, quiltings), community activities (markets, auctions, fairs), occupational types and traditional callings (miller, cobbler, tailor, tinker, innkeeper, peddler, sailor, fisherman, miner, doctor, lawyer, clergyman), singing at work, street cries, signboards, trade jargon, and slogans. In New England the development of manufactures, commerce, lumbering, fishing, and shipping gave rise to the lore of Yankee peddlers (tin, woodenware, and clock), clockmakers, storekeepers, hucksters, sailors, skippers, fishermen, whalemens, and lumberjacks, and of Yankee inventions and Yankee notions. In the economic development of the South and the West, a rich body of occupational customs, beliefs, songs, stories, and

lingos grew up around the great staples (cotton, tobacco, sugar, corn, wheat, hogs, cattle, sheep, lumber, turpentine, coal, oil, gold, silver, copper and iron ore, steel, furs, fruit) and the epic of freighting, canalling, flatboating, railroading, steamboating, Great Lakes shipping, mining, logging, ranching, and trail-driving.

The great American hero-types of the frontier (the trapper, the fur-trader, the buffalo-hunter, the miner, the logger, and the cowboy) were the product of the pioneering and craft period of industry, just as the so-called industrial heroes (Old Stormalong, Paul Bunyan, Pecos Bill, Gib Morgan) were industrial pioneers rather than industrialists. They belong to the days of wilderness-clearing and land-taking, of wooden ships and iron men, before the timber beast became a timber mechanic and when the boss worked side by side with the hand—the star-performers and hell-raisers who paved the way for the machine but (as in John Henry's contest with the steam-drill) represent man's last stand against it.

In the tightening of class lines and the sharpening of industrial conflict that accompany the mechanization, centralization, and unionization of industry, a new type of hero emerges. He is heralded by Joe Magarac, the Slav hero of the Monongahela Valley steel mills, who made rails by squeezing the hot steel through his fingers—four rails from each hand—and jumped into a furnace to make better steel, recalling memories of foundation sacrifice rites and stories of men who have fallen into vats of molten steel and been buried with the metal. In some versions Joe Magarac is the class-conscious worker who believes that the mills belong to the men rather than the men to the mills.

A typical hero of organized labor is Joe Hill (Joseph Hillstrom), a western migratory worker and I.W.W. organizer of Swedish birth, who wrote some of the most stirring militant workers' songs such as "The Preacher and the Slave," a version of "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum," and a parody of "Casey Jones" (in which Casey is a scab on the S.P. line, who dies and goes to heaven, where he keeps on scabbing until the Angels' Union, Number 23, throws him into hell). He was executed in Salt Lake City, November 19, 1915, on an alleged murder charge, his last words being: "The cause I stand for means more than any human life—much more than mine. Let 'er go!"

The bulk of industrial lore consists of esoteric sayings, jokes, and anecdotes that go the rounds of the workers; initiation ceremonies and practical jokes in which new hands are sent in search of impossible objects; and tall tales of rivalries between old and new hands, piece workers and day workers, hand workers and machine workers, and backward (in the union sense) and advanced workers. A favorite butt of satire in Midwest auto plants is the worker from the sticks (True Blue Highpockets) "who sells his labor at a minimum and sets a pace in getting out the work" (*New Masses*, Vol. LIX, April 23, 1946, p. 14). At the same time there is a survival of the frontier-hero tradition of the hand-craftsman, strong man, or tough customer like the Demon Bricksetter from Williamson County ("I'm a man as is work-brickie. I'm a man as can't say quit. When I lay a-holt, I'm like a turtle and I don't let loose till it thunders") or Slappy Hooper, the world's biggest, fastest, and bestest sign-painter, who feels like giving up because "they don't want big sign-painting

and they don't want true-to-life sign painting, and he has to do one or the other or both or nothing at all" (*A Treasury of American Folklore*, 1911, pp. 532, 550).

A distinctive, if elusive, part of contemporary industrial lore is the metropolitan lore of New York City and Chicago collected by the Federal Writers' Project in 1938 and on file in the Library of Congress—a hard-boiled, hard-hitting lore of gags, wisecracks, and trade jargon with a sharpened sense of economic struggle and competition—of taxi drivers, sandhogs, structural steel workers, plasterers, longshoremen, marine telegraph operators, and workers in the needle trades, packing plants, department stores, restaurants, and hospitals.

B. A. BORTKIN

**inexhaustible food, drink, object, etc.** A widespread folktale motif (D1652 ff.) in which food, drink, or treasure keeps magically renewing itself, or the object containing it is mysteriously and continuously replenished. The motif is known all over Europe, is especially prominent in Celtic mythology and folktale (the Dagda had one boar always on the spit, and one alive, for instance), is known also in Japan and China, in all the Pacific cultures, and among the North American Indians.

The classical examples are the horn of plenty and the flowing wine and rich viands in the story of Philemon and Baucis and their hospitality to the gods. *Exodus* xvi describes the manna which the Hebrews gathered every morning in the wilderness: "he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack" (D1031.1.1). *Mark* vi describes the related miracle of the loaves and fishes (D1032.1).

In folktale the inexhaustible purse, bag, chest furnish money (D1451 ff.), magic tables, pots, caldrons, pitchers, etc., supply food and drink (D1472.1.7 ff.). In Europe we find inexhaustible bread, cake, cheese (D1652.1.1 ff.), in Indonesia inexhaustible rice (D1652.1.3), inexhaustible apples and cows with never-failing milk supply in Irish folklore (D1652.1.7; D1652.3).

☞ The inexhaustible food supply is an incident in many North American Indian tales, widespread over the entire continent. Sometimes food is contained in a cup or kettle; sometimes it takes the form of a nut or bone that can never be consumed. Oftentimes a small quantity of inexhaustible food is set before a hungry visitor(s); the person thinks to himself that the quantity is minute, but finds to his surprise that he can never finish it. His unspoken thoughts on the matter are frequently divined and answered aloud by his host. See **BERRIES IN WINTER**. [Zwv]

**infanticide** Killing children at or shortly after birth for reasons of convenience, economy, fear, shame, or religion: formerly frequent and lawful, and still obtaining in some primitive cultures. When it occurs, sporadically and abnormally, among the more complex cultures, it is most frequently due to the shame of the unmarried mother.

The economic motivation of infanticide is most clearly seen in the South Sea islands where circumscribed area and limited food supply have for centuries made some method of population control obligatory. Sir James Frazer states that the Polynesians seem regularly to have killed two thirds of their offspring. His figures were corroborated for Tahiti by the Rev.

J. M. Orsmond during the first half of the 19th century. His manuscripts, edited and supplemented by his granddaughter, Miss Teaira Henry, and published by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum (*Ancient Tahiti*, 1928), furnish the best picture we have of this primitive society before it was influenced by contact with continental cultures.

The first missionaries found that more than two thirds of the children were destroyed "generally before seeing the light of day. Sometimes in drawing their first breath they were throttled to death, being called *tamari'i 'u'umi hia* (children throttled)."

While the original reason for infanticide in the islands was primarily economic, certain other reasons were given to the missionaries by the natives, and evidently accepted as true. Mr. Orsmond and his granddaughter give as the chief reasons for infanticide, "to keep the abyss wide between the royal family and commonalty, and for the regulation of the *ariori* society."

The lowest of the eight orders of the *ariori* had only small tatau (tattoo) marks in the hollow of the knees, and their children were not permitted to live. "If any saved their babes they were dismissed in disgrace from the society." But parents of the highest order, covered with tatau marks until they were black from the groin down, must not kill their children, since they were considered descendants of gods, and would inherit the royal titles of their parents. Candidates for admission to the lowest order must have no children and solemnly pledged infanticide if offspring came.

In spite of economic and societal requirements, the Tahitian infant did have a possible chance of escaping annihilation. Since infanticide was a family affair among the lower orders, with near relatives of both sides of the family attending the birth, and since the paternal relatives might urge that the child be killed while the maternal group wished to save it, there might be contention. If the quarrel lasted long enough for the child to draw breath and open its eyes, it was allowed to live, because it had its own *iho* (personality) and could not be doomed to *puaru* (child destruction).

Infanticide in India was likewise due to overpopulation and recurrent famine, but just as the Tahitians rationalized the custom into a support of a caste system so the Hindu people sometimes justified their throwing of infants into rivers as a religious sacrifice to a crocodile god. A more humane Indian infanticide was accomplished by allowing the child to nurse from its mother's breast which had been anointed with datura or opium.

Even more drastic than the Polynesian two-thirds annihilation of the newborn was the practice of the Jagas, a West African Angola tribe, where all children without exception were killed, but for a different reason. The Jagas were always fighters, marauders on the march, and mothers carrying infants were highly undesirable hindrances to speed. One would expect that the tribe itself would soon disappear, but it was kept to full strength by the simple expedient of adopting the adolescent children of the parents whom the Jagas had surprised, overcome, and eaten.

In Brazil the Mbaya women killed all their children except the one they thought would be the last one. If another one came, it was killed. Naturally, since the Mbaya adopted no children, the nation dwindled, and

the branch in which the women were most assiduous in the practice completely disappeared.

In several East African tribes, according to reports from Father Picarda of the Catholic Missions in the 1880's, two thirds of the newborn were killed, since only those born in certain unusual presentations were saved.

There are many tribes where infanticide, although not generally practiced, is permissible in certain instances and under recognized circumstances. Among the Guiana Indians of South America, in one tribe or another, three situations justify killing the child: if it is a female, or a cripple, or one of twins.

On the Orinoco a woman who bears twins is thereby dishonored and is likely to be called a rat by the other women. Among the Salivas on the west bank of the Orinoco if a woman bore a child and was aware that another was about to come, she would conceal the fact in spite of great pain and bury it secretly lest her neighbors torment her and her husband be angry with her. Because he could not possibly believe that more than one of the twins was his own, he would consider her disloyal to him. In many tribes, it is the second twin that is killed, unless one is male and the other female. In that case, the female is doomed. This practice of killing girl babies, which often prevails even where there is no choice of twins, is defended by the mothers themselves who say that they do not wish the girl to grow up and suffer as they have, being women. In those tribes where the husbands treat their wives better, there is less murdering of female infants.

Among these Guiana Indians the methods used are breaking the neck, pressing on the breastbone, cutting the umbilical cord so near the navel that it cannot be tied and the infant bleeds to death, exposure, and a method regarded by the natives as so humane that they call it a word meaning "without hurting it at all." The process is simply burying the child alive. Many South American Indians kill without hesitation children who are born hunchbacked, lame, dwarfed, crippled, malformed, or with a harelip.

Among the Chacos, both twins are usually killed, either buried alive or exposed by the tribal shaman, since their birth is a bad omen. The killing is rationalized on the theory that no woman can possibly nurse two children. An unmarried girl kills her child without hesitation. If a woman has a bad dream just before childbirth, she may kill the child, and if a mother dies in parturition, the child is buried alive with her. Among these seminomads, many children are a burden.

Another and rather unusual cause of infanticide obtains among several Chaco tribes. It is the custom for a woman there to refrain from sexual intercourse with her husband during her nursing period, and since it is also the practice to nurse children for 3 or 4 years, she often chooses to kill the child rather than lose her husband. In 1870 a Jesuit reported of one Chaco tribe that they recognized four reasons for infanticide: scarcity of food, any suspicion of illegitimacy, too many children already, or if the parents were on a journey.

From 19th century Chaco to 6th century Arabia is a long jump, but infanticide is the common link. Mohammed is credited with having abolished the practice in Arabia where female infants were frequently

destroyed before his reforms. In the Koran, *Sura xvii*, 33, we read, "Kill not your children for fear of want." *Sura xvi*, 60, 61 reflects an Arab father's dilemma at the birth of a daughter, describing how "dark shadows settle on his face" as he ponders, "shall he keep it with disgrace or bury it in the dust?" *Sura lxxxi* pictures vividly the day of judgment "when the sun shall be folded up" and many other things happen including "And when the female child that had been buried alive shall be asked for what crime she was put to death."

Mohammed's reform was not completely successful for it is said that the only occasion when his successor Othman, the cruel third caliph, ever shed a tear was when he was burying alive his little daughter and she reached up her tiny hand and brushed the grave dust from his beard. But Zaid, Mohammed's adopted son, who was said to have had Christian parents, is reported to have offered to support any girl children whom their fathers spared.

Among the many reasons not already given alleged for infanticide, whether actual reasons or rationalized, are discovered the following: killing of deformed children among the Salivas and Manaos because deformity was thought to be caused by demons; abandonment or burial alive of one half the children of Paraguay tribes if deformed, posthumous, or if either parent dies at the time of the child's birth. Any of these kinds of bad luck evidently justified or even required the killing of the infant; similarly bad luck would follow the Brazilian Tapirape parents if they kept more than three children or more than two of the same sex; in eastern Bolivia a baby was buried alive with its mother if she died in childbirth because a baby could be nursed only by its own mother; and in some Polynesian tribes if a child resembled its father too much, it was killed because of the belief that whoever the child resembled would die.

Among Chinese who believe in reincarnation, the killing of girl infants is defended on the ground that it gives them a chance to be reborn as males. In Africa and some South Sea islands where babies are suckled for long periods, the second child is sometimes killed if it arrives before the first has been weaned. In a way this practice parallels that in ancient Greece where infants were exposed in order to keep up the living standards for previous children. In Sparta the deformed newborn were exposed for the good of the state, and at one period Roman law, for the same reason, strictly forbade the rearing of deformed children.

However plausible are the alleged economic and other reasons for killing the malformed newborn, it is likely that fear of the abnormal was and is a large part of the motivation. To attribute eugenic policies to primitive societies is to forget how very difficult it is even in advanced cultures to secure recognition of the principles of eugenics.

Exposure or abandonment of infants, callous as it may seem, really presents an advance in the treatment of unwanted children. Instead of killing the infant outright and immediately, the parents gave it a faint chance of survival. It might be picked up by a stranger before it died of hunger, thirst, or cold or was killed by wild animals. The theme runs through many an old folktale and emerges into world literature. See **ABANDONED**

**CHILDREN; EXPOSURE OF FAMOUS PERSONS IN INFANCY.** The *Cedipus* legend, minus any Christian accretions, is still a folktale in Greece.

The core of the *Cedipus* exposure story probably goes back to Mycenaean-Minoan times, as recent discoveries indicate, or it may be even earlier. It has been edited and polished by ten thousand tellings until it reflects the deep psychological conflicts felt in families since the family was established. It has lived because it dramatizes man's repugnance at infanticide and the father-hatred thus inspired. And the folktale has rounded out its cycle by becoming in our day appropriated by psychology to denominate a mental complex.

Religious infanticide, especially the killing of the first-born, is apparently in nearly all cases a substitutionary human sacrifice. Cases are recorded among the aborigines of Victoria, Australia, the American Indian tribes of northwestern Canada and some parts of the United States, and in China, Africa, and Russia. It is, however, best known historically to have been common among the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean region and particularly among the Canaanites (Phoenicians), the Sepharvites, Moabites, Israelites, and Carthaginians. And in many instances the bodies of the children were burnt as sacrifices to the various tribal gods.

In some cases, as apparently in that of Abraham's interrupted sacrifice of his son Isaac (*Gen. xxii*), the child was killed before the body was burned, but Diodorus Siculus (*xx*, 14) tells of the Carthaginian custom of placing the child in the huge hands of a great idol from which it slid off into a fire below. The god variously named Melkarth, Milcom, Moloch, and Melech, with combined forms, was widely worshipped, even by the Israelites at times, for Solomon built an altar to Moloch (*I Kings xi*, 7) and Manasseh sacrificed his son, by making him "pass through the fire" (*II Kings xxi*, 6), as did King Ahaz (*II Kings xvi*, 3). All through the 7th century B.C. this practice flourished. It was suppressed by Josiah but was revived by Jehoia-kim and persisted until the Babylonian captivity. Even in northern Babylonia the burning alive of infants, as a sacrifice to the Melech group of gods, spread, for "the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adram-melech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim" (*II Kings xvii*, 31).

Excavations in the Canaanite levels of all the mounds explored by archeologists have revealed jars in large numbers containing the bones of newborn infants, buried under house corners and thresholds and beneath the floors of the sacred high places. With them were small jars formerly containing food and drink. The bones were not charred, and so the babes had not been sacrificed to Melech, but probably to the mother goddess, the giver of children.

Sir James Frazer (*Golden Bough*, vol. iv, pp. 168-176) goes so far as to trace the origin of the Hebrew Passover directly to the sacrifice of first-born infants which he considers to have been an article of the ancient Semitic religion, and bases his argument on *Exodus xiii*, 2, 15; *Micah vi*, 7; and *Numbers xviii*, 15. It is evident from those passages that anciently these child sacrifices may have been made to Yahweh before they were, under Phoenician influence, made to Melech.

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with the nurse of her two children and the two children of Ino to dress her children in white and Ino's in black, probably in order for murderers to make them out clearly in the dark. But, some say, Ino herself was the nurse and reversed the colors. With her children dead, Themisto committed suicide. Ino, in her turn, plotted against the children of Athamas by his first wife. She bribed the messengers from Delphi to say that the cause of a famine which Ino herself had induced could be removed only by the sacrifice of Phrixus and Helle. The flight of the two children on the golden-fleeced ram led eventually to the expedition of the Argonauts. At last Hera made Athamas and Ino so mad that he killed Learchus and she leaped from a cliff into the sea with Melicertes, her other son. Dionysus however would not let her die, and she was transformed into the sea goddess Leucothea.

**insane root** A member of the mandragora, mandrake, or "love apple" family and therefore associated with the cult of Aphrodite. The mandrake is greatly prized for medicinal, aphrodisiac, and other purposes. Because of the bifurcated root it is either male or female. One account is that it grows only under a gallows and originates in the juices from a hanged man's body. It will cure barrenness, act as a love charm, make the wearer invisible, or reveal hidden treasures. Although it is grown commercially in Korea, in western Europe it was gathered with stealth and under conditions of considerable hazard. The gatherer circled the plant but did not touch it. The tail of a dog starved for three days was tied to the plant. When the dog was shown food he uprooted the plant which uttered a fatal scream. The dog died and the gatherer would either die or go mad too if he did not cover his ears. The effects of mandragora are mildly narcotic and anesthetic. See MANDRAKE. [RDJ]

**Intaphernes' wife** In a story told by Herodotus (Book III), the wife of one of the seven conspirators against the usurpers of Cambyses' throne. Darius, the king, ordered that they be admitted to his presence unannounced at any time save when he was in bed with a woman. Intaphernes, on one such occasion, not believing the king's guards, struck off their noses and ears for refusing him admittance. The king heard of his insolence, discovered by interviewing all seven of the privileged ones that the incident was not a result of a conspiratorial collusion, and arrested Intaphernes, his children, and his near family. Intaphernes' wife stood outside the palace gate lamenting, and the king took pity on her. He offered her the life of any one of the family and was astonished when she chose her brother rather than husband or child. Her reasoning, that she might marry again and have children, that her parents were dead, that therefore she could not have another brother, so struck him that he ordered not only her brother but her eldest son saved. But all the rest were killed.

**in the way** In Irish folk belief, obstructing some passage or violating some place preempted by the síde or fairies. If a farmer builds his byre across a fairy path, the cattle in it die until it is removed. Many is the house, built unwittingly in some such spot, that never has luck. The people in it die, or it burns down, or perhaps the roof won't stay on it, or what's mended in the day gets pulled off at night. Sometimes the síde will

knock on the walls all night. And at last, either because of bad luck or discouragement or specific warning the people abandon it, and the síde have free traffic. Occasionally all goes well if the human inhabitants are willing not to use a certain door in their house. Lady Gregory tells of a family enjoined to keep their back door closed. All human traffic had to go in and out the front. If they tried opening the back, a blast of wind would come in—enough to lift the roof off the house from inside. One woman was warned that her house was in the way, and was politely asked to move. But she did not know what the words in the way meant, so she stayed on, and all her seven children died, one by one. Another woman wondered why she could no longer make butter from the milk she set in her milk pans; but later she discovered she had been putting the pans to air and dry across a fairy path.

Getting in the way is a thing that often happens in Ireland, they say. The only way to tell whether a house is going to be in the way or not is to place four sticks upright in the ground where the four corners of the house will be, and the sticks will be knocked down in the night if the fairies object.

**Inti raimi** The feast of the winter solstice celebrated by the Inca in June. It was characterized by its solemnity and the lavish display of gold and silver paraphernalia. The ceremony opened with an homage to the Sun rendered by the Emperor, his family, and the provincial chiefs. After this the Emperor made a libation to the Sun and drank chicha with his relatives. With the Inca leading the procession, everyone went to the Sun temple where the members of the imperial lineage made offerings of precious vessels and images to the Sun God. Omens were read in the entrails of a black llama which was sacrificed to the Sun. A great holocaust of llamas and banquets ended the feast. [AM]

**intitchiuma or intijuma** The Australian Aranda (Arunta) rites performed to increase totemic plants and animals and thus to insure a good food supply. There is ritual eating of the species following the ceremonies, which dramatically depict events which occurred during the dream time. Other tribes have comparable rites under different names. See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY. [KL]

**invisibility** The state of being unseeable; specifically, the condition of being invisible, not because of being hidden behind something but because of some factor blinding a possible viewer to one's presence; in folklore, a circumstance induced by various magic objects enabling the possessor to overhear, to spy, to win fights, etc., without being seen: a motif (D1361) of folktale found all over the world. Most commonly the magic object rendering the person invisible at will is a cap, a cloak, a ring, a stone, but other more exotic materials, like fern seed, a serpent's crown, the heart of an unborn child, are similarly useful. In the Thompson index of folktale motifs, some 28 magic objects are listed which render persons invisible, not including the chemicals of H. G. Wells' *Invisible Man*. These objects usually are grouped with other magic objects: shoes that enable the wearer to travel great distances instantly, caps of wisdom, inexhaustible purses, unerring swords, rings to summon up the spirits. Some beings, gods and ghosts and angels, need no such paraphernalia to appear and

disappear, but dwarfs and men must have some talisman to do the trick.

The central European story of the Danced-Out Shoes (Type 305), known from the Lapps to the Greeks, is the best-known of the *mäitchen* employing the motif. The hero dons the cloak of invisibility, follows the princess (or princesses) to where she dances all night, and thus solves the mystery of why the shoes are worn through each morning. In one version of the Slaying of Monsters myth of the Chiricahua Apache, Child-of-the-Water gets a cloak from Lizard which makes him invisible and permits him to approach the monster Buffalo. The ring of Gyges, in the tale told by Plato, permits him to enter unseen into the queen's bedroom. The Welsh Owen Glendower is reputed to have had a stone which could make him invisible; the stone was obtained from a pet raven of the Earl of Arundel. In Eastern stories, an ointment applied to the eyes serves the purpose. In the *Ocean of Story*, Gunaśarman pretends to be a messenger of the gods and by using the magic collyrium to appear and disappear to Vikramaśakti induces the king to make peace. A Finnish-Swedish tale (Type 576) utilizes magic drops of invisibility. King Arthur had a cloak of invisibility, Hades a hat, Discordia a ring. Fern seed is, not only in folktale but also in folk belief, capable of making its owner invisible. So too is heliotrope, but whether this means the plant or the stone is not definite. Spells may be recited to attain invisibility; in an Indian story, reciting the spell forwards makes one invisible, reciting it backwards enables one to take any shape desired. The "black cat bone," in an American Negro belief derived from the European belief in the ominousness of black cats, is useful principally to make its own invisible, though the charm has other uses. See HAND OF GLORY.

*inyana* The Zulu diviner, in touch with the *itongo*, or ancestral spirits. From them he learns his magical incantations in couplet form.

**Io** (1) In Greek mythology, the daughter of Inachus of Argos; a priestess of Hera originally called Callirrhoe or Callithyia. She was loved by Zeus and changed by him into a white heifer to avoid the jealous spying of Hera. Hera nevertheless became suspicious and asked for the animal as a gift, which Zeus was forced to grant. Hera set Argus Panoptes to guard Io in her grove at Mycenæ. Zeus guided Hermes to the spot, and the latter was able to kill Argus by playing his eyes shut one by one. Hera then sent a gadfly to torment Io. The unhappy heifer crossed the Ionian Sea (named for her) and the Bosphorus (literally ox-ford), finally settling in Egypt, where she resumed her human form and gave birth to Epaphus (so called because Io was impregnated by the touch of Zeus' hand, an ancient explanation of the name as meaning "he of the touch"). The later Greeks identified Io with Isis, and Io does seem originally to have been a moon goddess. The various elements of the legend can be explained on this basis, e.g. the eyes of Argus being the stars of the sky, etc.

(2) The Maori supreme deity, probably limited only to one or two North Island tribes and perhaps a post-European development inspired by the Bible: important because of disputes over its age and distribution. There is no evidence of Io's presence in other islands. Stimson's claim that Tuamotuan Kiho was identical with Io was criticized by Emory in bitter battle. [KL]

**Iphicles** In Greek legend, the twin brother of Hercules; the son of Amphitryon, as Hercules was of Zeus; born the night after Hercules. That Iphicles was not the god's son was determined when Hera, or Amphitryon, put snakes in the cradle; he ran from them, Hercules strangled them. The half-brothers were companions on several occasions, but the chief importance of Iphicles lies in this early distinguishing between the two. The story is an embodiment of the belief that there was something supernatural about twins, that one of them necessarily was not the son of the mother's husband. Compare DIOSCURI; TWINS.

**Iphiclus** In Greek legend, a son of Phylacus. He was impotent and Phylacus made it a condition of Melampus the seer's obtaining certain of his cattle that the cause be determined. Melampus discovered that Iphiclus had stuck a sacrificial knife in an oak, and prescribed as a cure the drinking for ten days of a potion containing the scrapings of rust from the knife. Like similar sympathetic cures (compare the curing of wounds by touching them with the weapon causing the injury), it worked, and Iphiclus became the father of Podarces and Protesilaus. See ACHILLES' SPEAR.

**Iphigenia** In Greek legend, the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, sacrificed at Aulis to Artemis: probably originally a form of Artemis herself as the name, meaning "mighty born," would indicate, although the name is an appropriate one for a princess. Agamemnon had given offense to the goddess by killing a stag sacred to her and by boasting afterwards that Artemis herself could have done no better, or by failing to fulfil a promised sacrifice. Artemis then caused the Greek fleet, en route to Troy, to be calmed at Aulis. Calchas the soothsayer proclaimed that only the sacrifice of Iphigenia could lift the calm. The girl was sent for, the pretext being that she would be married to Achilles. When she was about to be sacrificed Artemis substituted for her a hind, a she-bear, a bull, or an old woman. Iphigenia was transported in a cloud by the goddess to Tauris, in the modern Crimea, where she became a priestess of Artemis.

At Tauris it was Iphigenia's duty to assist at the sacrifice to the goddess of all strangers entering the country. Orestes, Iphigenia's brother, came to Tauris to take the image of Artemis from there to Attica and was recognized by Iphigenia. They fled together. In Delphi, Electra encountered Iphigenia, and hearing that her brother had been slain was prepared to avenge this deed on Iphigenia when Orestes arrived and there was mutual recognition. The stolen image was placed in the temple of Artemis at Brauron, where Iphigenia became a priestess and died some years later. Offerings of clothing, specifically of those dying in childbirth, were offered to her there.

There are several local variants of details of the story, principally concerned with observance of the cult of Artemis. For example, in Brauron, near Marathon in Attica, where Orestes and Iphigenia carried the image of Artemis, she is called the daughter of the national hero Theseus. Some versions of the story say that she did not die, but was made immortal and was married to Achilles, was transformed into the goddess Hecate, etc.

**Iris** In Greek mythology, the goddess of the rainbow, with which she was sometimes identified, but which

more often was her road as she went on an errand. Iris was the daughter of Thaumais and Electra and sister of the Harpies; in the *Iliad* she is the messenger of the gods, much as Hermes is in the *Odyssey*. Specifically, she was Hera's messenger, and carried the herald's staff and a pitcher in which was water with which perjurers were put to sleep. As the rainbow goddess, she was the joiner and conciliator who restored the peace of nature. Compare BIFROST.

**Iro** A costume representing a five-toed chicken of Yoruba mythology, associated with the creation of the world. The phrase "tying Iro" means that the costumes are "untied" after each festival in which Iro takes part, and have to be sewed together anew every year. "Tying Iro" also means donning this costume and taking part in the Iro ceremony. Iro is "tied" and dances at five different festivals during the year, each time impersonated by a chief's son. For the participation of Iro in these five festivals, see William R. Bascom, *The Sociological Role of the Yoruba Cult-Group*, MAAA 63, p. 30 ff.

**iron** This metal enters into the folklore of most peoples either in religious tabus or as a charm against supernaturals and sorcery. Since iron is not found in a pure state except in the case of meteorites, it has come into use comparatively recently. The first iron implements come from about the 3rd millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia. Commodore Perry in his explorations among the Eskimos found them using bits of a three-ton meteorite which they called "the woman" and which they had reduced to about half of its original size. Mississippi Indians are also known to have used meteorite. The Spaniards found a few knives of iron among the Aztecs which were prized above gold and which they said came from heaven. The Egyptians called iron the "marvel from heaven," and the Babylonians, "heaven fire." Many Europeans call iron pyrites thunderbolts and say that they protect from lightning.

In most cases the tabu against the use of iron in religious ceremonies springs from the tendency to cling to traditional usages rather than to any conception of iron as a base metal. Tools of iron could not be carried inside Greek temples; they were not used in the construction of Hebrew altars; and the sacred Pons Sublicius in Rome was built without the use of iron or bronze. Roman priests were not permitted to shave with iron razors; iron was not allowed to touch the body of the king of Korea; and the archon of Platæa was forbidden to touch it.

In India, genii and evil spirits fear iron in any form. Hindu women wear iron bracelets as wedding bands regardless of caste. In China, even dragons fear iron and the Chinese sometimes throw a piece of iron into dragon pools to irritate them when they need rain. The power of iron to drive off and keep out evil spirits and supernatural beings of all kinds is almost universal. In some places even the sound of iron puts them to rout. Throughout Europe iron is one of the most potent charms against witchcraft. Sometimes it will even keep a witch out of the neighborhood, yet both witches and sorcerers use iron vessels and instruments in the preparation of their brews. It will also ward off fairies and all manner of little men, except the Teutonic dwarfs who are the finest ironworkers in the world. A sword

or a piece of armor made by them was the prized possession of many a knight. In Scotland a piece of iron is put in all food in a house of death to drive death from the house. In many places it is proof against ghosts, but this is not universal, as a number of hardy ghosts spend their nights dragging heavy chains around old castles in many parts of Europe. In Burma a piece of iron is placed beside the body of a stillborn child with the adjuration that the soul may not return until the iron is as soft as down. In parts of India iron is under the protection of the forest god and it is necessary to keep on the good side of him or he will move the iron ore around. In the Celebes it is necessary to have the image of the god of iron in the smithy or the soul of the iron will depart during the forging and it will become brittle and unworkable.

In parts of Ireland iron is sacred metal and thieves will not steal it. The Dorns, a robber tribe of northern India, will expel any member using an iron instrument in his profession. Hindus believe that the use of iron in buildings is conducive to epidemics. In Burma iron pyrites are a charm against crocodiles. Many people believe that it is bad luck to make a gift of an iron instrument. Some claim it is unlucky to put iron to the ground on Good Friday. Early scientists held that the presence of a magnet robbed iron of its weight and that it lifted itself. When a Scottish fisherman swears, it is customary to call out "Cold iron!" while grasping the nearest piece of iron. Iron is frequently used to protect newborn children in Europe and India. In Scotland it is necessary to remove every piece of iron from the person when kindling a need fire. Iron is generally believed to give a person strength. In Italy pyrites preserve the eyes; in Germany the fumes from hot iron on which oil has been poured is a cure for toothache. In Scotland healing stones are kept in an iron box to keep them from the fairies. It is bad luck to bring old iron into the house. An iron nail is sometimes driven into the ground where an epileptic has fallen in a seizure, thus pinning the demon to the ground.

**Iruska** A Pawnee Indian religious dance, meaning "the fire is in me": now become a social dance. As fusion of Dakota and Omaha ideas, the Pawnee developed this trick, fire-handling, half-clown cult. It corresponds to the Crazy Dancers of the Arapaho, the Fire Dance of Iowa, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, and the Arikara Hot Dance. The Omaha developed it into the Grass Dance which spread to Osage, Oto, Dakota, and Iowa and through these to the entire Great Plains. The Potawatomi modified it into the Dream Dance of the Great Lakes tribes. [CFL]

**I Saw Three Ships** An English traditional carol sung all over England in one version or another and set to various tunes, one being a close relative of *Mulberry Bush*. It tells of the arrival by ship on Christmas morning of Sir Joseph and his lady. Another title is *Sunny Bank*.

**Ishtar** The great goddess of Babylonian and Assyrian mythology and religion: identified with the Sumerian Inanna or Nana, the Phœnician Astarte, the Ashtoreth of the Bible, etc.: a composite deity including the characteristics of many goddesses of the pantheon, absorbed into the character of Ishtar in the course of the centuries. Ishtar had two principal aspects: she was



the compassionate mother goddess and she was the lustful goddess of sex and war. As the mother goddess, sometimes depicted suckling a child, she ruled over the earth's fertility and was invoked as mankind's helper, the deliverer from sickness and evil. In myth, she consented to the flood and then wished she had not. Her rule over the fertility of the earth is linked also to her role as goddess of sexual passion. The story of Ishtar and Tammuz is essentially one of overpowering desire, desire so great as to send the goddess through great perils and indignities to rescue her lover from the underworld. As in the Greek myth of Persephone, while Ishtar was below the earth, crops failed, nothing grew. To Ishtar also are attached many stories of lovers taken and killed when the goddess was sated. This myth may be an extension of the fertility practice of the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) in Mesopotamia. The man mating with the goddess (or her priestess) in the fields may have been killed at the end of each year's ceremony and a new one chosen to take his place at the coming rite. Ishtar was likewise a war deity and a goddess of the hunt. She was associated with the planet Venus. Ishtar was also an underworld deity—in this being somewhat confused with Allatu—and she thus appears, as the merciless evil goddess of hell, in the Gilgamesh epic, in which she gets no more respect from the author than does Aphrodite in the Homeric poems.

In mythology, she is the daughter of Anu, the sky god, or of Sin, the moon god, and appears in the second triad with Sin and Shamash. Her mythology is however confused by her identification with many other female goddesses, such identification causing her name to become a generic term for "goddess."

Her cult observance was connected with the Tammuz myth; it is conjectured that the story of Esther in the Bible may be a reminiscence of this cult. Principal seats of Ishtar-worship were Uruk, Akkad, Nineveh, Arbela, Sippar. At Uruk, the oldest seat of worship of the goddess, temple prostitution occurred. Sacred to Ishtar were the lion and perhaps the dove.

**Isis** The Mother Goddess of Egyptian religion and mythology: depicted as a woman, often as suckling the child Horus seated on her lap; sometimes represented with the solar disk and cow's horns, and then identified with Hathor; in Ptolemaic times, when equated with Taurt, pictured as a hippopotamus. Isis was the sister and wife of Osiris (originally like all the deities in the Osiris myth an independent goddess). She ruled over Egypt while Osiris traveled abroad as a culture hero, spreading discoveries made by Isis. When Osiris was murdered by Set, she searched the land for the 14 parts into which his body had been cut, collecting those parts she could find and burying them. An earth goddess and a devoted mother and wife, she was the goddess of fertility and the type of the faithful wife. She was the patroness of sailors, Stella Maris, and goddess of medicine. From the hieroglyph of her name, resembling a throne, it is believed that she was originally the personification of the throne, from which arose, "was born," the king.

Isis, the Thousand-Named, was the mother of Horus, who was conceived after the death of Osiris, his father. In addition to her close connection with these two sun

gods, she appears in a myth concerning Rā. Isis, a mortal magician, wished to become a god. To accomplish this, she obtained some of the spittle of Rā and fashioned a snake of earth and spittle, leaving it in his path. Rā was bitten by the snake, and, in agony, called for help. When Isis told him that he must reveal his real name, his secret name, he tried to deceive her with other names, but in vain: the pain continued until he told her his hidden name. With this knowledge, hence power, Isis attained to godhood. In another myth, the head of Isis was cut off by Horus in his struggle with Set and was replaced with a cow's head by Thoth. This seems to be a late rationalizing development, explaining literally the symbolic head and paralleling the myth of Horus' own decapitation.

The chief centers of Isis-worship were Abydos and Busiris. The Greeks identified her with Athena and Demeter, and in later times her worship spread throughout the Greek and Roman worlds. In the period of the Roman Empire, the cult of Isis was one of the more prominent of the important foreign-goddess cults.

**Island of the Blest** St. Brendan's Island, that island "before the gates of Paradise where is no day or night": sought and found by Brendan on his famous seven-year voyage into the western Atlantic in the 6th century. This was the happy Otherworld of early Celtic belief (land of apples, blossoms, feasts, music and lovely women, where wailing or treachery was unknown) stripped of its pagan delights and practically identical with the Christian Heaven. St. Brendan's Island was literally believed in by Spanish and Portuguese navigators well into the 16th century. The last voyage undertaken in quest of it was in 1721. That the Land of Promise he discovered was America was a legend, long and ardently believed in. The island called I Brazil, the lost island of the Arans, is still popularly said in Kerry to have been St. Brendan's Island. See IMRAMA.

**islands of the blessed** In the belief of many peoples of the world, the paradise to which the good are assigned after death: often located in the west near where the sun sets. Specifically, the Islands of the Blessed of Greek mythology lay somewhere in the western Ocean and were ruled over by Cronus. Later the islands were more or less confused with Elysium, which was perhaps a more ancient paradise in Greece. The Isle of Avalon of Arthurian legend is similar in nature, as are many of the Isles of Women of folklore. The mythical island of Atlantis and the various islands discovered in the Atlantic and Pacific and never found again are more recent elaborations of the same theme.

**Isolt, Isolde, Yseult, or Essylt** Two women bear the name of Isolt in the romance of *Tristan and Isolt*. The most important is Isolt of Ireland, the heroine of the story. She and Tristan drink the love potion and then undergo the terrible vicissitudes of love and separation, until, unable to remain near Isolt, Tristan crosses the sea to France where he meets the second Isolt, Isolt of the White Hands, sister of his best friend. At the friend's suggestion Tristan finally marries Isolt of the White Hands.

Such reduplication of character is common in folklore and in romance. There are numerous examples: typical are those in *The Golden Tree and the Silver Tree*, *King Horn*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*,

**Freisne.** In the folktale there was nothing incongruous in a hero's being given a woman as a reward at the end of each exploit. In more sophisticated literature such incidents were rationalized in various ways: marrying one of the women to a friend of the hero, causing the hero to refuse the second woman (or repudiate the first), sending one of the women to a nunnery, dropping the incident entirely. In the medieval *Tristan* Tristan's "sin" in marrying Isolde of the White Hands is against courtly love and so the impressive conclusion in which the legal wife confronts the sweetheart is especially dramatic. See *TRISTAN*. [MEL]

**Italapas** Coyote: culture hero of Chinook mythology and creator of the Chinook world. While waiting in the trees for the waters to subside, Italapas threw some sand into the surf which became land. He helped Ikanam, the Creator, make the first men, and then taught them how to catch salmon, and all their other arts, and told them their tabus. Italapas is radically different from Coyote of California Indian mythology, where he is a more or less obstructive foil for the Creator. Blue-Jay plays this mischievous, clever role in the Chinook story.

**itan** The name used by the Yoruba people for myths, traditions, or histories. They are regarded as historically true and are often quoted by the old men to settle a difficult point in a discussion of ritual or politics. They are also recited by the diviners as a part of the Ifa verses. See *AFRICAN AND NEW WORLD NEGRO FOLKLORE*.

**Ith** In Old Irish mythology, son of Bregan of Spain; uncle of Mil, and the first of the Milesians to visit Ireland. One day from Bregan's Tower Ith saw "a lofty island far away" and was filled with a longing to visit it. His brothers tried to hinder him but he was determined and set forth in a ship with his people. The *Book of Invasions* says "their adventures on sea are not related." But Ith's conversation with the three kings of Ireland (Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht, and Mac Greine) is related, and the story of how they killed him in resentment for "the testimony of praise he gave their island." Ith's people took his body back to Spain in the ship, and the sons of Mil saw fit to go to Ireland to avenge him. This is the beginning of the story of the conquest of Ireland by the Milesians.

**ithyphallic** A term often loosely used to mean "phallic," but specifically meaning "with erect penis": used of certain images and statues connected with phallic worship, in which the sexual organs are extremely prominent or exaggerated. The word is applied to such representations as those of Legba of the Ewe who is depicted squatting and peering at his magnified penis (or vulva, in the rare instances when Legba is conceived of as female). Ithyphallic is used to refer to the phallic staves carried in the processions of Bacchus, and to the meter of the verses recited in those processions. Ithyphallic representations occur all over the world, in amulets, on temples, etc. See *PHALLISM*.

**Itiwana** Literally, the middle place: the middle of the world in Zuni Indian cosmogony. Itiwana is an underlake town to which the Zuni dead return, instead of having to return all the way to the mythological place of emergence of the Zuni people.

In the Zuni origin myth, as the people journeyed

on the face of the earth looking for a place to settle, they came to a lake and crossed it. The first ones to cross lost all their children in the lake and grieved for them bitterly. A brother and sister, ahead of the group, had indulged in an incestuous mating while waiting for the others to catch up, and were thereby transformed into supernaturals. These two taught the people who followed how to keep from losing their children in the lake; they made singing and dancing for the lost ones, and opened a road to the middle of the lake so that the parents might visit and behold their children. The children told their parents not to grieve for them. They were happy to stay in Itiwana, they said. They would never have to take the long journey back to the place of emergence; and henceforth all the dead would come and stay in Itiwana. (See Parsons, "Origin Myth of Zuni," *JAF* 36: 135 ff.) The kachinas associated with Itiwana visit the villages from time to time. They are impersonated during the masked kachina dances to promote rain and fertility.

**Itzamna** The chief deity of the Maya pantheon, the Lord of the Heavens and the Lord of Day and of Night. He is represented in codices as an old man with toothless jaws, sunken cheeks, and a Roman nose. He was considered benevolent, always the friend of man, and his aid was invoked throughout the year at ceremonies as the god of medicine, as the sun god, to avert calamities, and so forth. [GMF]

**ivy** Ivy was sacred to the Egyptians. In Greece it was used to crown victors in sports, although the exact species is in doubt. In Greek it was called *cissos* after a dancing girl who, at a feast of the gods, danced with such joy and abandon before Dionysus that she fell dead at his feet. The god was so moved by her performance that he turned her body into the ivy which entwines and embraces anything near it. Dionysus is said to have developed from the ivy as Zeus from the oak. Because ivy is dedicated to Dionysus, it is said to prevent drunkenness. It is hung over the entrances to English taverns to indicate that good wine is served within. In China ivy is associated with the mother goddess. In Christian lore its evergreen quality symbolizes the immortality of the soul.

If ivy will not grow on a grave it signifies the soul is not happy in the other world. If it grows profusely on the grave of a young maiden it means that she died of love. Its clinging qualities make it a symbol of constancy. Ballad and folktale are full of ivy which grows and intertwines from the graves of two lovers.

Ivy is considered to be female and a symbol of fertility or unpredictability. In the *Shrovetide dances* in England there are frequently an ivy-girl and a holly-boy among the dancers. In County Leitrim, Ireland, if young lads gathered ten ivy leaves in silence on Halloween, threw one away, and placed the other nine under the pillow, they would dream of love and marriage. In Wales they say when old ivy dies or falls away from the house, the owner will meet with financial reverses and lose the house. Usually it is lucky to have it on the house, but in some places it is unlucky to plant ivy. It is generally unlucky to make a gift of ivy: it will break up friendships. In Maine they say that those who keep it in the house will always be poor. A green ivy leaf placed in water in a covered dish after dark

on New Year's Eve and left until Twelfth Night will tell the future. If the leaf is spotted near the stem, it is a sign of sickness, if spotted all over, of death, but if it is fresh and green it signifies good health throughout the year.

Like most plants used in folk medicine, ivy was an antidote for poison at one time or another. The leaves are used for dressing wounds, burns, ulcers, and to reduce swollen glands. In Ireland they are applied to ease the pain of corns. Water in which the leaves have been steeped is soothing to the eyes. The tender twigs boiled in butter make a good sunburn ointment. The powdered berries are effective against jaundice, the plague, burns, scalds, and will heal green wounds. If children drink from cups of ivy wood they will be cured of whooping cough. Ivy is also useful in curing the itch and in delousing. In some places it is used as a depilatory; in others it is used to dye the hair. For a toothache, take a pomegranate shell, put in some ground ivy berries, on this pour oil of rose, and heat. This should be poured into the ear opposite to the aching tooth.

**Pwai** The crocodile totemic culture hero of the Koko Ya'o tribe, Cape York Peninsula, Australia. He was the leading figure among the ancestors who lived "in the beginning at first," a phrase often opening a myth about the prehuman period. [KL]

**Ixion** In Greek mythology, a treacherous Thessalian: his name is derived by A. B. Cook from the Greek word

for mistletoe, and Ixion is made an aspect of the sun moving through the heavens. Ixion married Dia, and when his father-in-law came to collect the promised bride-price, Ixion caused him to fall into a pit of burning coals. For this the gods drove him mad, until Zeus took pity on him, cured and purified him, and invited him to dinner on Olympus. There Ixion tried to violate Hera, but a cloud (Nephele) was substituted for the goddess. From this union the race of Centaurs sprang. As punishment for his crime Ixion was condemned to be bound by Hermes to a winged or fiery wheel which rolls eternally through the air or the lower regions. The punishment of Ixion was, as were those of Tantalus and Sisyphus, famous in the ancient world.

**iyondátha** An Iroquois women's curing society and dance. Its songs are sung by men with the women an octave higher, to the accompaniment of large gourd rattles. The songs are in defective pentatonic scales, with simple repetitious themes. The women alone shuffle to the right in a centralized round dance. Membership in the society is by dream or cure of some respiratory ailment. Thus the ceremony has many features in common with the men's *hadi'hiduus*, though the music is less archaic. At the end of the song cycle the sponsor makes gifts of cloth and is herself wrapped up. Thereupon follows the *deswadéyo'* rite. [CPK]

**Izanagi and Izanami** The Heavenly Pair who created Japan from drops of brine. See JAPANESE FOLKLORE. [JLM]